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THE INDIAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

KITABISTAN

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Hon'ble Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, member of the Provisional Government of India, at a party in South Africa

The Indian in South Africa

By
SIR SHAFA'AT AHMAD KHAN

KITABISTAN
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PREFACE

The book contains speeches delivered in 1941-1945 to cultural and political organisations in South Africa. It does not deal with the history of the Indian community during this period, as this would have involved reference to many confidential documents which must, for obvious reasons, remain confidential for the present. I have made no change in the text of the addresses and they are published in the form in which they were delivered at the time. Only a few words have been added here and there to make them intelligible. The address on the Indian community was delivered in 1942. It has been recast and brought up-to-date. In this address, I have discharged the function of a *rapporteur* and summarised the viewpoints of different schools of thought on the issue. Hence this section expresses the views of all sections of Indian opinion. The Government of India are not responsible for the views expressed in this book. No confidential documents have been used for the purpose, and the address on the Indian community in South Africa, which has been re-written, is based wholly on published material.

I have added a supplementary section, section VII, to bring the story of the Indian race in South Africa up-to-date. It deals with the controversy over the Land Tenure Bill.

Photographs of some important events have also been added.

I am grateful to my old pupil, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Lecturer in History, Allahabad University, for the trouble he has taken in seeing the book through the press. His help has been indispensable. If the book serves to improve relations between India and South Africa, and Europeans and Indians in the Union of South Africa, I shall be amply rewarded.

NEW DELHI
April, 1946

THE AUTHOR

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SECTION I

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

I

An Address Delivered on Wednesday, December 2nd, 1942, at the Darragh Hall, Johannesburg

[*Note*—The substance of this address was delivered at Johannesburg on December 2, 1942. It has since been revised, and brought up to date. The address deals comprehensively with the Indian problem in the Union. It also includes a brief reference to the problem of Indians in East Africa. An account is given, at the end, of author's visit to the Congo, and Brazzaville, where he met the Negro Governor-General, M. Ebove. It concludes with a brief account of the author's visit to Libya, in May, 1942. The article describes some of the cultural and religious institutions of South Africa, and analyses recent tendencies in South African politics. I have, in this section, performed the functions of a *Rapporteur* and put together the views of different schools of thought in India on the issue.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me of speaking to this select gathering of earnest Christian men and women on the position and prospects of the Indian community in South Africa. I have now completed one year of my office and know a little about this magnificent country and the position of my community in this land. I confess that my knowledge of the community is incomplete, and it will be my endeavour to extend this knowledge by tours through important parts of the Union, and by contact with the main elements in the national life of this land. The more one stays in the Union the more one is impressed with the complexity of its problems and the difficulties which every patriotic son of South Africa

must experience when he is faced with issues of great complexity. Free and frank discussions on the subject are not obviously possible, and one has to tread the ground on this delicate subject warily as an unsteady movement along the rocking and undulating of the terrain may result in a free activity of emotions which may affect racial relations.

In its present form South Africa is a thing of yesterday and there are many racial elements in its population which have not yet been assimilated, and there is little sign of their fusion for a long time. According to the school dominant at the present time, racial fusion will mean racial suicide. For these reasons many political controversies in this land are transformed into racial quarrels, and centre round the eternal theme of differences between the Afrikaner and the English or between the European and the non-European. In these circumstances, the possibility of a lasting compromise, nay even of dispassionate discussion of racial problems, is remote. Even the most level-headed and responsible leaders of different races in this country are swept off their feet by ideological and racial rancour which destroys reason, logic, equity and commonsense. This has happened again and again in the Union Parliament and on numerous public platforms. General Hertzog's administration permanently disfranchised the Native of Parliamentary vote, and subjected him to disabilities in industry and in the administrative services from which it will take him several generations to emerge. The controversy over the flag in 1927 brought the two European races to the brink of a civil war. It was only the tact and forbearance of a few distinguished leaders of the two races, backed by the influence and prestige of the Governor-General, which pre-disposed South Africa to sanity, reason and compromise. I have given this example to show the difficulty which even the most experienced and cautious men find in solving a problem which deals, directly or indirectly, with a congeries of races of all colours and creeds.

I may also point out here the need for extreme caution

in dealing with the Indian problem in South Africa. It cannot be discussed in an ordinary gathering in Natal, and a special atmosphere and a most sympathetic circle of Europeans is essential before the future of the Indian race can form the subject of a free and frank talk. I have refrained from dealing with the subject in public because I felt that a discussion of these issues may create an undercurrent of racial feeling which may prove disastrous to a judicious and equitable solution of the problem. It is best to get the matter settled in the cool and calm atmosphere of an office, than to launch one's thunderbolt on a public platform. A fiery speech, appealing solely to racial passions, may work havoc, and destroy the work of half a century, in a land which contains, and will, I am afraid, always contain, inflammable material. The greatest caution is therefore necessary in the treatment of a racial controversy at public meetings. Hence, at public meetings, I have dealt so far mainly with the culture of my land and the work which my community has rendered in the building up of Natal and the Transvaal. The references to this work had to be carefully worded to avoid the impression of national vanity or chauvinism.

I am therefore glad that an opportunity has been given to me to speak freely and with the utmost freedom on the position and prospects of the people of my race in this land. I am grateful to the Chairman for informing me that the proceedings of this meeting will remain confidential and no report of this address will be published in the South African press. I could not consistently with my position discuss issues which impinge upon some of the cherished convictions and ingrained prejudices of the dominant races in this land, without exposing myself to the charge of impropriety and violation of the elementary canons of hospitality.

Mr. Maurois describes in his work, *The Battle of France*, a most interesting conversation with Mr. Winston Churchill, just after Dunkirk. Mr. Churchill explained to him the principles of his strategy in that critical year with re-

markable lucidity. "Have you studied the habits of the lobster? There is a time in the lobster's life when he loses his shell. He secretes a new one pretty quickly, but while it is hardening, the lobster is vulnerable. What is the lobster's foreign policy at this time? He goes and lives in a hole on a rock, avoids every combat and waits until his armour is once again strong enough to protect him. England is, owing to imprudent Ministers, at the present moment moulting. I, and a few friends, are working to restore the shell, but it is still very soft. That is why we are living in a hole. You may rest assured that it will not be for long." However matchless the Prime Minister may have been in his resources of expression and delivery, words alone could not achieve what the Allies have accomplished since Dunkirk. It is the result of courage, force of mind and the massive impact of judgment and experience. He knew that England required moulting time, and he looked after her with devotion and skill. The Indian community in the Union too, is moulting. Its shell is still soft, and it is still living in a hole in a rock. Its numbers vary in each province of the Union. According to the census of 1936 there were 10,508 Indians in the Cape Province, 183,661 in Natal, 25,000 in the Transvaal, and 29 in the Orange Free State. This is only about 2.25 per cent of the total population of the Union, and is not a very large number. The racial composition of the Union may also be given here. Of the total population of about ten millions, Europeans constitute 20.9 per cent and are 2,003,857 in number; Natives number 6,596,689 and are 68.8 per cent of the population; Asiatics, mainly Indians, are 2.3 per cent of the population. The latter together with Coloureds number 769,661, and are 7 per cent of the Union population. This is the racial composition of a country which has a greater variety of soil, and landscape, and of races than many countries of the world. The Europeans are also divided into two main divisions, the Afrikaners and the Englishmen. There are, besides, the Jews, more than 100,000 in number, who

occupy an important position in the basic trade and industry of the Union, and dominate some of the liberal professions, such as medicine and law.

I have said above that the Indian in South Africa is moulting at the present time, and is not yet able to come out of his shell. The phrase requires some explanation, and can be understood only with reference to the history of the Indian community in the Union. The Indians form a mixed society of merchants, workers and intellectuals, enclosed within the circuit of Indian areas, and are strongly marked by the peculiar complexion of their race, origin and culture. Exile and colour bar, the common climax of South Africa's civic policy, have made them still more self-determined and self-reliant by driving each section upon its own resources, and securing thereby the utmost possible development of individual character. As their fortunes in the Union have depended on their qualities as men, birth is of less account than natural gifts. I know families in certain parts of Natal which could trace their descent to the best blood in India, yet their members do not enjoy the rudimentary rights of citizenship.

It is not necessary to trace the history of Indian emigration to Natal. It was only at the urgent request of the Government and the citizens of Natal that the Government of India was induced to allow immigration of Indian workers into Natal. The first indentured labourer came from India in 1860 on a wage of 10s. a month, food, shelter and medicine extra. When immigration ceased for a few years after 1866, the Natal sugar industry suffered so seriously that after further representations, it was resumed in 1874, and continued without material alteration until 1911. The European planter had discovered that the Indian indentured labourer was indispensable for his industry. Native labour was unsatisfactory and unreliable and in those days it was practically unobtainable. The Zulus had been tried, but they proved incompetent and lazy. In 1876, the Indian population was about 6,700; it had risen to 27,000 in 1884. In 1891, it had increased to 35,000, beside a European population

of 46,000. By 1910 there were 7,000 Indians in the Cape, 11,000 in the Transvaal, and 133,000 in Natal. Every inducement was held out to the indentured labourers, both by their employers and the Government, to renew their indentures when completed, and subsequently to remain as free labourers. Many thousands of them did so: and as they had brought their wives with them they reared families in Natal which can now trace their descent to the fifth generation. At the present time nearly ninety per cent of the Indians were born in South Africa and "are therefore Union nationals." The Natal Government established a school system for the children of indentured labourers, and in course of time, the younger generation showed the results of that education by engaging in many of the ordinary pursuits of Europeans. The Lange Commission on the Asiatic Enquiry, appointed by the Union Government, reported as follows, in 1921. "These South African Indians form an intelligent, well-educated and energetic element of the Indian community both in Natal and the Transvaal; and they took a prominent part in placing the Indian case before us in both provinces." It is pertinent to note that the Natal authorities at the outset actually encouraged the permanent settlement of immigrants by offering them grants of land in lieu of return passage to India, though this lasted only for a short time. Indian immigration to Natal had not ceased, and after five years' service on the miserable pittance of ten or twelve shillings a month, they could get a free passage home, or the grant of Crown land equal in value to the free passage. Many stayed on, and applied themselves to market gardening, worked on the Natal railways (there were 6,000 in 1910), became waiters in the hotels or domestic servants. The Indian waiter in the Union has established himself on a secure basis and there are nearly 9,000 Indian waiters, wine stewards and bar attendants in South Africa. An analysis of their occupational distribution reveals that agriculture has absorbed 18 per cent of the total number, industry 2 per cent, commerce 5 per cent, domestic service

2 per cent, professions 2 per cent, transport services 1 per cent and mining 1 pet cent.

The Indians soon increased in numbers, and as they applied themselves to improving their economic condition, the European took fright, and insisted that measures should be taken to secure the return of the indentured labourers as soon as their indenture expired and their settlement be discouraged. It was, however, admitted, even by the most prejudiced, that Indian labour was not merely the cheapest, but the most efficient. In fact a public loan of £ 100,000 was raised in 1864 to encourage Indian immigration in Natal. The question against the ingress of Indians in Natal came to a head in 1896-97 when the people rose at Durban and by force prevented the landing of several hundred free Indian labourers from two steamers, the *Naderi* and *Courladi*, and the Government passed an Act in 1897, restricting Indian immigration into Natal. Indentured labour was, however, permitted, otherwise the public economy of the province would have been dislocated, but the Government ceased to offer any monetary assistance for this purpose. In 1908 the Government of India decided to prohibit the further immigration of indentured labour to Natal, as they were dissatisfied with the manner in which Indians were treated there. The Natal Government, however, pressed the Government of India to reconsider the matter, and the latter agreed to permit the immigration of indentured Indians for a further period not exceeding one year, on condition that a law was passed allowing a right of appeal to the Supreme Court against a refusal to renew a dealers' license. It appears from a Report of Mr. Justice Wragg, published in 1887, quoted in the Lange Report, that originally the Indian retail shops in Durban, and other places were kept either by free Indians whose indentures had expired, or by those who came as free Indians, but this class gradually became supplanted by the "Arab" traders who were gifted with intelligence and greater business acumen. Thus, another element was added to the Indian population and, besides the Indian worker, there came the

Muslim trader and, later on, the Hindu trader from Gujrat, and Kathiawar. The workers had mostly come from Madras, though there are still a considerable proportion of Indians from other provinces, such as the United Provinces, and Behar. The Indian trader had also trekked into the Transvaal, and the first stringent law was passed against him in 1885.

About 1885, the Indian opened shops, purchased land, and began to trade with a skill and ingenuity which made him a formidable rival of the European. Indian energy and enterprise were expressed in several important spheres. The European farmers, business men and others complained before the Lange Commission in 1920 of the purchase of land by Indians at Stanger, a sugar and tea planting district, which has now a population of 24,000 Indians. In his evidence before the Lange Commission, Mr. Maritz, Magistrate of the Lower Tugela Division, Natal, in 1920 declared "that there are large numbers of Indian farmers of that class in the district, many of whom possess their own land." Colonel Addison, a retired sugar planter, declared that it was only since immigration was stopped in 1911 that Indians had purchased land to any extent. Before then wages were so low that they could not save money for the purpose, but wages went up so rapidly after immigration ceased that an Indian labourer was able to save £30 to £40 in two or three years and acquire a plot of land. They grew sugar cane and sent it to the mill for treatment. The only land fit for cane growing in that district was within four miles of the railway on both sides of the line, and one per cent of it was owned by Indians in 1920. The Natal Agricultural Union advocated the elimination of the Asiatic from the country. It is pertinent to note that Colonel Addison came forward before the Lange Commission "in order to see justice done to the Indian community," and he testified to the services they had rendered to Natal industries during the fifty years that he had been in touch with them. Let me quote here a paragraph from the Lange Commission. "It appears that for the first ten

years, during which he (Colonel Addison) employed Native labourers only, Colonel Addison could scarcely make sugar planting pay, while his neighbours managed to do so with Indian indentured labourers. After that period he followed their example and became a successful planter. He was emphatic in asserting that Indian labour made the sugar industry of Natal which could never have been built up with Native labour. He added that it was not cheaper than Native labour. The Indian labourer received less wages, but his keep and other provisions that had to be made for him, brought his cost to far more than the Native. The Indian being away from his country has no interests beyond the place where he is working and can therefore be relied upon to stick to his work, while Natives are apt to break off in the middle of "crushing" and go off in a beer drink to their kraals for an indefinite period." As regards the wages of Indian workers, it appears that originally they were only ten shillings per month, together with rations, housing etc. It increased by one shilling every year so that in the fifth or last year of his apprenticeship the labourer received 14 shillings per month. Indian workers became skilled in their work, and there was great competition for their labour. Hence their wages increased considerably, and the labourers were able to purchase plots of land with their savings. Indians had also acquired fixed property. The total valuation of property in Durban in October 1919 was about 13½ million pounds. Of these Indians owned properties valued at £652,880. About a year later it had increased to £856,218. The increase in the purchase of property by Indians was due probably to the fear of Indians that their rights will be restricted by the legislature. This happened, also, later when Indians started buying properties in European areas in Durban under the impression that a Pegging Bill will be introduced. Indian tradesmen in Durban expanded their business, both wholesale and retail, on an extensive scale. By 1920, in places like Verulam, Tongaat and others along the coast the trade was almost entirely in the hands of Indians.

The Natal Legislature passed two drastic laws in 1908 to meet the competition of Indian traders, whereby, after 31st December, 1908, no license was to be issued to any Asiatic. The Imperial Government, however, refused their assent to these acts. It is pertinent to note the reasons adduced by the Secretary of State, in his despatch dated July 22nd., 1908, to the Natal Government. The despatch is a complete vindication of the Indian claims and it shows that Natal's opposition to the legitimate demands of the Indian community was based on pure selfishness and was in complete disregard of the rudimentary elements of justice and fairplay. The Secretary of State declared, *inter alia*, "The principle followed by His Majesty's Government in dealing with recent Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal has been to defer with reluctance to the feeling in favour of excluding further Asiatic immigrants, but at the same time securing fair and proper treatment of Asiatics already in the country. His Majesty's Government are under an especial obligation to ensure that this principle should be applied. The proposed legislation affects not only the trading class, but the whole of the Indian community in Natal, whose wants are most adequately and naturally supplied by traders of their own nationality. It would be a matter of the greatest difficulty to enumerate any conditions under which it would be possible to justify the interdiction of a particular class in the State from engaging in normal, legitimate and necessary occupation; and it would be still harder to justify dispossessing them from their existing means of livelihood, however liberal might be the terms of compensation. *But the imposition of such disabilities on a class which owes its presence in the Colony to the Colony's own necessities, and whose numbers have been augmented by the voluntary action and indeed, the settled policy, of successive Colonial Governments, over a period of fifteen years, since the advent of self-government, would appear on its merits to constitute a hardship of a specially grievous character*". This despatch established the freedom of trade for Indians on a solid basis, and put an end to the selfish, narrowminded and un-

reasonable policy of the Natal Legislature. In those trades in which they came into competition with Europeans, Indians held 515 licenses in 1915 as against 1,357 held by Europeans, and in 1919, Asiatics held 628 licenses as against 1,684 held by Europeans.

The question of Indian competition in skilled trades was discussed by the Economic Commission in 1914, and in confirmation of the view that in skilled trades Asiatics did not seriously compete with the Europeans, the Lange Commission quoted the following extracts from the Economic Commission. "In the skilled trades the efficiency of the Indian is distinctly beneath that of the white man, and there is no doubt as to the extent to which they undertake work for the white people. So far as they labour for their own people, objection to their advancement is not even possible. Again, there was conflict of testimony as to the amount of skilled work performed by Indians indirectly for white consumers. Skilled Indians work for shops kept by Indians, but the degree of recourse to these shops by whites it is hopeless to attempt to measure. It was alleged further that, that work, such as the making of clothes, was put out by the white shopkeepers to Indian skilled workers, but certain Indian witnesses examined declared that the bulk of this work was done for Indian shops."

I have traced the progress of the Indian community in Natal up to 1920. It is pertinent to note here that few Indian labourers wished to emigrate to Natal, as not only were the Government of India averse to their emigration, but also the workers hated the idea of leaving their hearths and homes. The Lange Commission confirms this. It should be emphasised that there has been very little spontaneous emigration of the labouring classes from India to South Africa. They were recruited with difficulty not infrequently by methods which are known in India as "coolie catching." Young men who had quarrelled with their families, were inveigled into ships, and were forced to land at Port Natal. I have talked to a number of Indians in different parts of Natal, and inquired into the rea-

sons for their emigration to this land. The answers given varied. A young man of good family told me that his grandfather quarrelled with his mother over sour milk and came to this land to carve out a career. Others came here because the agents of the company painted a magnificent picture of life in South Africa and held out bright promises of immediate cash return and free grant of land. It is a fact that a large proportion came from the Madras Presidency, and they were naturally recruited from the labouring classes. However, there are parts of Natal in which Indians from the United Provinces and Behar have settled in compact blocks. There are a number of men from the upper provinces of India at Stanger, and I have talked to many of them, and heard the story of their struggle. The European is in the habit of opposing the Indian demand for fair treatment by saying that the Natal Indian belongs to the depressed classes. It may be admitted that there is a substantial proportion of depressed classes among them but, in the first place, all distinctions between the depressed and other classes have disappeared in Natal in the stern struggle for survival. In the second place, a considerable proportion of the Hindus do not belong to the depressed classes but to the higher classes. There are a number of Rajputs among them, and they have maintained the qualities of their princely ancestors. The class to which they belong is precisely the same class which has exercised power in India for centuries and the same class which proved India to be the nursery of some of the bravest fighters in the world. A substantial proportion of Indians bearing the names of Pillay, Naidu and Mudaliar belong to highly respected non-Brahman castes of Madras. They are not members of depressed classes. Again, the European is in the habit of calling them "coolies." They may have been coolies nearly seventy years ago; they are no longer coolies now. Many Natal Europeans do not belong to the upper or even the middle class, but to the lower middle class, as a rule, though there are descendants of many county families in

Durban and other parts of Natal. The Shepstones, the Browns and other families in Natal belong to the upper middle strata of England, and have done fine work in Natal.

After nearly seventy years of incessant struggle, the Indian has developed qualities which make him a formidable rival to the European in many spheres of life. He has developed the mind and ancient culture of his race, and has succeeded in building up a solid structure of leadership in commerce and trade, in professions and other pursuits. He went through indescribable hardships during his period of indenture, and the descendants of the first emigrants give gruesome details of the destructive energy of the foremen and others who enforced ruthless discipline on their forefathers. The retaliation of Indian workmen was sometimes equally fierce. I heard stories of their early trials and tribulations all over Natal—at Stanger, Umzinto, Glendale, etc. Their persistent toil and stubborn will ultimately triumphed.

Natal was a jungle when the Indian came with his industry and persistence. It was Indian labour and industry which built up the north and south coast of Natal, cleared the forests, developed the tea, wattle and sugar plantations, and made Natal a garden. If there is one part of South Africa of which the Indian race throughout the world has reason to be proud, it is Natal. What the Indian labourer did for the Natal soil, the Indian merchant accomplished for the Natal trade. The capacity of the Indian trader has been tested throughout Africa and Asia, and he has held his own against Jews, Greeks and Scotchmen. It was the Indian trader who laid the economic foundations of East Africa and Uganda, and it was the Indian businessman who dominated the entire economic life of Burma. Rangoon, its capital, was practically owned by Indians. Just as the Indian soldier has proved himself to be one of the best natural fighters in the world, so the Indian merchant has proved to be one of the shrewdest and most astute businessmen in the world, provided he is given

opportunity for his enterprise and skill. The Indian labourer, too, proved himself a blessing to the province of Natal. One has only to go through the length and breadth of this magnificent province to realise the truth of this statement. He cultivates every inch of the soil and as a market gardener he is unsurpassed. As a farmer he is superb. Even though he belonged in some cases to the poorest class in his homeland, he had been nourished on the noble tradition and high culture of his race, and he expressed them in the work he accomplished in the land of his adoption. The labouring class which had emigrated to a strange land was receptive to new modes of thought, new ways of life and the glamour of new horizons. Though illiterate, at first, he soon equipped himself with a secular pattern, a code of reasoned discipline, and rigid austerity, based upon instincts deep in the Indian nature, and expounded in the golden verse of his sacred epics. On his arrival in a strange land, he cultivated not merely the iron, overriding loyalty to his culture, but also a multitude of intimate devotions and new loyalties, in the mysterious land in which he found himself. Natal is full of splendid monuments of personal ability displaying an unbroken genealogy of unknown Indian farmers and traders, and one can trace the physiognomy of the race in Natal's edifices, and discover the mind of the artist in his work. The faith he had brought with him served as an armour against fate, and made him invulnerable. It delivered him from the thraldom of fear and taught him to live as on a mountain top. His life in the virgin forests and the malarial tracts of Natal was a campaign from which there was no release, and it involved the perpetual war of the spirit against the flesh. It is true, of course, that his love for his motherland had grown faint from its very extension in space, and he had begun to call himself a South African. Yet he continued to cherish, and cherishes still, a love for India which is purified of all alloy. He did not know what devotion and love of India meant until he had arrived in Natal, and it was then that he began to nourish a spiritual desire for a pilgrimage to the land of

his fathers. Very few were able to gratify this desire, yet even after five generations, it has not been extinguished. In Natal he was surrounded by a Chinese wall of segregation; was attacked on every side, and was expected to remain a "coolie" even when he had acquired his freedom through his industry and toil. Many, however, saved sufficient to give a better start to their children.

By 1930 the Indian community in the Union could boast among its members many persons noble by taste and culture, owing less to ancestry than to personal eminence, devoting their energies to public life and civic ambition worthy of their national leaders in India, and to mental activity which reminds us of some of their pioneers in their homeland. To Mahatma Gandhi, the noblest Indian in South Africa, Natal became a trans-Atlantic India, to which he was bound by subtly powerful though invisible links, and he worked, prayed, and moved about the province with the fixed resolve to live the larger life of a new and strange microcosm, to purify his judgment of contemporary events with the philosophy of the past, and pierce below the surface of events to the secret springs of conduct.

I have talked to hundreds of young men in different parts of Natal, who are descendants of the indentured labourers, and I have been deeply impressed with their self-reliance and thirst for knowledge. They have developed an amount of self-confidence which would have astonished their forefathers, and are determined to keep up the struggle for racial emancipation. They insist on political freedom and will not be satisfied with a little housing, and a few "Indian villages" on the outskirts of towns. They wish naturally to breathe the fresh air of freedom, to have equality with the Natal European in public-life, administration, trade and the learned professions. They know, of course, that they have a long road to traverse, and are conscious of the need for solid and steady progress. They are, however, not daunted by the prospect and are prepared to face overwhelming odds. As one who has been in

charge of his community in the Union, I can testify that the young Indian is in no way inferior in intelligence to the Natal European. It is true that his standard of living is low, his diet is not nutritious, his physique is poor, and his economic condition is precarious. The fact, however, remains that he has the determination to succeed, and I have no doubt whatsoever that no law, by whomsoever passed, can prevent his political or economic growth or impair his dynamic energy.

I have so far given an account of Natal. I now give very briefly an account of the entry of Indians into the Transvaal. The number of Indians in this province is 34,000. Let me quote a paragraph of the Lange Commission Report. "In the wake of the indentured labourer came the (Indian) trader, who was generally a Muhammedan from the Bombay Presidency, and is commonly misnamed "Arab" in South Africa. He came first to supply the wants of the indentured labourer; but when he was established here, he quickly extended his dealings to the Natives and Europeans. These Bombay Muhammedans have for centuries traded along the East Coast of Africa and up the Persian Gulf as well as in Burma and the further East. They are men of considerable enterprise and until ingress was prohibited, they spread into the Transvaal and the Cape Province, finding a peculiarly favourable field for their activities in the pioneer development of the Transvaal which followed the gold rush. A considerable portion of these Muhammedan traders come from the single district of Surat, at the mouth of the river Tapti. It is largely the traders of this decayed port and its neighbourhood who have found an outlet in South Africa." The Lange Commission estimated the number of Asiatics in the Transvaal in 1921 at 11,072 (including 1,000 Chinese). The Commission declared that the Surat Muhammedans "were of quite a different class." They are born traders and have the reputation of being remarkably capable, astute business men, and competent to hold their own against their European competitors in that respect. It is to this class that the

bulk of the Transvaal Indians belong. Some of them are wealthy merchants in Johannesburg and elsewhere, with branch businesses in the country districts; while many others have established themselves in business for several years past in some of the country towns and villages. Unlike the Madrassis they do not confine themselves to the fruit and vegetable trade, but engage in mercantile business. They have thus undoubtedly become formidable competitors with European traders particularly in the country districts of the Transvaal. For this and other reasons a widespread agitation has during recent years been fomented throughout that province against what is termed Asiatic menace. It is the low margin of their profit which has been responsible for the anti-Indian cry and which has led to the demand for segregation.

The success of the Indian community in Natal came as a disagreeable surprise to other elements of the Natal population. Here was a community of workers or "coolies", who had worked as indentured labourers from 1863 onwards under conditions that approximated to semi-slavery and it was now resolved on improving its lot. It is clear from my talks that Natal never completely fused the diverse races of India within her bosom, nor obliterated their cultural differences or racial characteristics. We find parts of Natal representing local Indian types in language, sentiments and intellectual mobility. At Stanger there is a colony of Naidus; in other parts, one finds Pillays and Surati Muslims. We may assume that certain of these differences sprang from the persistence of ethnic qualities, and others from the infusion of fresh blood from other races. There are, however, few signs of Native blood among Indians of Natal, except in isolated farms in Zululand, when an Indian found it difficult to marry a woman of his race. Public opinion in places like Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other places exercises a more controlling authority over crowded towns than in outlying and scattered communities. The slowly consolidating life of a growing, dynamic community, containing in its ranks vary-

ing levels of culture and character, concentrating all elements of spiritual existence by the centripetal force of organic unity, was possible to both the elements of the Indian population—the merchant class no less than the labourers, but it was through religion that the creative instincts of the main classes of Indian society found their true and effective channel of expression. Their political rights had been withdrawn by the dominant class which had become conscious of their growing strength, and parliamentary rights, which at best represented an imperfect stage of political growth, were taken away from them in spite of their protest and agitation in 1896. When Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene and organized the Indian community into a formidable instrument of agitation, the Indian community, for the first time, imbibed ideas of liberty which were associated with the high morality and impassioned creed of this great man.

The Natal Government on attaining responsible Government in 1893 signalised their newly won status by levying a tax of £25 on every free Indian; the tax was however reduced to £3 by Lord Elgin, the then Viceroy of India. From this time the "annual of license" £3 was imposed on every ex-indentured Indian male above the age of sixteen and female above the age of thirteen; in other words, on those Indians who had decided to settle in Natal, and had the temerity to stay in the land which their labours had converted into a garden. The Honourable G. K. Gokhale, one of our greatest Indian leaders, who visited South Africa in 1912, declared, "This cruel impost caused enormous sufferings, resulted in breaking up families and driving men to crime and women to a life of shame." The statute book of the Natal Government until its union with South Africa, in 1910, makes sombre reading. Anyone who goes through the ordinances passed by the Natal Administration in the years 1893-1909 is appalled by a mass of legislation directed against the Indian community which no country would advocate at the present time. It is disfigured by a mass of laws against the Indian people

which restricted their freedom, and subjected them to a humiliating treatment. It was the good fortune of the people that they found a heroic leader at this juncture in Mahatma Gandhi. I cannot discuss in detail Mahatma Gandhi's epic struggle against vested interests and racial arrogance in Natal and the Transvaal, and will content myself with referring the reader to his *My Experiments With Truth.* It is a story of utter self-sacrifice, of sufferings patiently and smilingly borne, of struggle with every grade of official hierarchy, and of ultimate triumph. The Mahatma showed for the first time qualities of leadership which he perfected fully in India. It was in South Africa that he developed the technique of passive resistance, and brought to man's consciousness the vitality of soul-force. The spiritual force which had stimulated the Indians of Natal to the re-awakening of self-respect and self-discipline, stirred the slumbering political conscience of the race, and roused a yearning after social and political emancipation. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign plunged the Indian people into a stern conflict, aroused antagonism in established orders, and unleashed passions which were wisely guided by the Mahatma into healthy channels, and were purified of hatred. Thousands of people suffered willingly the pangs of hunger and the privations of a miserable life in jail. There are hundreds of persons in Johannesburg who recall with pride their sufferings under his leadership, and have been to jail fourteen or fifteen times. I asked an Indian waiter about 55 years old in Cape Town in 1943, who had gone to jail with him when he was a boy of seventeen, whether he would like to go to jail again, if necessary, and he promptly replied, "Yes Sir, I shall deem it a pleasure to do so, if it is for my community."

The struggle which the great Mahatma launched gave an inspiration to the Indian race, and has remained a source of encouragement to successive generations. It was no narrow storm discharging its force by local concentration upon a single locality, but it overstepped the whole province

of Natal, and mobilised the fierce sympathy of the Transvaal Indians with which they echoed back the feelings of their compatriots in Natal. The movement launched by the Mahatma searched men's natures; revealed their characters; developed qualities which had hitherto remained unsuspected by their possessors and threw the Indians, first in Natal and then in the Transvaal, each upon his own native resources, without the adventitious aids of rank and birth. The Mahatma in stern oblivion of many early friendships, became the champion of an oppressed race which, for the first time, struggled into individuality to achieve regeneration through suffering and sorrow. The great Indian leader showed a depth of sympathy and fertility of resource in the organisation of his campaign which determined the future colour of his life. His South African experiences are statured upon his road like repeating frigates, connecting, to all appearance, some preconcerted line of operations and, amidst the tumult of chance, showing a coherence which fuses his Indian and South African struggles into a unity.

During my stay in South Africa, I made it a point to make inquiries from his admirers on the nature of the struggle, and on the technique adopted by the great leader to galvanise the community into action. Boys who had worked and suffered with the Mahatma are now old men but their life is illumined by vivid flames of the old struggle, as they relate with pride the sufferings they underwent in the dreary jails of Natal and the Transvaal. Indians in Newcastle still point out the road which thousands of followers of the Mahatma followed in their trek to the frontiers of Natal at Volksrust. The road from Volksrust to Ladysmith is hallowed by memories of the great pilgrimage which the Indian leader undertook along with thousands of his followers to achieve the emancipation of his race. The struggle ended in 1913, but both parties knew that it was only a truce, and at the end of the last war, it recommenced with redoubled fury. It had been carried on for nearly eight years, and it is the testimony of all experienced

men that in the first stage of the struggle the great Indian leader emerged triumphant from this titanic fight, which closed to solemn symphony in the Gandhi-Smuts Pact. The Indian leaders in the jails of Johannesburg and other places having borne their flowers and fruits retired to rest, and the true genius of the people remained ever green. This great fight had braced up the people, and strengthened its fibre, as without it the Indian race might have disintegrated and disappeared as a separate community.

With the departure of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa, in 1914, and the lack of his dynamic personality, Indian leadership withered away, and Indian society itself disintegrated. Political activity receded into the background, and the yearning for freedom and culture was nipped in its unfolding season by the greed for wealth and profit. It seemed as if the arenas of Indian energy were closed, and the political instincts of the people were concentrated into the channels of trade and commerce. Mahatma Gandhi having created a new technique and a new cult in South Africa, found himself at strife with mightier forces in India and this, in its turn, led to the application of South African remedy, mass civil disobedience, throughout the length and breadth of India. In India, as in South Africa, he directed the movement of the self-emancipating mind beyond the stage of resolutions and petitions into the stage of resolute agitation, and he infused into his political warfare the spiritual principles which had been his chief motive on his entry into political life. It is beyond the scope of this address to discuss the details of his agitation in India and I must confine myself to the state of the Indian community in the Union of South Africa.

It is curious to notice that through all the changes which the Indian race has undergone in the Union since its arrival in 1860, India's essential self, in the immediate theatre of consciousness, has remained true to the ideals of its race. It has fortified itself by an inner security, which has proved an armour against fate, and amidst its innumerable trials and sufferings, the community has glow-

ed like an open flower. There were among South African Indians, to quote a phrase of Stevenson, at this stage of their development, old men near to an end of life's adventurous journey, maids thrilling with curiosity and fear on the threshold of entrance, women who had borne and buried children, who could remember the clinging of small dead hands and the patter of little feet now silent, and among all those faces there were few of expectation, none that was mobile, none into which the rhythm and poetry of life had entered. The poor miserable Indian labourer, working in a strange land under stranger master, would study the living gallery before him with despair, and would seem himself go on to waste his days in that joyless, mirthless place, and then death would come to him, and the spirit of earth laugh out in a thunder-peal at the huge fiasco of existence. It will be true to say that there were thousands of unknown workers in the plantations of Natal, and in the remote and desolate countryside of the Transvaal whose names have disappeared without the least trace like a stone cast into the waters. There is something in the character of South Africa which produces utter loneliness. If we leave Johannesburg or Durban, Pretoria or Cape Town, and move through the countryside, we will find the enormous contrast between the beautiful Indian countryside, and the lonely deserted South African farms. For miles you do not see a face on the Transvaal landscape and man seems to be wholly out of tune with nature. There are neither smiling and cheerful faces, which relieve the monotony of one's travels in our own countryside, nor the carefully tended fields and gardens of our beautiful country. There seems no contact between man and his surroundings. Throughout my stay in South Africa, I felt this feeling of aloofness, of utter loneliness, particularly in the Transvaal countryside. Curiously enough, Buchan, who came to South Africa, as a member of Milner's *Kindergarten*, received the same impressions, and he has recorded them in his reminiscence entitled, *Memory Lock the Door*. Buchan states "A hundred Johannes-

burgs would not change the character of South Africa. It is utter aloofness from life. It seems not to take the impress of man. Its history is as evanescent as a cloud-shadow. There is nothing cruel in the blue days or starry nights, the tempests, and droughts and summer heats, but there is something eternally aloof. South Africa is so divinely inhuman, so superbly inhuman."

Mahatma Gandhi's agitation had resulted in the abolition of the three-pound tax, the recognition of Indian marriages, and of 'vested rights,' whatever it may mean. Indians regarded it as a signal victory, and the country soon after threw itself into the war of 1914. During the war the Indian issue receded into the background, and India herself emerged from it with a new status and a highly developed feeling of nationalism. Her trade grew by leaps and bounds, and the Indian people were reawakened to a feeling of their ancient splendour, and a consciousness of their strength. India took a keenet interest in the work of her children abroad, and resented the laws which had been passed by a succession of South African Governments. The Indian had now become indispensable in the public economy both of Natal and the Transvaal, and the Indian storekeeper in the country districts of the Transvaal made special efforts to attract Native custom, and showed great tact in dealing with the Natives. He regarded the Native's money as good as the European's and showed him an elaborate and ornate courtesy which acted like a magnet and which naturally attracted Natives of all classes to their Indian dealer. The Jewish trader was no match for the Indian storekeeper, and the Dutch farmer proved helpless against the shrewdness, ingenuity and astuteness of the Indian trader.

The tendency of South African leadership to personify political issues enabled the Government to launch a series of laws against the Indian in spite of the solemn promises which representatives of the Union Government had made at the Imperial Conference in London in 1917. Mr. Burton had then

declared that he did not despair of a satisfactory solution. The solution was unfortunately not found, and South Africa, immediately after the war, started a systematic depression of Indian rights which is still going on. A silver lining to the cloud was supplied by the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which the Indians regarded as their Magna Charta. Natal found that the Indians had come to stay, and she decided to ring herself with a series of regulations on licenses which were deeply felt by the Indian community. The Indian peril was, in the eyes of the European, different from the Native peril. The Indian had become his strong rival in the economic sphere and the Union Government now started a series of laws which have handicapped the Indian community. In 1919 further trading licenses were stopped, and the regulations then in force were tightened. Natal and the Transvaal joined hands, and the Lange Commission was appointed in 1920 to enquire into the Indian problem. The Commission recommended trading segregation, the establishment on a voluntary basis of segregated residences, uniformity of licensing laws and limitation of farm ownership in Natal. The European tried to lump together Natives, Coloureds and Indians under the common designation of Non-Europeans. This was outrageous. Mrs. Millin, one of the most brilliant writers South Africa has produced, wrote "The Asiatic and the Kaffir, the descendants of the nation that cradled all the religions of the world and the savage of the Kraal are classed together." It is an ironical situation. But the Eurafrican (Coloured), he in whose veins runs the corruption of white and black, he is to be classed with the white man." As Mr. Calpin says in his brilliant work *There are no South Africans*, "the Indian was a reminder of a subterfuge that made the white man's supremacy possible, and was fast proving in every sphere he was allowed to enter that he was the White Man's equal. His presence disturbed a European complacency that might have continued for decades as far as any Native advance endangered it. Behind the Indians (in South Africa), though in the distance, was

the new India advancing to a premier position in trade and in political responsibility." Indians might excuse the Afrikaner for his prejudice against colour, as his heroes, the Voortrekkers, had to fight their way through desperate struggles against an overwhelming mass of Natives, against Bantus in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa. Segregation had become part of his political creed, and he wrongly indentified it with the Calvinistic doctrine that God had already fixed who were the elect and had decided that the Native was not one of them. In the *Volksraad* Voortrekkers had passed the following resolution. "The people shall not admit of equality between white and black either in Church or State." This resolution was passed by the Dutch National Assembly, in the *Volksraad* in 1845. The Afrikaner applied this law remorselessly wherever he went, and segregation became an integral part of his political and religious creed. Segregation was thus interwoven with the texture of South African life, and any denial of the dominant creed was regarded as a political crime of the greatest import. True, there are still a handful of Cape Liberals who have held aloft the banner of political freedom, but their number has diminished considerably and they are now content with a verbal protest. Men like Hofmeyer, Advocate Alexander, M. P. and others are an ornament to their race, but their voices are crying in the wilderness, and have no influence in the public life of their land. When the Afrikaner comes into towns he insists on security—racial, spiritual and economic, and regards segregation as the sole means of maintaining his supremacy in the land which he has colonised.

With the Englishman of Natal the case was wholly different. The proclamation of 1843 had guaranteed freedom to all persons, irrespective of race and colour, and as the Natalian had been keen on importing the Indian and thereby building up the sugar industry, he could not alienate one part of the British Commonwealth of Nations by subjecting the Indians to humiliating laws and regulations. Nevertheless, he forgot about the Empire and its obligations

when the Indian began to develop his talent, and joined hands with the Dutch in a determined attack on the rights of the Indian community. The Natal Provincial Council passed an Ordinance, which was thrice vetoed by the Smuts Government, for the abolition of the Indian municipal franchise. After the defeat of the Smuts Government at election, General Hertzog came into power, and he launched a vigorous campaign for the "settlement" of the native question. Between 1919 and 1925 many regulations were adopted which aimed at restricting the Indians from acquiring property. At the same time a clamour rose for a stricter policy of compulsory segregation. Hertzog assented in 1924 to the iniquitous Natal Ordinance which took away from Indians the municipal franchise. This was a most unjust and cruel measure, and was a flagrant violation of a solemn promise. The second attack was made in 1925 in the Class Areas Bill which was sponsored by Dr. Malan with the intention of implementing residential segregation. Dr. Malan declared, "I must say that the Bill frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population, and no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in South Africa. But, on the other hand, the method of dealing with this question will not be the employment of any forcible means. The method which the Bill will propose will be the application of pressure to supplement the inducement which is held out to Indians to leave the country."

The Government of India took up the matter on the representation of the Indians in South Africa, and a Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India was held in 1927. The result was the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which is a landmark in the Indian struggle for freedom. It is deservedly regarded as their Magna Charta. The policy adumbrated in the Class Areas Bill was given up. The Agreement declared that "the Union Government firmly

believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities. The Union Government accept the view that in the provision of education and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population shall not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people." Both Governments recognised that Indians domiciled in the Union who were prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so. The uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement provided, *inter alia*, for a Commission of Enquiry into education of Indians in Natal. It agreed to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which included the question of (1) the appointment of an advisory committee of representative Indians and, (2) the limitation of the sale of municipal land to restrictive conditions. Provision was also made to facilitate the grant of trading licenses. This agreement was the first of its kind in the Union, and it was regarded by both countries as inaugurating a new era in the relationship of the two races. Finally, the Areas Reservation Bill was withdrawn, and the Government of India gave assurance of their readiness to facilitate repatriation of Indians. The Government of India honoured its pledge, and 17,000 Indians were repatriated to India. The Indian community in South Africa had not been consulted during the formative stages of discussions in Cape Town and when the decision on repatriation was announced, the community opposed the clause regarding repatriation. A new body called the Colonial born and Indian Settler's Association was formed to fight the clause, and the scheme of the Cape Town Agreement could not be carried out in its entirety. Only 17,000 Indians came forward, and even they found the mental and social climate of India uncongenial. Many went back to Natal, while others pined away in their new homes, and

died disillusioned. The second Round Table Conference, therefore, was obliged to state in 1932, that the possibilities of repatriation were exhausted, and since that time, there has been no talk of repatriation of Indians.

It is essential to note that the Cape Town Agreement did not settle the question of political freedom for Indians. It was concerned mainly with the domain of social justice, and not political freedom. It left untouched numerous harsh laws which had been passed against the Indian race, both in Natal and the Transvaal, since 1885. Again, the Cape Town Agreement was never implemented by the Union Government, and shortly after it had been signed, the Union Parliament distinguished itself by passing severe and harsh laws against the Indian community. General Hertzog was busy at the same time developing his principles of "segregation" with remorseless logic, and the Beaumont Commission set apart 87 per cent of the best part of the countryside for the Europeans, and 13 per cent was left for the Natives, though the latter were four times the number of Europeans. The 13 per cent reserved for the Natives was naturally the worst and was by no means the most fertile land. The principles of "colour bar" were remorselessly applied by the Hertzog Ministry to industry. For the first time, a one-clause Colour Bar Act was passed by General Hertzog in 1926 with the object of safeguarding the employment of Europeans in industry. Since that time, non-Europeans have been rigorously excluded from all semi-skilled and skilled trades, and European Trade Unions in South Africa have enforced this clause strictly. Cases have occurred recently in which Native workmen were not allowed to build houses which were part of a municipal housing scheme, as European Trade Unions insisted on the work of brick layers and masons being reserved for "white labour." The cost of employing white labour is about eight times that of Native labour, yet the municipalities had to acquiesce, as European Trade Unions threatened to take action if white labour was not employed. Again, for the first time, all non-Europeans including Indians were lumped together.

The "white labour" policy was further extended in the Mines and Works Amendment Act, 1926, which effectively monopolised all semi-skilled and skilled work for Europeans in the mines. The effect of the Colour Bar Act on the employment of Indians was disastrous. About 6,000 Indians were employed in the railways in 1910. In 1933 this number had been reduced to 562. They were also reduced in other offices to 217 in 1940. The coal-fields of Natal had been worked mainly by Indians in the past, up to about 1918. Their number in 1933 had been reduced to 609, and it has been reduced still further since. I found the number of Indian workers in the principal coal-mines near Dundee, which I visited in 1942, to be ridiculously small.

The Cape Town Agreement had promised a few minor concessions to Indians. Unfortunately these promises have not been redeemed. The Agreement has remained a dead letter, and no attempt has been made to implement its clauses. The Durban Corporation has done little to implement the clause relating to housing schemes for Indians, and the question of Indian housing in Durban has been a source of constant friction between the two countries. Schemes have been drawn up, and a few houses have been built here and there, but there is no attempt to solve the problem on a comprehensive basis. Had the Durban Corporation launched a scheme for Indian housing in 1928, the Indian problem would have been automatically solved. The Pegging Bill would not have been passed, as penetration by Indians into European areas is due wholly to the lack of decent houses for middle class Indians in Durban. No houses have so far been built for Indian working men and congestion in Indian quarters is indescribable.

The Cape Town Agreement failed to achieve the objects for which the Conference had been convened as it provided no machinery for implementing its resolutions and its provisions were not binding upon local authorities, who elaborately ignored them and contemptuously set them

aside. Tribute must, however, be paid to the sincerity and sympathy shown by Dr. Malan.

In 1932 the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill was passed into law and the Feetham Commission was appointed to demarcate areas where Indians could reside. Then came another Bill called the Interim Bill in 1939. The Interim Act put the coping stone to the edifice, and the Indian in the country districts of the Transvaal cannot purchase a piece of land even for his school. The Bill was regarded as a temporary measure pending the report of the Commission presided over by Mr. Justice Broome. The object of the Commission was to enquire into the extent of penetration by Indians into European areas in the Transvaal and Natal. The Broome Commission toured throughout the principal centres of the two provinces and came to the conclusion that there was no appreciable increase in the Transvaal, while in Durban there was certainly penetration, but it was not on a large scale. The second World War was declared immediately after the Bill had been passed, and it was the considered opinion of all experienced men that nothing should be done to disturb the relations between the two countries at a time when the Empire was locked in a deadly grip with a merciless foe. Here, too, Natal broke the truce and started the cry of Indian penetration. There was undoubtedly penetration into European areas, but it was not on such an unprecedented scale as to subject the community to a most humiliating measure. Justice Broome was again appointed a Commissioner to enquire into the extent of penetration into European areas, and he showed that Indians had purchased 326 houses in the Old Borough of Durban. This was an excellent excuse for Natal. The Natal members took up the cry, and General Smuts decided to introduce a Bill to introduce segregation in Durban with the possibility of its extension to rural areas. The Bill also incorporated the Interim Bill for the Transvaal. This was most unfair, as the first Broome Commission had conclusively shown that there was no penetration by In-

dians in the Transvaal. The Bill for the first time introduced segregation for Natal, in a province where Indians had resided for nearly 83 years, at a time when Indian troops had covered themselves with glory in the service of the Empire. It had the support of General Smuts who had preached to the Salvation Army two days before the introduction of the Bill, at Johannesburg, on the sanctity of human rights and had denounced the idea of a master race. A month later he published an inspiring address to the oppressed nations of Europe. Those who wish to study the depth of prejudice against the Indian community should study the debate in the Union Assembly that took place in April 1943. It was denounced in brilliant speeches by Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Molteno and Mr. Hemming, all of whom are Native Representatives, yet when a division was taken on the second reading only these three members voted against it, and, with the exception of 5 Europeans, including the brilliant Minister of Finance, Mr. Hofmeyer, all European members voted for it. The division on the second reading showed the intensity of European feeling on the Indian question, and the total disregard of Indian rights and Indian feeling on the subject. The act has produced a most unfortunate impression on India, while the enemy powers, such as Germany and Japan, have utilised it most effectively in their propaganda. To Japan, it was doubly welcome, as it strengthened Japan's campaign of Asia for Asiatics and gave her a handle for attack on British Imperialism. In India, every section was roused, and all Indians felt deeply humiliated by the Act. I may refer here to an excellent article in a periodical, *Common Sense*, for May 1943, published at Johannesburg. The writer of the article is Professor J. L. Gray of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

"How We Misgovern Our Indians"

"A measure commonly known as the Indian penetration bill has been rushed with indecent haste through both houses of Parliament. In the assembly three

able and independent members voted against it; the Senate passed it without a division. The Dominion Party is revealed as standing for dominion over the helpless offshoots of another potential dominion, as a party working for the disintegration of the British Commonwealth and for the growth of domestic Fascism. We see, moreover, how fond were hopes that the Labour Party would ever lead this country towards a more liberal and juster society. Except with pro-Government politicians in Natal, and Nationalist (Dutch) politicians everywhere, it has not been a popular Bill. The press supporting the Government either damned it with faint praise or damned it outright. The Government of India, backed by all shades of public opinion, protested against it in that country with the utmost vehemence. It can hardly have been well received, where it was noticed, in Britain or America. A taint of conscious injustice and oppression, of hypocrisy and intrigue, infected the air while its pros and cons were being debated. The infection did not spare the Prime Minister, who made an unusually maladroit speech. Only the Minister of the Interior (who is also the Minister of Public Health) seemed unaware of the prevailing odour of corruption. He evoked our admiration, even if we must withhold our esteem, by his manner of presenting the Bill as if it were a bouquet of roses or another desert victory.

"South Africa has taken one more step down the broad and slippery path which can end only in the hell of racial strife and national disaster. Peaceful solutions of our small Indian problem are now as unlikely as a solution without rebellion of the greater Indian problem in that sub-continent which is our near and powerful neighbour. We have done our little best to wreck allied unity and make nonsense of the political strategy of a war waged for democracy. As Mrs. Ballinger well said, we have failed to govern and take refuge in merely legislating. We have done it now, rather than last year or next year, as a common vote-catching device. There are a few among us who do not

deplore it as a sorry and a sordid business.

"The Bill does two things. It extends indefinitely the Pegging of Indian trading and property-occupation in the Transvaal. It introduces for the first time a similar prohibition of further Indian purchase or occupation of property in Durban, and gives power to the Governor General, after due enquiry, to extend the prohibition to other areas in Natal. The findings of the Broome Commission, as Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer rightly argued, give no warrant for the Transvaal legislation. For Durban the facts adduced by the Commissioner seemed to the Government to disclose a grave situation in relation to residential (not trading) sites, demanding immediate action.

"To understand the meaning of these facts, they must be seen against the background of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, negotiated by Dr. Malan, ratified by Parliament and not since abrogated. This agreement implicitly repudiated a policy of residential or other segregation and recognised in plain terms that Indians who were prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so. The penetration by Indians of suitable living areas in Durban and their investment in real estate are therefore logical consequences of the Agreement. Indifferent to logic, many Europeans in Durban find these consequences very unpleasant. It is certain that some solution is required, not involving the indiscriminate residential mixing of Indians and Europeans. But the present Bill is no solution at all. It fails to deal with causes and plans no lasting remedy; by exacerbating feelings it sabotages our hopes of a voluntary agreement and makes repression almost inevitable.

"The facts moreover, when properly analysed, do not show the position to be nearly so serious and acute as the Government pretend. The main controversy relates to the Old Borough, whose population is less than 60% of the Durban total for all races, but 75% European. There in 1942, lived 81,000 Europeans in uneasy juxtaposition to 25,000 Indians. Both groups have increased at the

same rate (5δ%) since the Cape Town Agreement in 1927. Europeans own 12,782 sites of a value of 35 million pounds and Indians 1,783 of a value of 4 million pounds. It is conceded that Indians must live somewhere, and parts of the area are generously designed by the Durban City Council as predominantly Indian in character—no more than 4% in fact, of the total acreage of the Borough; Indians have been buying houses there since 1927, as they did before; since 1940 at a greatly accelerated pace. About 65% of all their purchases of property since 1927 have taken place in these areas, the rest valued at one million pounds, in other areas. The latter constitute the bone of contention. The number of sites in question is 838, of which half are in areas either closely contiguous to Indian areas and in process of becoming predominantly Indian or in areas of considerable Indian infiltration, although still mainly European. The remaining half are in European areas. Not all the 838 sites are Indian occupied. Less than a quarter are, and these mostly in areas contiguous to purely Indian neighbourhoods. No doubt many Indians would, under present circumstances, wish to occupy more of the houses they have bought. But they assert that, were they offered decent and varied housing amenities in areas set aside as purely Indian, they would prefer to segregate themselves. They have not been given any opportunity of being proved liars. It is common ground that the Durban City Council has shamefully neglected the housing of Indians and has even tried to oust them from one of the few Indian areas (Riverside) which happened to have some desirable residential amenities. The facts then disclose no large scale penetration for immediate menace to Durban European residents, although they call for a far-sighted policy of town planning. To lend support for a weak case, paltry and ambiguous arguments have been used by Cabinet Ministers. General Smuts poured scorn upon Indians for buying real estate, demanding that they should buy war loans instead, while failing to enjoin the European sellers (and the rest of us)

to do the same. He completely ignored the vital fact that European owners have already power to insert an anti-Asiatic clause in the title deeds of their land. He declared that Durban must be kept a European city. Durban is today, and always has been a mixed city, like all cities, in South Africa. Indians form 47% of its population. To break up Durban into two cities, one for Indians and one for pale faces, would be impossible. It cannot be what the Prime Minister had in mind, since that would require a very different Bill from the one he was defending. The present Bill leaves Durban a mixed city merely preventing Indians from living decently in it. They are promised a good time in the future at the hands of the City Council ruled by their enemies and goaded to beneficence by an inimical Government—provided they sign an admission of guilt now and take their punishment like men. Their leaders are right to be sceptical."

The passage of the Pegging Bill (Appendix A for text) into law in April, 1943, had serious repercussions in India. Every party in India opposed it with determination, and the Government of India launched a vigorous protest against the obnoxious measure. It was opposed in South Africa by Mr. Hofmeyer, Deputy Prime Minister, as well as by a number of leading Cape Liberals, who were obliged to maintain silence owing to the proximity of the general election to the Union Assembly. Even newspapers which had hitherto consistently supported the Government attacked the measure. Mention should be made here of the selfless services rendered to the liberal cause, in this issue, by Mr. Rayer Ellis, editor of the *"Rand Daily Mail"*, and Mr. A. G. Calpin, editor of the *"Natal Witness"*. Mr. Calpin sacrificed a brilliant journalistic career for the Indian cause, and he subjected the Pegging Bill to withering criticism. At the general election, the Government won an overwhelming victory. Natal was solid in its support of the Bill for the simple reason that the Indian community was deprived of parliamentary franchise in 1896, and an anti-Indian cry is the surest way to success at the polls.

The agitation in India assumed serious proportions, and it was intensified by the propaganda in England and U. S. A. A compromise was arrived at with the Union Government at Pretoria in April, 1944, whereby the leaders of the Natal Indian Congress voluntarily gave up their right to occupy houses in European areas but they retained the right to unrestricted ownership. Questions of juxtaposition were to be considered by a Licensing Board which was to consist of a European chairman, and two representatives each of the Europeans and Indians. The Pretoria Agreement was arrived at without consultation with the High Commissioner, who was then at Cape Town. The leaders of the Natal Indian Congress were summoned to Pretoria on Monday and signed the Pretoria Pact the following day. It was physically impossible for the High Commissioner to give advice on these issues. The Government of India were informed of it only after it had been agreed to by the Union Government and the Natal Indian Congress. The second point to be considered in this connection is that the Indian community gave up the right to occupation in European areas as an interim arrangement, pending the publication of Report of the Broome Commission. On the publication of the Report of the Commission, the Congress reserved the right to formulate a definite policy on the issue. In the third place, the Pretoria Pact does not embody the policy of the Government of India on this issue. The latter were not a party to it but as the two main parties had come to an agreement, they were justified in acquiescing in it. Had they refused, the whole of South Africa would have been involved in a bitter racial strife and the Indian community in the Union would have lost the sympathy and support of the moderate elements of the European population. The Government of India have been consistently opposed to residential segregation by statute, and the incorporation of the Pretoria Pact in an ordinance of the Natal Provincial Council has not modified this policy, as the Pact was not initiated by the Government of India, and

they merely acquiesced in an arrangement which had been arrived at between the Union Government and the Natal Indian Congress. Voluntary undertaking by Indian leaders not to occupy European residential areas stands on a different footing altogether, but it does not negative the basic policy of the Government of India and the Indian community, which aims at the abolition of all forms of segregation—residential, industrial, political and civic—and the grant of complete equality to the Indian race in the Union. Pacts and undertakings are temporary expedients and are designed solely to tide over a period of racial strife. I may add that in this article, as well as in other speeches published in this volume, I am solely responsible and the Government of India have no responsibility, direct or indirect, for the views expressed here.

The Pretoria Pact was embodied in a draft Ordinance and was referred to a Select Committee of the Natal Provincial Council. It was expected that the Ordinance will be passed, and the pledge given by the Prime Minister will be honoured. Mr. Hofmeyer, who acted as Prime Minister during General Smuts's absence in England, spared no efforts to implement the Pact. Mr. Hofmeyer is the ablest statesman in the Union of South Africa, and his sympathy with the Indian cause has won him millions of supporters amongst non-Europeans. Unfortunately, a section of European opinion was strongly opposed to the Pact, and intense agitation was organised by vested interests for three months. The campaign of racial strife which was now launched was without parallel in the chequered history of this province. The supporters of the Pact now began to diminish and a number were obliged through fear of social ostracism and withdrawal from public life to support the new movement of racial arrogance and supremacy. The draft Ordinance as it emerged from the Select Committee modified the Pretoria Pact on essential points. Instead of conceding unrestricted right of ownership, it restricted this right and thus deprived the Indian community of a right which it had exercised since its arrival in Natal

in 1863. The reactions of India to this violation of a solemn agreement were prompt. The Indian Legislative Assembly discussed the subject in an atmosphere charged with electricity, and the Government of India enforced the Reciprocity Act against a handful of South Africans in India.

These are the unsavoury details of a controversy which has seriously affected the relations between the two countries and has subjected the Indian race to fresh humiliations precisely at a time when the Atlantic Charter was propagated by the organised power of the United Nations throughout the world.

At the present time, colour bar has reached proportions which are incredible in any place outside South Africa. In the Natal University College, there are separate rooms for European candidates and Indian candidates for degree examinations, and separate lecturers are appointed for Indian and European students. Transport, places of entertainment, hotels and tea-rooms, benches in the parks, railway compartments, post office counters, booking office counters, are all separate. Yet, in the best Indian families in Durban there is little difference between an Indian home and a European home. The cultured, graceful and well appointed rooms and houses of middle class Indians are in no way inferior to those of the Europeans who belong to the same class of society. In intellectual calibre the Indian is in no way inferior to the European. In spite of inhuman laws, which the prejudice and arrogance of Natal have piled up, the Indian has forged ahead, and is determined to survive the struggle for racial existence. These laws, while they disturbed the internal repose of the community, have sharpened the intellect and toughened the fibre of the Indian people. They have become more self-determined and self-reliant, and have built up a solid structure of leadership which has produced new and characteristic institutions—signs and symbols of their own peculiar quality of mind. In each town of Natal, the specific genius-loci meets us face to face; from each temple or mosque in picturesque

villages dotted all over this beautiful country, the soul of some great Indian pioneer leans forth to greet the new comer. Indians are ineligible for any public office; and are debarred from all skilled industries, and few Europeans will accept them as apprentices. Yet in spite of cruel and inhuman laws against ownership of land and trading, the doggedness and intelligence of even the poorest sections of the race have triumphed over these obstacles. The whole root and core and brain of the growing Indian community, on which and around which the Indians have built up the agriculture and industry of Natal, show that the warm blood of movement and energy is coursing down their hardening veins. They send a large number of their sons and daughters for education to England and India; in South African colleges, too, Indian students are doing brilliantly. The more they advance, the greater is the fear of the European and the more severe the laws that are passed against them. This fear is wholly unreasonable, as the Indian, belonging as he does to a highly gifted race, can be of the highest service to South Africa, if he is given his freedom. He has shown all over the world that in the development of new countries he is indispensable. He has shown this in Burma, East Africa, Mauritius and other places. The Indian community has the consciousness of young and potent energy within it and few Indians are deflected from their course even by severe laws which mock their freedom and humiliate their race. No law has done greater harm to the relations between the two countries than the Pegging Act of 1943. It has dragged the fair name of South Africa into the mire; it has given a unique opportunity to Axis propagandists; and it has fanned the flame of racial strife between the two races throughout the Union. It has also roused a deep and passionate resentment in every nook and corner of India. India will see to it that not only this law, but also a host of similar laws are modified, if not scrapped. She may not be able to do it this year or next, but racial memories are tenacious, and New India must insist on justice being done to men of

her race in the Union.

As one who is an admirer of South African people and their culture, I am bound to confess that the colour bar involves greater discrimination, and inflicts greater hardship, in South Africa, than in other parts of Africa. Other parts of Africa have not gone to that extent, and East Africa is comparatively liberal in her treatment, while French Africa administers humane laws and offers good opportunities for advancement to every section of the population. The average European in South Africa is personally one of the most pleasant men one could meet, and I have nothing but affection and respect for his fine qualities. It would be difficult to find a better type of manhood in any other part of Africa. He belongs to a young country, and is gifted with initiative, enterprise and virility. I have the greatest admiration for his personal qualities, and will always recall with pleasure the kindness and courtesy I received during my sojourn in that pleasant land. In country districts, he is most hospitable and kind, and personal merit to him is a passport which carries the meanest into the most illustrious company. It is not the men so much as the system which is at fault. For this, the British Parliament must be held partly responsible. It ought to have inserted effective safeguards for the civic rights of the Indian community in the Union of South Africa Act of 1909. The safeguard of a two-thirds majority which the Union Act imposes on matters dealing with the non-Europeans has often been overridden and in times of crises, there is no difficulty in securing a two-thirds majority, as General Hertzog showed during his regime. On the Pegging Act practically all Europeans were united and only three members in a house of 153 voted against the Bill. It is true, of course, that assurances were given to the Coloureds, by Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister, in the House of Commons in 1910, "We do not forget and ought not to forget that besides Briton and Boer, South Africa contains a vast population of His Majesty's coloured subjects, and we may feel the strongest confidence that the same

liberality of treatment which has made Union possible will be as promptly shown to those Coloured races". The position of the Coloureds declined rapidly and it is now only slightly better than that of the Native. Both the political parties have often used the non-European peril as their chief election cry in the past, and General Hertzog chose the Native question as his best election propaganda in 1929, and used the bogey of the rising tide of colour to win a decisive victory over his opponents. "If I wanted to be Prime Minister" exclaimed General Smuts "I would choose no better platform than the Prime Minister's Native Bills."

The Pegging Act marks a turning point in Natal's policy, and the Dominion Party is now committed to the principle of segregation. The platform on which an overwhelming majority of Europeans agree is that of European supremacy and non-European subjection, and whenever any party is bankrupt of ideas it takes up the cry of the Black peril and automatically organises an overwhelming number of Europeans on its side. This was done in 1929, and it has been repeated in 1943. Barring a few European Liberals, who have maintained the liberal traditions of the Cape, such as the Honourable Mr. Hofmeyer, the brilliant Deputy Prime Minister in the Union Government, there is no basic difference of policy in the Union Parliament on the non-European question. General Smuts declared in his speech in the Assembly in April, 1943, "Durban is a European town, and the Government is determined to maintain it as a European town." That this is an absolutely wrong statement will be clear from the statement of Sir Leige Hullet, ex-Prime Minister of Natal, who stated in 1903 that "Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population."

The one man who has tried to do justice to the Indian race is an Afrikaner, Dr. Malan. The Indian community is grateful to him for the Cape Town Agreement, and it is the opinion of many persons in the Union of South Africa that this was the noblest act of his political life. It must,

however, be admitted, that, with individual exceptions, there is no difference in any section of Europeans on the non-European issue. It follows that, owing to lack of effective safeguards in the Union Act of South Africa, the competition between the two main political parties in South Africa for the segregation of the Indian community and other non-Europeans will be maintained, until the few rights which they at present enjoy will be taken away. This will happen on the eve of each general election and the victorious party will be expected to redeem its promise. There is no check to the powers of a Dominion Parliament and it is highly probable that further repressive and cruel laws are in store for the non-European at the end of the present War. The Indian community is not daunted by the prospect. It has risen through struggle, and its position in Natal is so firmly established that it has no intention of giving up the fight. It might have done so a few years ago. It cannot possibly do it now. When India has assumed the sovereignty of her powers, and is determined to make her race respected abroad, she will build up influence in the Union through her trade, which has increased by leaps and bounds, and she will try to convince the Union that discriminatory laws will expose the Union to serious risks.

Instead of improving the position of the Indian and giving him social and political equality, a succession of laws of the utmost severity have put fresh fetters upon his growth and have practically deprived him of power and influence. South Africa has built up the structure of her industry, public life, administration, and civic life, upon colour, and the process of segregation shows no sign of abatement. Owing to her absorption in racial animosities she has not been able to solve any of her national problems. As long as colour bar exists in industry, she cannot be industrialised, as the wages of the white workers have been kept on fantastically high levels, and the cost of production is so high that no foreign country will be prepared to pay exorbitant price for her products. Her prosperity

depends mainly upon gold, and whenever gold mines are exhausted within twenty-six years, she will have to tap her mineral resources, to build up secondary industries. She has not solved any of her racial problems, so far, and the cleavage between the Briton and the Boer, which is rigid and inflexible, shows no sign of diminution.

The intellectual and spiritual rigidity of the ruling race in South Africa is due mainly to the fear of the Bantu race, which has been transmitted from generation to generation by the Afrikaners, and dominates their life and thought. You find this fear in the minds of the greatest leaders of South Africa, as well as of the humblest white worker, and this almost ridiculous flaw in the majestic machinery of their intellectual equipment induces those vast turbines to shake thunderously at trivial moments or over trifling incidents. It is not a momentary fear, but a high and constant source of anxiety. We have as a consequence the amazing spectacle of the most brilliant leaders of South Africa, both acute and strenuous in their own region of activity, who preach the sanctity of human rights, expound the spiritual supremacy of man over Nazism, and visualise the Atlantic Charter as a great river of intellectual freedom which should serve as an inspiration to all oppressed nations, in their dealings with the Indian community, showing a cynical disregard for the few rudimentary rights which have been left to that voteless and helpless community. It is clear that these beautiful phrases are intended solely for export to foreign countries. The alternation of their technique between lavish exuberance on the Atlantic Charter and icy reserve on the disabilities and humiliation of the Indian race in South Africa, their passion for the architectural in life and ideology, and their predilection for the less standardised forms in their dealings with the Indian community, have often aroused ironic comments in the United States of America as well as in India and Russia. It will be true to say that in such cases we pass from the philosopher to the statesman, from the statesman to the Parliamentarian, from the Parliamentarian to the lobbyist and

from the latter to the segregationist, by successive stages of transmutation, as the faculty to translate their ethereal theories to the stubborn facts of their domestic policy withers away. In such case, we find that they are too apt to allow prejudice to intrude upon their faith, and dim the high ideals which they fervently preach abroad. They are dominated by the segregation policy of their fanatical followers, over which the latter have brooded until their spirit passes over into the life and thought of their leader.

A question may well be asked, are there any other forces in the Union which tend to mitigate the horrors of the Colour Bar? The Church could be expected to protest strongly against a policy which is wholly at variance with the basic principles of Christianity. Missionaries at the Cape acted as centres of national vitality in the middle of the last century, though it must be confessed that the unbalanced advocacy of the Native cause by impulsive missionaries like Dr. Phillips left a legacy of bitterness in the minds of many Afrikaners which is not conducive to good relations. The Church also moulded the Cape Liberal tradition for nearly half a century and bridged over the chasm between the Europeans and non-Europeans. At the present time the Church as an institution has rarely been outspoken in its condemnation of the present system. There are brave men in the Church, such as Dean Palmer, who have preached the gospel of human brotherhood, but it will be true to say that the Church has not given a lead to the laity, and emphasised that conception of communion through knowledge, which God manifests in His works and in the soul of all men, whether European or non-European, which constitutes the indestructible religion of science and of humanity. Had it done so, had it exercised at least the detachment, the unworldliness of the Christian missionaries of the last century and lent a helping hand to men who had come to Natal from the morning-land of civilisation, its touch on Indian sentiments would have been like the finger of deity giving life to the dead. It must be confessed that the special interests of the European in Natal

have destroyed the energy of missionary zeal, and the Church is probably afraid of losing its hold upon its European flock if it takes too prominent a part in criticising the dominant creed. The attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church on the non-European question has never been in doubt. Some of the Predikants of the Church are also active politicians, and they sincerely believe that the Calvinistic doctrine lays down that God had already fixed who were the elect and had decided that the Native was not one of them. The official attitude of the Afrikaner may be summed up in the following words, "We are not called to grant the Native anything which is not in accord with our own interests." Both these doctrines are tenaciously held by Afrikaners as a body, and their ablest exponent is Dr. Malan, the leader of the Dutch Reformed Church as well as opposition leader in the Union Parliament. It is sufficient to state that we miss in this doctrine the broad commonsense, the mental soundness, the generous instinct and the sympathy with humanity which give charm and grace to the most brilliant Calvinists of Holland, France, and Scotland. It does not give us a solution of the problems of a normal social organism, and has never been used with success by any country or race in any age. The system implies an inversion of the basic laws of health in the body politic. What a difference between the mental obliquity of this political philosophy and the humane outlook of a succession of brilliant theologians of Holland and Scotland? What would Erasmus have said on the folly of segregation?

While the church has singularly failed to give a lead to South Africa on this issue, the University of Witwatersrand has been the chief source of inspiration to non-Europeans throughout the Union. It has maintained the highest traditions of liberalism in the Union, and its band of distinguished professors has given encouragement to all movements for freedom. Principal Raikes has won the admiration and esteem of all non-Europeans for his sympathy and interest. I would like to mention here another

person in the University, who has rendered signal service to the liberal cause in South Africa. Mr. Glyn Thomas, Registrar of the University, has shown great kindness and sympathy in all matters which affect non-Europeans. His intellectual pre-eminence and charming personality are a great asset to the institution. It sustained a serious loss in the death of Professor Hoernle, whose great ability and sacrifices for non-Europeans are gratefully remembered by thousands of his friends in the country. There are, of course, instances of South African leaders, great in all mental qualities, but helplessly adrift upon a sea of contradictions whenever the non-European issue obtrudes itself upon their attention. It automatically disturbs their equilibrium, and blunts their instincts. This charge cannot be levelled against the Race Relations Committee, which includes such well known persons as Professor R. F. A. Hoernle, Mr. Rheinalt Jones, Dr. Edgar Brookes, Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Douglas Buchanan. The greatest of these friends of the non-Europeans is the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyer. He has undoubtedly the finest intellect in South Africa and he has practised what he has preached and sacrificed his career on several occasions for his principles. It is likely that in a comparatively short time Mr. Hofmeyer will be at the helm of supreme power in the Union, and it is our earnest hope and belief that he will prove the saviour of South Africa. He has not merely intellect of the highest order, but also faith, hope, enthusiasm and a solidity of character which have made him pre-eminent among South Africa's leaders. I am convinced that unless a man of Hofmeyer's calibre holds a position of primacy, the Union will be exposed to imminent risks owing to the condensed rage of eight million non-Europeans. The country has so many rigid and inflexible elements, racial and economic, that unless a determined attempt is made to fuse them on humane principles they will drift apart, and break up the Union.

Let me now deal with the policy of the South African Labour Party. Its critics assert that the Labour Party

in the Union is a curious amalgam of contradictory principles, and it has neither a consistent programme, nor a clear ideology. Socialist writers in foreign countries have dealt candidly with the ideology of South African Labour Party and dissected its amazing amalgam of socialism with privilege in a spirit of levity and banter. To use a fine expression of Olive Schriener on another occasion, it is an amazing blend of heterogeneous weakness in different stages of development and of cohesion with one another, underlying and overlying each other like the varying strata of confused geological formations. Its critics declare that it represents less the collective and spontaneous Marxism, and triumph of Socialism, than the aggregate of individual mediocrities animated by a common desire to exclude the non-European from every grade of skilled and semi-skilled work, and prevent him from reaching even the lowest rung of industrial labour. These remarks apply only to Trade Unions, and are not applicable to Socialist organisations in South Africa.

The critics go further, and state that in the South African Labour Party all shades of imperialism and racialism are represented, such as social-imperialism, social-chauvinism, social-patriotism, pacifism, the revolutionary repudiation of racial equality, Afrikaner-nationalism, and full blooded segregationism leading logically to full fascism in its dealings with non-Europeans. South Africa has also its problem of poor whites as there are 300,000 mean whites and poor whites in a European population of two millions. This element is, if anything, more bitter against colour than the middle class as not intellect or character but white skin is the chief investment of this class, and it swells the ranks of the Labour Party. The Labour Party regards the "white labour" policy as its basic doctrine and it has succeeded in eliminating all non-Europeans from all grades of skilled and unskilled work.

It is, however, essential to understand the point of the white trade unionist. The European in South Africa has

maintained a high standard of living, and he is afraid of the lowering of this standard if the non-European is allowed to do skilled work. It is in the interest of the capitalist to employ cheap labour, which in South Africa means non-European labour, and unless the employer is restrained from following this policy, the European worker will be displaced by the non-European or his standard of living will be brought down to the level of the non-European. The Chamber of Mines in the Transvaal did, as a matter of fact, try to break down the monopoly of skilled and semi-skilled positions which the European enjoyed, and something akin to a revolution broke out in the Witwatersrand in 1922, when 216 lives were lost. European trade unionists have, therefore, supported every application of the colour bar. The attitude of a typical European is best described in a novel by Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin, a brilliant South African novelist. One of the characters writes a letter from the Rand in 1922, "The reason I am on strike is because they want the niggers to do the white men's work in the mines. If we don't look out, the niggers will be bossing the white men. I say, keep them down, or the buck niggers will be everybody and we will be niggers' niggers. I am on strike to save the white people of South Africa, and that is why I am hard up."

According to the Carnegie Commission of 1932 on the poor whites of South Africa, they constitute 22 per cent. of the white population. Of this number, 34 per cent were living below the normal sustenance level, 20 per cent were so poor that they paid no taxes, while only 3 per cent enjoyed normal standards of living. Many of the poor whites are mentally and physically decrepit and the poorer they are the larger the number of their children. I have seen thousands of poor whites along the eastern Cape from Cape Town to East London, a distance of about 750 miles.

The consequences of white labour policy have been disastrous. It has made white labourer one of the best paid workers in the world and his wages are even higher than those of Australian workmen. Next, owing to

monopoly of all skilled and semi-skilled trades, and the absence of competition, he is less efficient than an English or American workman; next, it violates elementary principles of economics, and will prevent South Africa from building up any basic industry, after the gold mines have been exhausted in about 26 years. Again, it perpetrates gross injustice upon non-Europeans in general and the Indian race in particular. The Indian worker in Durban and elsewhere has shown amazing skill and adaptability in learning high-skilled trades, and he is no whit inferior to the European worker in any type of work. Yet he is debarred from entry to the skilled trade solely because of his skin. Indian trade unionists in Durban have recently succeeded in getting many Indians into some skilled and semi-skilled trades but this is temporary and thousands of Indians will be thrown out of employment with the end of the war. The white labour policy has, therefore, proved a serious obstacle to South Africa's industrial progress. Farsighted men in South Africa have admitted this, but they are helpless in the face of the organized opposition of Trade Unions.

The happiest sign of the times is the formation of Indian Trade Unions in Natal. They are a dynamic element in the Indian community and the future of the Indian masses depends upon their healthy growth. They are the clearest indication of the self-consciousness of the Indian workers and I have no doubt that if they are guided by wise counsel, they will prove the most powerful instrument in the social uplift of the Indian community. It is pertinent to observe that representatives of the European Labour Party were whole-hearted supporters of the Pegging Act, and one of the bitterest speeches against the Indian community was made by a Labour M. P. who represents a Transvaal constituency.

The development of modern East Africa is due wholly to the cultural and spiritual work of the Indian race, and it was aided in many respects by Indian merchants from Cambay and other parts of Gujrat. Arabia and India helped for

centuries to make medieval East Africa a centre of art and culture throughout the African continent. India's claim to equality and opportunity, and a share in the political and economic life of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, is based on centuries of uninterrupted intercourse with East Africa. *The Periplus*, a Greek maritime guide, written about 50 B. C. gave a vivid account of a sea route from Persia and Arabia to the land of "Zinj," as the East African coast was called. Along the seaboard of eastern Africa, "they laid the foundation of which the noble edifice of Islamic civilisation was Warisi which endures until the present day" (*Islam Today*). The Greek treatise describes how the merchants of Mocha (in Arabia) made the journey specially to these market towns and others to exchange their cargoes while sailing along the coast. A stream of Persian and Arab settlers settled along the east coast of Africa, and founded the ports of Lamu, Pate, Mombasa and Kilwa. The University of Witwatersrand published in 1938 a translation by Mr. W. Hichens of *Khabar Al-Amu* (A Chronicle of Lamu). The Chronicle gives a graphic account of the settlement of Arabs from Syria on a site north of Mombasa. The Arabs from Syria were joined by their brethren from other parts and established a system of government which gave greater freedom to the Natives than is accorded to them at the present time. I cannot trace here the successive migrations of Arabs from Arabia, Persian Gulf and Syria to the eastern coast of Africa. The great Mosque of Kilwa, whose wing still stands, was erected in the reign of the great Arab ruler, Sulaiman Al-Hasan, 1385 A. D. Mr. Hichens says that "by the dawn of the fourteenth century the fair citadels of Islam lay like a string of pearls along the green cushion of the verdant coast, their marts busy with merchants and seafarers, and caravans trafficking in ivory, spices, gums, slaves and gold from the Sofalan mines." The great Portuguese historian, Duarta Barbosa, gave the following graphic account of the prosperous condition of East Africa in the fifteenth century: "These Moors have dwelt there for a long time by reason

of the great traffic which they carried on with the Heathen of the mainland. And the manner of the traffic was this; they came in small vessels named Zambucos from the Kingdoms of Quilon, Mobaca and Melynde, bringing many cotton cloths, some spotted and others white and blue and some of silk, and many small beads, grey, red and yellow, which things come to the said Kingdoms from the great Kingdom of Cambay in other greater ships. And these wares the said Moors who came from Melynde and Mombaca purchased from others who bring them thither, and paid for in gold, at such price that those merchants departed well pleased. It is a very fair place, with lofty stone and mortar houses well aligned in streets after the fashion of Quilon. The men are in colour either tawny, black or white, and also their women go very bravely attired with many fine garments of silk and gold in abundance." Barbosa's reference to the Cambay merchants shows that Indian traders had established their warehouses all along the coast of East Africa. Hichens says of merchants who came from Cambay and other places in Gujrat and Kathiawar, "Not only had they maintained from the earliest times a rich seaborne traffic with Arabia and Persia and with the African ports, but, and probably prior to the tenth century, they had established themselves and settled upon the coast of Zinj (east coast of Africa). To-day, with this age-long tradition and prestige behind them, the Indian merchant communities, not only upon the coast but in every inland town, still make one of the most important contributions to eastern Africa's commercial progress and stability." The Arabs not only made the ports of East Africa centres of commercial prosperity, they also made them the seats of art and culture. The Swahili language which developed from the impact of Arab culture upon the Natives is spoken by nearly 50 million persons throughout East and Central Africa, and has produced brilliant poets, theologians and scholars. Mr. Hichens, who is a profound scholar of this language and literature, has published a number of works in Swahili Muslim literature.

The Portuguese established a reign of terror in this part for nearly two centuries, but by the end of the seventeenth century their power had been shattered and they were finally driven from the whole coast of Africa north of the Mozambique. With the help of the Imam of Oman, the East African Muslims destroyed the Portuguese power in 1689, and the Arabs recovered their position and prestige for another century and a half. I cannot deal here with the services rendered to this region by the Indians and Arabs for nearly a thousand years, as this will take me too far afield. It is sufficient to state that the Indians in East Africa and Uganda can point to a record of service and devotion to the interests of this region which has few parallels in the chequered annals of East Africa. The facts of geography cannot be obliterated by prejudice and passion, and if the Indian trader has prospered along the entire eastern coast of Africa, from Massawa in the north to Cape Town in the extreme south, it is due wholly to his qualities of enterprise, industry and intelligence. No amount of laws against the Indian race, whether passed in South Africa or East Africa, can shake the impregnable position which the Indian has established along the east coast of the continent of Africa.

I cannot deal here with the problems with which Kenya has been faced during the last forty years, as it will take up too much space. The issues which have sometimes become the focus of acute controversy have formed the subject of numerous committees and commissions. One writer calls it "the saddest place on the continent." Of its vast area of 225,000 square miles, a large proportion is uninhabitable. The population is mixed and there are nearly three and a half million Natives, 46,000 Indians, 14,000 Arabs and over 20,000 whites. Nearly one-third of Europeans live at Nairoli. The chief native race of Kenya, the Massai was a biologically sturdy race, and was famous for its courage and endurance. The settler has crowded the Natives into reserves, and 16,700 square miles of the finest land in the Highland are reserved for European colonists. Some of the

settlers belong to the best families in England, and some of them have proved good settlers. I found the best type of settler in the Eastern Cape in South Africa. Most of the Englishmen in key positions at East London, George, Port Elizabeth and other towns in the Eastern Cape were descendants of the virile yeoman stock and I was deeply impressed with their character. Some of them have not proved successful farmers, as they have limited reserves of capital, and have speculated deeply in land. Their views on native policy are in harmony with the policy of South Africa, and their outlook is hardly different.

The Indian community has prospered in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, and the effects of Indian energy and enterprise are visible in Mombasa, Kampala and Dares Salam. There are practically no Punjabis in South Africa, but in East Africa and Uganda the Punjabis supply the dynamic element in the life of the community and they combine with the Gujratis in a common resolve to develop the resources of these territories, and put the impress of their personality on the land of their adoption. Had a substantial proportion of Punjabis settled in South Africa the rigours of segregation would have been modified as they have actually been modified in Kenya. The history of Indian settlers in Kenya may be traced to the importation of 20,000 Indian labourers in Kenya, in 1896, for work on the roads and railways from the coast to Victoria Nyanza. The Indian worker soon showed his mettle in the new surroundings. His industry and persistence won the admiration of all who worked with him, and Mr. Winston Churchill paid a remarkable tribute to his solid qualities. Just as the Indian found Natal a jungle and converted it into a garden, so the Indian in East Africa built up Kenya and Uganda. They soon established small stores which the European was too proud to operate, saved money, and bought property which appreciated greatly in value with the development of the country. They spread south through Nyasa-

land and the Rhodesias and overflowed into the Belgian Congo, and the Portuguese East Africa. In Kenya, they have considerable influence, and their success is borne out by the institutions they have created in Mombasa. They own some large stores and hotels in Mombasa and Nairobi, have a daily paper in English, and elect five members to the Kenya Legislative Council of whom one is an executive councillor. They have representatives in the municipalities also. In Tanganyika and Uganda, their position is well-established. Indians in Dares Salam, whom I addressed in 1941 and 1945, are prosperous, own many hotels, cinemas and business premises. They have representatives in the Legislative and Executive Councils of Tanganyika while the Mayor of Dares Salam, Dr. Malik, is an able and enterprising Punjabee from Multan. Kampala, the capital of Uganda, looks like an Indian town. Indians dominate some of the industries of Uganda, such as the ginning mills, and their ability and flexibility have made them indispensable in the social economy of the colony. Tanganyika being a mandated country, the treatment of Indians is much better than in Kenya. They have greater opportunities for advancement. In Uganda, Indians have an impregnable position. In Southern Rhodesia, the number of Indians is small, and the country does not accord them fair treatment as Southern Rhodesia, and now, Northern Rhodesia, slavishly follow segregation policy of South Africa. In Zanzibar, too, the Indian merchant and trader has built up an impregnable position. I was deeply impressed with the ability and character of many leaders of Zanzibar. I have had long talks with leaders of the Indian community at Mombasa, Dares Salam, Kampala and Zanzibar, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Indian race in these parts has conferred a boon on the country by its industry, enterprise, and initiative. Free from the repressions and inhibitions of castes and creeds of India, the Indian pioneer in these lands has stamped his personality upon the land of his adoption. He has held his own against ingrained prejudice, and his

position is now assured. There are, however, shadows in the landscape. The Indian trader is presented with new problem and fresh troubles which flow irresistibly from the monopoly capitalism. Indians in all these tracts complained to me of the pervasive influence of cartels. Another serious development is the growth of pan-African movement which is engineered by fiery leaders, who have imbibed the prejudices and policy of South Africa, and are resolved on establishing the leadership of South Africa in all British colonies. Their object is clear enough. They want to transplant South African ideas of colour and reduce Native rights—in civil status, in landownership, in pioneering of industrial organisation, in wages, and in political freedom. The pan-African movement was unanimously opposed by Indian and Native representatives in the Kenya Legislative Council. The Indian community in South and East Africa, is opposed to the pan-African movement under the leadership of South Africa.

The greatest contribution which European culture has made to the backward and effete civilisation of Africa has been improvement in those conditions of life which humanity regards as essential for a decent standard of existence —such as nutritious food, clothing; housing, hygiene and public health. It ought to be the aim of the post-war world to raise the standard of living of the underprivileged so that they may be raised to the level of colonists. A comparison of the degrading condition of the East African Native of today with the position which he occupied under the Arabs and the Portuguese for centuries before the colonisation of Kenya during the last half a century, forces one to the conclusion that the condition of the Native has deteriorated during the last seventy-five years. Presumably, the new post-war pattern for Kenya has produced a new technique which consists in using the growing power and organisation of the Kenya Native as a counterpoise to the insistent demand of the Indians for equal opportunity in political and economic spheres.

Beautiful speeches have been made by European leaders on the duty of the Government to indigenous inhabitants. Neither the Natives nor the Indians are deceived by this slogan.

Finally, attention may be drawn to the amendments to Defence regulations which have been made by the Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda whereby immigration of Indians into these territories has been prohibited till the end of the war and six months after. Indian leaders should insist on these regulations being repealed, and the *status quo ante bellum* established in these colonies when the War is over. This may be the thin end of the wedge, and the object of these regulations may be to prohibit the immigration of Indians into these territories at the end of the present conflict. Indian leadership in East Africa has been distinguished by initiative, foresight and vision, and the Indian community in these three colonies has progressed mainly because there has been infusion of fresh blood into the veins of the community. There are numerous other reasons which could be urged for the repeal of these regulations, but I refrain from doing so, as this will take up too much space.

A word may be said here about the Arabs of East Africa and Zanzibar. They were the rulers of these countries for centuries, and the record of their administration is distinguished by sympathetic and kindly treatment of Negroes, and the application of humane and generous laws for their mental and physical development. They should be clearly differentiated from Arab slave-dealers, who were notorious for their rapacity and cruelty.

Unfortunately for themselves, the Arabs practised miscegenation, married Negro women and kept Negro concubines and did not maintain the purity of their race. It has not adapted itself to the modern world, and is destitute of rudiments of modern education. The Arabs of Zanzibar and Mombasa are meditating on their past splendour and there is little likelihood of their putting their full weight in the post-war period. The movement for

the amelioration of the Arab race in East Africa will originate in Zanzibar. There is, however, no trace of such a movement at the present. The Indian faced with the problems of survival, is working as a team, and in the common endeavour to develop a new land they have a unity of purpose and method which ought to serve as an example to India.

The European population of the Union has two main racial stocks, the English and the Afrikaners. The latter are not homogeneous, and are the result of a mixture of Dutch, Huguenot, Danish and German blood. The main elements are, however, the Dutch and the Huguenot, and these two races have mixed wonderfully. The Dutch race seems to have great capacity for association of Nordic races, and the children of this mixture have given to South Africa brilliant jurists, statesmen, scholars and soldiers. In the realms of administration and statesmanship, Afrikaner, or the Boer race, has produced a galaxy of talent of which any nation would be legitimately proud. At the present time, the Afrikaners dominate the administration as well as the government, and are prominent as politicians and administrators, journalists and scholars. They have developed latent qualities which had lain dormant for years, and since the assumption of power in the Union in 1910, they have maintained their ascendancy in the politics and administration of their land. However, they have not proved successful businessmen or agriculturists. The Afrikaner is not really an agriculturist but a pastoralist, and he has not yet given up the pastoral tradition of his ancestors, the Voortrekkers, who swooped down upon an immense stretch of fertile land, and instead of applying themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil, contented themselves with sheep farming, and scratching the surface of the land. He is only a "surface agriculturist." It may be said, in his defence, that South Africa is not suited for intensive farming, and is adapted only for pasture.

The Afrikaner has also proved deficient in industry. He probably came too late on the scene, and when he

acquired sufficient time and leisure to devote himself to varied activities and throw out shoots into industry and trade, he found that the English and the Jewish races in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal, were too strongly entrenched to be dislodged. He has recently started a vigorous movement for Afrikanerising the trade and industry of the country. It is, however, doubtful if he will succeed, as Anglo-Jewish capital has its roots in the city of London which contributes fifty per cent shareholders to the Chamber of Mines. Lately, however, some leading American firms have begun to help the nascent Dutch enterprises, and if this help is constant and adequate the Boer race may slowly build up a position in industry. One may meet charming Afrikaners who are well-intentioned failures in industry and commerce.

The Afrikaner has made remarkable progress in education. It is a part of his policy to appoint only Afrikaners as Secretaries to Education Department, except probably in Natal, so that he may be able to put the impress of his personality and culture upon the rising generation of South Africa. The real object of this policy is to imbue the young generation with the ideas and ideals of the Afrikaner race. Though the present Director of Education in Natal is an Englishman, the Afrikaner has insisted in the past on Afrikaner Directors even in an essentially English province like Natal. The other department of the Union Government over which only an Afrikaner can preside is the Native Affairs Department. The Minister and Secretary in charge of this Department have invariably been Afrikaners. In this case, too, the Afrikaner's policy is based wholly upon security, which is the result of his fear complex. The Afrikaner is not prepared to make the Native races a laboratory where feverish and idealistic minds can experiment with inflammable material, and as Native agitation must be controlled, he has resolved to take no chances with the vested question of racial freedom and keeps these two departments under his effective supervision. The Secretary for Native Affairs has to ensure security, in other words,

segregation. He was a man of vision whose sympathy and vision gradually modified the rigours of segregation; he showed to the people that the policy of fair play to the Native, attenuated as it has undoubtedly been, is not in danger of perishing. I have been deeply impressed with the qualities of leadership which the Afrikaner possesses. It is a race of great promise, and its love of freedom, and creative ability have given it a position of primacy in South Africa which it is determined to preserve.

The next important racial element in South Africa is the English element. The English element is on the wane in the political and administrative life of the Union. In politics there are few Englishmen who have reached the political and intellectual stature of their Afrikaner compeers. Natal is the centre of English influence and power, yet even the warmest admirers of this province will confess that Natal has not produced a single leader of eminence in the present century. Natal society has all the grace and charm of an English provincial town. Like England, Natal has her old good manners, her old good humour and her old good nature. Many of Natal leaders are estimable men who discharge their civic responsibilities selflessly. Few of them have, however, the breadth of vision, and intellect which are essential for national leaders. The only really able man in Natal was a brilliant lawyer, Mr. Mackeurton, whose intellectual gifts and strong character raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. Genius in Natal has not risen from the depths; on the contrary, the parochial outlook of an overwhelming majority of its European population seems to have produced an inferiority complex which has assumed strange forms and is responsible for the Pegging Bill and the Natal Ordinances. The Natalian brings to bear on the problems of administration and politics the mind of a small shopkeeper and his demand for segregation of the Indian is really an admission of a feeling of insecurity and fear against the creative energy and persistence of the Indian race. The ruling race

in Natal has immense powers of neglect and disapproval, and when racial passions are aroused as in the months of June-October 1944, when the Ordinances were discussed, Indian leaders have to play the part of San Sebastians stuck up aloft for critical arrows. There is a dead level of parochialism in parts of Natal which is disheartening to all moderate men, and one is constantly unfilming one's illusions about the enlightened statesmen of South Africa. When one studies their actions in the local bodies, or their brooding fear of the Indian rooted in alarm at the frugality, fecundity and intellect of the Indians, one is sadly disillusioned.

The Transvaal Englishman is a very fine specimen of his class, as he brings to his task a large amount of dynamism, enterprise and culture which seem to have dried up in the politically and racially humid climate of the sister province. Johannesburg is a city of energy and vitality, and the English element in it has a legitimate cause for satisfaction. We find fine type of Englishmen in the Witwatersrand University, while among some of the industrialists, such as the Chamber of Mines, one is conscious of men of potent energy and great mental force who have imagination and vision, and have consecrated themselves to the service of industry and trade. Unfortunately this element is comparatively unimportant in the administrative life of the country, though it exercises considerable influence on the politics of the land through the Chamber of Mines. The Rand has now become the most important political centre of the Union as its population has increased considerably and it elects about fifty members to the Assembly.

Some people have told me that the level of the Union Members of the Parliament is low, and if we except Hofmeyer and Smuts from the list, the intellectual level of the Union Parliament is lower than that of a good provincial legislature of India, such as the United Provinces, Madras, Bombay or Bengal. The Englishman does not get any recognised place in this hier-

archy of politicians and the only brilliant man among non-official M. Ps. was Mr. Leslie Blackwell. The rest have hardly risen above mediocrity. At the Cape, the noble tradition of liberalism which had been nourished by a band of selfless English publicmen and Afrikaners, has now practically dried out, and the only two persons who are keeping up the flag aloft are Mr. Morris Alexander, M. P., who has done selfless work for the depressed and down-trodden in the past, and Mr. B. K. Long, M. P. who, in his palmy days had firm trust in his inner visions, and never wavered when it came to affirming his inner voice. Mr. Long had retired from active public life in 1943, and died soon after. His support of the Pegging Bill showed that his liberal faith was dimmed in his declining years.

It would be true to say that the English spirit has petrified in the political sphere, and the initiative has passed to the Afrikaner. In industry, however, the English element has maintained its predominance. It is entrenched in the basic industries of Natal—sugar, coal, wattle, and tea,—and maintains its supremacy in alliance with the Jews, in the industry and trade of Johannesburg and Cape Town. In the administration, the Englishman has been gradually losing his position, though there are still some able Secretaries in the Union Secretariat. The ablest of all the Secretaries, Mr. Forsyth, is a Scotchman. On the whole, the proportion of Englishmen in the services is small relatively to their population.

The third European element of note is the Jewish race. The number of Jews in South Africa probably exceeds 150,000, but their influence in the economic life of the country is enormous. While the Jew has not been able to maintain his hold in Natal, owing to the tenacity and ability of Indians and Englishmen in that province, in the other three provinces, his position in industry and finance is impregnable. Many important companies have Jews on their directorate, while some trades, such as catering, and many learned professions, such as the legal and medical professions, are dominated by the Jew. In the country districts,

many impecunious Afrikaner farmers have mortgaged their land to the Jews. In the Orange Free State, the Jew has a clear field, as his strong competitor, the Indian, is not allowed entry into the province. Cape Town is deeply influenced by Jewish capital and energy. The Jewish race is distinguished for its freedom, its rationalism and its perfervid advocacy of Zionism.

Many observers have expressed to me their fear of the renewal of anti-Indian feeling after the War. It is probable that the South African soldier will have a deeper regard and affection for the Indian soldier, as, however, the feeling is not based on community of interest it is possible that economic rivalry will produce a reaction against the Indian. The wave of anti-Indian feeling that swept over this country after the last War from 1920 onwards and produced serious racial riots in many cities in 1919-1921, must be borne in mind. The resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1917 did not save Indians from a series of humiliating laws, which have reduced it to a helpless position in Natal and the Transvaal. Unless India is mistress in her household, and has the reality and substance of power, she will be helpless in these conflicts. The Indian has learnt the lesson of experience, and will accommodate himself to changed conditions in a spirit of co-operation and mutual goodwill, if the basic civic rights are guaranteed to him.

It is a tragedy that general Smuts, one of the most brilliant representatives of European intellect and character should be compelled by his party as well as his race, to adopt measures against Indians in the Union. As a practical politician, he has to rely upon European vote for the maintenance of his power in the Union. The Government of India should not be lulled into a false sense of security by any statement which South African leaders or others may make at this critical period in the War. The real test will come when peace is signed. At that time unless the Government of India is prepared to back up the legitimate demands of our sons and daughters in this land, with all the power at its disposal, the Indians will see the com-

munity gradually deprived of every vestige of influence it exercises at present.

I have uttered this warning, as I have been advised by experienced men in the Union that the post-war period may produce a resurgence of racial strife, and the story of 1919 may be repeated. One has only to go through the record of the Union Parliament since 1919 to become convinced of the soundness of this argument. From Act 37 of 1919 to the Pegging Act of 1933, thirty two acts have been passed against the Indian community, and all of them have directly or indirectly subjected Indians to restrictions or to discrimination in some form or other. This has been done after solemn assurances at the Imperial Conference of 1917 by Mr. Burton and General Smuts. Unless the new United Nations Organisation which has been created at the San Francisco Conference this year takes vigorous measures to eradicate discrimination on grounds of colour and race, the position of the Indian community will deteriorate after the War. While the War has given a new vision and a broader outlook to the young South Africans who fought valorously in the North, South African leaders have publicly asserted their claim to leadership of the continent of Africa, and the acceptance of their leadership will necessitate the adoption of South African ideas on colour, and the rivetting of fresh shackles upon the most defenceless races in the world, and the Indians in the two Rhodesias, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika will be subjected to the South African pattern of segregation.

II

I have dealt so far with the European community in the Union. I will now give some account of the Indian community. I do not wish to trace the history of Indian emigration to Natal, or the entry of Indian merchants into the Transvaal, as this will take me too far afield. It is sufficient for me to state that the Indian community in Natal consists of three elements, the people from Gujrat, from Madras and from the United Provinces. Indians who have

come from Gujrat are mainly merchants, and at first a large majority of them were Muslim. Since then the number of Gujrati Hindus has increased, and they are developing their trade with great energy. However, at the present time the Muslim merchants of Gujrat maintain the lead in commerce, and some have become rich and influential. They have consolidated their position in Durban, and are leaders of an influential section in the city. In Durban, there was a definite cleavage in the ranks of Hindus and Muslims, and the activities of the Natal Indian Congress and the Indian Association tended to organise Hindus and Muslims in hostile organisations. Political unity was attained in 1943, when both these bodies were dissolved, and the Natal Indian Congress founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 was revived. The Indian community in Natal achieved political unity in August, 1943, which enabled the community to weather the storm which broke in Natal last year, after the repudiation of the Pretoria Pact. The number of Muslim merchants is about 25,000. Besides this element there is the Madrasi element in Natal. This element has so far been concerned mainly with work in sugar plantations and the factories and it has through its persistence and energy been able to ameliorate its position. The Tamil and Telugu members of the Indian community have shown great aptitude for intellectual work, and they are gradually freeing themselves from caste and class prejudices which Indians brought with them to South Africa. They have shown great capacity for adaptation to a changing world and the level of Tamil leadership is exceptionally high. Its leaders, such as Messrs. Albert Christopher, P. R. Pather, S. R. Naidu and the late Mr. V. C. S. Pather have a record of selfless work to their credit of which any community may be legitimately proud.

It is sometimes assumed that all the Indian workers belong to the depressed classes. This is not a fact. The number of depressed classes in Natal is exceedingly small, and a large proportion of Madrasi Indians are non-Brah-

mans. At Stanger, Pietermaritzburg, and the North and South Coasts of Natal, there are colonies of Naidus, Pillays, and Moodleys etc. Again at Stanger and Durban, I found thousands of United Provinces men, who are called Hindustanis, and a number of them are Rajputs or Shaikhs from the United Provinces. The new generation of Indians in Durban is undoubtedly superior in intelligence, and ability to the Indian labourers of the last century. I have been greatly struck with the intelligence, physique and capacity of the young Indian and while he is passionately devoted to India, he is proud of his South African descent, and is determined to secure every opportunity for advancement and is intent on building up a career in the land of his adoption.

In the Transvaal, the bulk of the Indian community belongs to the mercantile community of the Gujrati Muslims and they are to be found in small scattered holdings throughout the Transvaal. On the whole, they have done well in trade, and many of them are prosperous. Unfortunately, they have not kept abreast of the times, and are saturated with the customs and usages which India herself has discarded as they are not in harmony with the spirit of the age. Being cooped up and confined, in small and isolated townships, they have lagged behind their compeers in big cities. The Johannesburg Indian is a go-ahead and energetic person, but the Indian merchant in the country is still living and thinking in terms of nineteenth century. While he has adopted western dress, his manner and way of life are still eastern, and he cannot be induced to give them up. There are notable exceptions, but their number is very small. At the Cape the number of Indians is exceedingly small and most of them are Muslim merchants from the Konkan and Gujrat. They have intermarried with Malaya women, though there are a few Indians who have kept the purity of their race. The Cape Indians unlike their brethren in other provinces have not made much progress in trade or industry, and the number of big Indian merchants is very small.

I do not wish to discuss the present position of the In-

dian community in South Africa, as this will necessitate a volume, and the subject has been discussed exhaustively in a number of recent works. It will be sufficient if I indicate briefly my general impression of the position which the Indian occupies in Natal. This is based upon my tour through different parts of this province, when I had the privilege of discussing numerous problems with every section of my countrymen in Natal and the Transvaal. It was in Natal that Mahatma Gandhi organised his *satyagraha* movement and perfected its technique. A legend similar to that of St. Francis in its wealth of mythical details embalms the memory of even the most trivial details of his career, and his name has been the watchword of their freedom for years. His movement in 1908-1913 belongs to the history of South Africa, but Indians throughout the Union regard him as a moralist who forged for them an invulnerable armour against racial arrogance and pride.

The Indian "coolie" and the Indian merchant who started their work in an undeveloped province have justified their existence by their achievement in the Union, and are as much entitled to call Natal their homeland as any other race. It was Indian perseverance and energy which cleared the forests, cultivated the soil and established Natal as a province of basic industries—such as sugar, tea, etc. During these seventy years, the Indian has made astonishing progress. He is prominent in industry, and the Indian businessman is more than a match for any businessman in South Africa. His extraordinary persistence, and immense capacity for work render him a formidable rival to European competitors. In the public economy of Durban he occupies a position of great weight and influence. He has also an able professional class of doctors and attorneys. The number of Indian professional men has increased considerably, while the number of Indian public men who have dedicated themselves to public life is considerable. The political energy of the Indian community has been occupied with problems of the colour bar and the community has built up a structure of leadership in Natal

of which the Indian has legitimate reason to be proud. The Indian leaders' task in Natal is an exceedingly difficult one. The Tamil element constitutes 60 to 65 per cent of the Indian population. The Gujrati Muslims who belong to the merchant class, are about 15 per cent; the Hindustanis are probably 10 per cent and the rest make up the residue. Indian leadership must aim at securing the support of all of these elements. Nor is this all. The class interests of the Indian community cut across religious divisions. The Indian Trade Unions have about 21,000 Indians on their roll. They are led by young Indians who have leftist tendencies. In any organisation of the Indian community, the Trade Unions must have their proportionate representation. The community has not yet been fused into unity and European newspapers in Durban made strenuous efforts in June and July 1943 to divide the rich Indian from the poor and the Muslim from the Hindu. The attempt failed miserably, and the Indian community refused to be disrupted and achieved its unity in the Natal Indian Congress, which was revived in August 1943. Muslim merchants have an able leader in Mr. A. I. Kajee, and other sections of the Indian community have a man of dynamic personality in Mr. Sorabjee Rustamjee. The Gujrati Hindu community has not yet come to the front in public life. The Trade Union movement has thrown up some very able young men, who are still on the make, and like young men all over the world are inclined to advocate radical measures.

The Natal Indian Congress which was revived in 1943, has become the sole representative organ of the Indian community in Natal. The office-bearers who assumed the responsibility of establishing its branches in different parts of Natal have done excellent work, and the Indian community ought to be grateful to men who spared no efforts to put the Indian case with ability and energy. The work of Messrs. A. I. Kajee and P. R. Pather will remain memorable in the annals of the Indian community. In India, the leaders of various political parties are called upon to shoulder the responsibility of adminis-

tration and give effective expression to their programme through provincial and central legislatures. In South Africa, the minority in power is not yet prepared to share both the material profits and the psychology of western civilisation with the mass below them on an equitable basis. The Indian leaders in South Africa have to work in a mental climate in which the intellectual growth of the Indian community is always followed by a curve. An upward movement is visible at certain stages of its development, such as the Cape Town agreement, though its progress even at this stage is more apparent than real. The upward movement of the Indian race then immediately stops, the curve descends, and while the plaudits of the Indian people still ring in the ears of Indian leaders, and the laurels are still unfaded on their brows, the downward movement begins, the Pegging Act and the Natal Ordinances are passed, the promises made in the past fade away, vested interests and prejudices are rationalised and a fresh struggle is started between the Haves and the Havenots. The Indians in Natal are obliged to struggle with intensive vehemence in an economic order in which there is neither equality nor equality for their race. We have therefore the paradoxical result that those whose social life is supposed to be based on the hypothesis of a static universe are champions of dynamism, and have been demanding freedom from segregation; while those whose forefathers sacrificed everything for the effective enlargement of the mental and cultural environment of all people, without distinction of race or colour, are apt to ignore the rapid progress which the Indian race has made in all spheres in the interval between the two great world wars. To ignore this progress is to suppress the very problem of the Indian community in Natal, and to escape the duty to solve it. The Indian race has become more conscious of its personality, which it has learned to defend, is jealous of the rights which it has preserved, and is accustoming itself to take into its own hands the care of its own business. To some, though not happily to all, the

Natal publicans, attack on the Indian is politically attractive, especially at the time of elections, and he is sure of election if he preaches that the twelfth century should live complete and intact a mile or so from the twentieth.

It is not surprising that young Indian leaders should react violently against such doctrines, should lose prudent self-restraint, and demand complete equality in all spheres of life without making allowance for the difficulties of Europeans in South Africa. Such a change would be deemed revolutionary even by the most zealous supporters of Indian rights in the Union. To expect the European to concede complete equality in 1946 is to indulge in illusions and my advice to Indian leaders of all sections would be to refrain from indulging in slogans which merely irritate the European. It must, however, be added that complete equality must remain the ultimate aim of every Indian organisation in South Africa.

Many impartial observers are of the opinion that the South African Government could have shown greater tact and statesmanship in dealing with the Indian problem in Natal. They could have appointed a Cape Liberal to the responsible post of Minister of Interior, while a High Court Judge from the Cape Province should have been appointed president of the Judicial Commission. This is no reflection on the persons who now hold these offices. Senator Clarkson and Justice Broome had to deal with an exceedingly difficult and delicate problem, and they have tried to do their duty. It cannot be denied, however, that the appointment to the post of Administrator of a person, who had taken a leading part in Parliament in racial controversies was not popular with the Indian community, while the appointment of a Natalian to the post of Minister of the Interior deepened the suspicions of the Indian people. These suspicions may have been groundless, but the events in Natal in 1943-44 show that these fears were not groundless.

The recommendations of the Broome Commission regarding a loaded franchise, must be studied with great

care and attention. I am definitely of the opinion that it is better to have common roll for elections to municipalities and parliament than a separate roll for Indian voters, even though the proportion of Indian to European voters does not exceed thirty per cent. If Indians constitute thirty per cent of the total electorate, they are bound to influence the elections. This is one of the most important means of preventing racial cleavage in Natal. Indian leaders should consider this proposal carefully. The proportion of Indian voters should not be less than twenty-five per cent in the common roll, and franchise qualifications can easily be adjusted to secure this end.

I am sorry to see signs of internecine strife in the Natal Indian Congress. I had insisted all along that the Congress should represent all the elements of the Indian population, and the constitution should be strictly adhered to. Unfortunately this was not done, and the annual meeting of the Congress was postponed on various grounds. The Natal High Court has now decided that the meeting must be held on October 21, 1945. The resort to the High Court ought not to have been necessary, and the annual meeting of the Congress ought to have been held in March, 1945. The office-bearers had been warned several times, but no action was taken until the High Court passed the order. This is an unfortunate development, but I am confident that the Congress will remain genuinely representative of all the elements of the Indian population.

In the Transvaal, too, a split occurred in 1939, when the Nationalist *Block* of the Transvaal Indian Congress seceded from that body. The breach was healed at the end of last year, and a certain portion of members of the *Block* have been made members of the Working and Executive Committees of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Congress has, therefore, become the authoritative organ of the Indian community in the Transvaal. In the Cape, the Cape Indian Congress has been working without any marked differences, while the South African Indian Congress, which represents the Indian community in the Union of South Africa, is an

authoritative organ of the Indian race in the Union. Indian unity has, therefore, been achieved not only in Natal, but also in the Transvaal and these bodies are now able to speak on behalf of the Indian community with a vigour and energy which have rarely been surpassed. Mr. S. M. Nana dominated the Transvaal Indian Congress for ten years and his death was an irreparable loss to the Indian community. Dr. Yusuf Dadoo is the dynamic leader of the Transvaal Indians, and other Indian leaders of note are Mr. Z. V. Parekh, Revd. Seigamony, Mr. Abid, Messrs Hazaree and Minty, Mr. Medh and a few others. The intellectual level of leadership is higher in the Transvaal than in Natal or the Cape.

The Indian cultivator has worked wonders in Natal. Had a farsighted government equipped him with mechanical knowledge, built co-operative societies and used tractors and other aids for scientific farming, India would have provided other countries with foodgrains and would have insured herself against famine. That this has not been done is due wholly to a wooden government whose sole conception of administration is and has been for decades maintenance of law and order. India is par excellence a Police State. In 1889, Dr. J. A. Voelcker, one of the greatest experts on agriculture, came to India to advise the Government of India upon the application of agricultural chemistry to Indian conditions. Here is Dr. Voelcker's testimony to the sterling qualities of the Indian farmer. He did not regard Indian agriculture as primitive or backward. At his best he found the Indian cultivator quite as good as, and in some respects, the superior of the average British farmer. He was struck by the absence of facilities for improvement in 1889; there is no reason to believe that there has been a revolution in Indian agriculture since that period. On the contrary, the facilities provided during the last 56 years have proved wholly inadequate. While Russia has suppressed primitive farming in the Asiatic territories, the Indian cultivator continues to use the wooden plough which his ancestors employed in Biblical times. I will quote here

Dr. Voelcker's analysis of Indian farming in 1889. So far as ordinary acts of husbandry are concerned, "nowhere would one find instances of keeping land scrupulously clear of weeds, of ingenuity in device of water-raising appliances, of knowledge of soils and their capabilities as well as of the exact time to sow and to reap, as one would in Indian agriculture and this not at its best alone but at its ordinary level. It is wonderful, too, how much is known of rotation, the system of mixed crops and of fallowing. Certain it is that, at least we have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource than I have seen at many of the halting places in my tour." (Dr. Voelcker's Report, p. 11)

It is not surprising that the Indian farmer in Natal applied his skill and perseverance to farming, and turned it into a garden. Had he been allowed to possess land in the Cape, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, he would have made South Africa's rural economy one of the most productive in the world. A glance at the Transvaal and Cape farms will convince even the most prejudiced that that country missed a good opportunity by prohibiting the Indian from farming in the Transvaal. A quarter of a million of our best peasant stock in the United Provinces or the Punjab would have converted Kenya into a garden, if they had been given rudiments of scientific training, and their immigration into it had been the result of joint planning between the Kenya Government and the Government of India. This has not been done, and the Government of Kenya is following a dog in the manger policy. While it has not got sufficiency of white settlers that will enable it to develop Kenya's resources, it is busy piling up discriminating laws against the Indian pioneer, using the Native as a counterpoise to the Indian. The enormous stretch of land which sprawls across East Central Africa, and is a part of the British Empire, has been crying for skilled farmers and mechanics who will develop the resources of this land, yet the Indian who

has been busy conquering land for the Empire, is asked to quit immediately he has completed his task. In Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Eritrea, Kenya, Nyasaland, the proportion of White men to the Native population is fantastically small. The population of Africa is estimated to be between 138 and 163 million men, while its total area is about twelve and a quarter million square miles. Here is the proportion of Europeans to every 10,000 Natives in Africa. Uganda, 6; Nigeria 6; Gold Coast 9; French Equatorial Africa, 10; French West Africa, 15; Tanganyika, 16; Congo, 34; Kenya, 65; Belgian Katanga, 65; Northern Rhodesia, 84; Angola (excluding Mulattos), 220. West Africa and the French Empire in Africa have been excluded. There is sufficient land in East Africa and Central Africa for purposes of settlement by the Indian race. I realise the objections that will be raised in many quarters to any scheme of this kind, and am forced to admit that such a proposal is bound to arouse strong opposition in influential quarters.

The Indian community in South Africa is a growing community, and nearly 46 per cent of the Indian population is below 13 years of age. On the other hand middle-aged Europeans in Natal constitute nearly fifty per cent of its European population. The high fertility rate of the Indian is bound to lead in the near future to the preponderance of the Indian in Natal. At present, the Indian and European population is equal. It is estimated that it will be about 260,000 in 1960. The change in the social structure of the Indian community is no less significant. The Indian had originally come to Natal to work on the sugar farms. He is now leaving these farms as the wages are wholly inadequate for a decent standard of living, and flocking to factories and workshops in the towns. The heavy manual work is now done by the Natives and the number of Indians on sugar farms is only about 8,000. The joint family system, too, is breaking up, as the young Indian wants to have a house of his own when he marries, and this accentuates the shortage of houses for

Indians, and complicates the problem of Indian penetration into European areas. The Indian has shown himself to be competent to do semi-skilled and skilled work in the factories, and the competition between European and Indian workers, particularly in the building trade, is specially felt. But for the rigid "white labour" policy in skilled and semi-skilled trades, the Indian would have succeeded in establishing himself in important industries of Natal. The establishment of Indian Trade Unions, with a membership of nearly 21,000 on the roll, has proved a blessing to the Indian worker. If the movement is wisely guided, it will prove one of the most important agencies in the amelioration of the Indian race in Natal. The Indian merchant, too, has not been idle. He has built up many important undertakings in Natal, and his acumen and astuteness have given him a secure place in Natal economy. In education too, he is forging ahead, and there are about 63 students in the Witwatersand University, and 100 students in the B. A. degree classes of Natal University College. I made a proposal for a University College and a Technical College for Indians in Durban. The proposal was examined by a Committee of which Mr. Hugo was chairman, but, owing to an unfortunate controversy it could not be carried out.

Further details of the progress made by the Indian community will be found in my lecture to the Race Relations Institute at Pietermaritzburg delivered in July, 1943, which is included in this volume.

While the Indian community has risen in every sphere of activity, the Natal administration and the local authorities have not only maintained all their rigid regulations against persons of colour, but intensified them. There is indeed a general impression that the greater the progress of the Indian race in Natal, the more serious and determined are the attempts to check its growth. With an exaggerated view of the sanctity of anti-colour prejudice the Natal authorities have maintained old laws and are clamouring for new ones against a progressive race, and we see most

unwise and provocative regulations regarding the admission of Indians to cinemas, theatres, hotels, and in fact every place of amusement and recreation. The qualities which the Indian race had possessed had been fast bound during the years of apprenticeship in a strange land, but they had not died out, and broke into blossom, in the third generation. Dean Palmer said in a sermon at St. Mary's Cathedral on December 31st. 1941. "Things have improved, but South Africa is not yet free from a colour prejudice as foul as Hitlerism; and it recoils on ourselves, for, as Lord Acton said, "Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." The constitutions of all the political parties in South Africa, and even the Labour Party, which theoretically preaches the doctrines of Socialism, lay down the following regulations, "protection of western standard against inroads by Asiatic competition, and liberal financial provision for the encouragement of Asiatic emigration."

I will discuss here some objections which have been raised in the past to the presence of Indians in the Union. It was asserted in the past that if Indian immigration was maintained at the old level, South Africa would be swamped by the Indian community. This fear has proved groundless since the stoppage of Indian immigration into South Africa in 1913. The census figures show indeed, that in the Cape and Orange Free State there has been little change in the number of the Indian population since 1911. In fact, no Indians are allowed in the Orange Free State, and their number there is 25. In the Transvaal there was a progressive increase and their numbers rose to 34,000. This was due to the Act of 1937 which made it obligatory upon every Indian born in South Africa to return to South Africa within three years. But for the provisions of this Act the Transvaal would not have shown this increase. It is instructive to note that the increase in the Native, Coloured and Asiatic populations in the period 1921-36 was 39%, 38% and 30% respectively. The increase in Natal was 6·2% in the period 1911-21, and 15·6% since

1921. The racial composition of the population of the Union of South Africa calculated in the Census of 1936, shows that Europeans were 20·9, Natives 68·8, Asiatics 2·3, and Coloureds 8·0% of the population of the Union. Natives, Asiatics and Coloureds comprised 79·1% of the total. Considering that Indians only formed 2·3% of the population of the Union, it is fantastic to suggest that South Africa will be swamped by the Indian community, after the stoppage of immigration in 1913.

It is sometimes said that the living standards of Indians in the Transvaal will seriously affect European standards of living. That this is an absurd proposition will be clear from the fact that the standard of the Indians has risen considerably of late, and in the second place the number of Indians in the Transvaal is so small that there is little fear of European standards being lowered by a microscopic minority who occupy only a few houses and shops in remote settlements. It is ridiculous to suggest that the presence of 34,000 voteless Indians in the Transvaal, who have no representation in the civic or political life of their province, is a serious menace to the civilisation and standards of nearly 700,000 Europeans in this enormous province.

It is sometimes said that Indians compete seriously in trade. This is perfectly true. Competition is the life-breath of the modern world, and the public of South Africa would be exposed to serious risks and considerable expense if all trade competitions were withdrawn. The Indian trader has no other means of livelihood. He is denied admission to public services; he cannot be a member of local bodies or of the Union Parliament. The parliamentary franchise in Natal was most unjustly taken away from him in 1896, while he was deprived of municipal franchise in 1924. At a time when there is a swift evolution of India to independence and Indian genius is manifesting itself in different spheres of intellectual and economic activity, the Natal Indian was deprived of a right which he had exercised in the local bodies

since his arrival in Natal nearly 82 years ago. The service rendered by the Indian trader in the Transvaal is inestimable. He is indispensable to the public economy of the province, and the Indian labourer and the Indian merchant are the makers of modern Natal. Natal owes as much to their industry and intelligence as it does to the organising capacity and discipline of the European.

I give below the figures of the revenue proceeds of the Union Government in respect of trade licenses granted to Asiatics:—

Province	1938-39	*Revenue from license*
	£	£
Cape	3,288	10,246
Natal	9,243	21,035
Transvaal	6,746	24,854
	£19,277	£56,135

Of the 19,227, who obtained these licenses, 6,351 were general dealers, 1,342 hawkers, 2,704 pedlars, 1,671 sellers of patent medicines and 1,649 fresh produce dealers. The others earned in miscellaneous trades. Indians have been eliminated from public services in consonance with General Hertzog's White Labour Policy. The number of Indian railway employees in 1910 was 6,000. It was reduced to 562 in 1933. The number of Indian Government servants in Natal in 1924 was 955. Now it is 217. They are not eligible for public or municipal service, in the Cape or the Transvaal.

The Honourable Mr. Burton admitted at the Imperial Conference in London that Indians were good, law-abiding and quiet citizens. The community has made substantial progress in every sphere of life. In the Transvaal it has a body of public spirited merchants who are distinguished for their civic spirit and business acumen. In Natal the Indian youth is pulsating with energy and is gifted with intelligence and enterprise. There is, more-

over, a solid 'structure of Indian leadership in commerce, politics and the learned professions which will have enduring effect on the growth of the race in the near future. The community has made an all-round progress of which it has every reason to be proud. Its standards of living have risen considerably, and the young generation has adapted itself to western standards with enthusiasm. It must be admitted that in country districts, owing to their isolation, their progress has not been rapid, but the young generation is go-ahead, alert and progressive. What then are his needs and requirements?

The first and most important of all is franchise in the town councils of the Transvaal and Natal. I found in the course of my tour through Natal and the Transvaal that the Indian community was greatly handicapped by this disability. The Indian has no stake or interest in the elections and has no say at all in the political or civic life of any one of the four provinces of the Union. The Natal European is motivated by the fear complex in his dealings with the Indian. He fears that his living standards will be lowered in competition with the Indian workman and he finds the Indian merchant a formidable rival. He does not approve of the Indian's attachment to his motherland, and resents his appeals to the Government of India. I have the greatest admiration for the solid qualities of the Natal European though I am bound to confess that he has not shown a liberal spirit in his dealings with the Indian.

It is essential that the franchise, municipal and parliamentary, of which the Indian community was deprived in 1896 and 1924, should be restored to him. Until this is done there will be no peace for the Indian community in Natal, as elections to the town councils will provide recurring causes of friction between Europeans and Indians. One example will make this clear. There has been a loud outcry from many Europeans against Asiatic penetration in Durban. It must be admitted that the action of a few wealthy Indians in Durban who purchased European

houses played into the hands of extremists. As the parliamentary and municipal elections drew near, most of the European candidates promised effective safeguards against Indian competition and penetration. Some went further. A number of rabid politicians signed a petition to the Durban Corporation asking it to rescind the grant of 5½ acres which had been solemnly promised by the Mayor of Durban to the proposed Indian Technical College at a public meeting in Durban in March, 1942. The grant had been confirmed by the Corporation. Yet the Finance Committee of the Corporation rescinded the grant, and this was confirmed at a meeting of the Durban Corporation in June, 1943. Mr. Hofmeyer, the Education Minister, had in the meanwhile appointed a committee on the College in 1942, and the Committee recommended a grant of £15,000 for the proposed College. A wealthy Indian Mr. Muhammad Sultan had promised a donation of £15,000, for the institution. The Durban Corporation succeeded in rescinding the grant to the proposed College.

It is therefore clear that unless the Indian community is given not only the right to vote, but also to elect its representatives to the town councils of Natal and to those town councils in the Transvaal which have a substantial proportion of Indian population, such as Johannesburg, etc., the Indian community will remain voiceless, impotent and weak. Indians are not demanding anything that is new. They only want to get back those rights of which they were unjustly deprived in 1896 and 1924. It was contended that India did not possess representative institutions at that time, and Indians could not claim in South Africa what they were denied in India. That this is an absolutely flimsy argument will be clear to anyone who is acquainted with the most rudimentary knowledge of India of that period. In all the provinces of India, there was in 1896 and 1924 local self-government both in the urban and rural areas. The United Provinces District Board Act of 1922 had established wholly elective boards throughout the United Provinces, while the Municipal Act of 1916 in the United

Provinces had established elective Municipal Boards in 83 areas. I could give examples of other provinces which will show how fundamentally inconsistent with justice was the Ordinance of 1924. The Indian community organised protests against this high handed action, and appealed to the courts, but it proved ineffective. In proportion as the political instincts of the community were extinguished by these harsh measures in precisely the same ratio the community felt a deeper sense of its vocation to make the garden colony a success. What was all-embracing in the spirit of ancient India passed by transmutation into the commercial activity of her sons in Natal. Even if India did not possess self-governing institutions in 1924, which is wholly wrong, she is now endowed with the spirit and capacity to secure independence immediately after the War. She cannot be denied it, nor can she be deprived of it. The real greatness of the Indian community in Natal is that its leaders built from a hard life so great an achievement. Had Indians been given a chance in Natal, as they were given elsewhere, they would have accelerated Natal's industrial progress, and made her the commercial centre of the Union.

For years they had a partnership only with failure, and every hope seemed to issue only in a bitter unfulfilment. Yet, in them throbbed a force of enterprise, and a spirit of exploration, resolute and hardy, which were denied to many of their rivals. Some Europeans I am glad to say admit that franchise is necessary for Indians. The only question is, how should it be done? Should it be a joint electorate or a separate roll? I have no hesitation in saying that a joint roll is necessary for the peace and harmony of the two races in Natal. If a separate roll is established for Indians, it would, I am afraid, intensify racial bitterness, and keep the two communities apart. On the other hand, if there is a joint roll for the two races, Indians and Europeans will vote together in the same constituency and only moderate and sensible leaders of the two races will be elected to the town councils. In a separate roll, only fanatical

champions of European and Indian races will have a chance, and this will worsen the relationship between the two races, instead of improving them. Indians ought to be elected to every town council in Natal, not necessarily in proportion to their population. Their numbers will vary with the intelligence, capacity and wealth of the Indian community in each area. Again, I am prepared to admit that there may be differentiation in the franchise of the Indian community. It need not be adult suffrage, and may be based on property and educational qualifications. This may not be, and probably is not, in consonance with the pure theory of democracy, but it is based on the realities of the situation in South Africa and is the result of experience. I need hardly add that with the passage of time, all differences between the Europeans and Indians regarding the franchise and other invidious distinctions must disappear. I am not concerned, however, with the distant future, but with the immediate present. It may be said that the present time is not a suitable occasion for starting this issue, and I agree that during the War it is expedient to eliminate as far as possible, all issues which tend to distract our attention from the supremely important task of victory over the Axis powers. This argument would have had force if the Pegging Act and the Natal Ordinances had not broken the truce. So far as my community in the Union is concerned, it has waited patiently for a number of years for the fruition of its efforts, and it is no longer the inexperienced and apathetic community of 1924. It is wide awake, and every Indian, whatever his age or creed, is acutely conscious of the humiliation to which he and his father and grandfather have been exposed, not in one, but in several spheres. It is a high spirited community, proud of its glorious culture and its magnificent heritage, and prouder still of the gigantic strides which India's sons have made in their homeland.

The Indian in South Africa has his roots in this land, and is determined to stay on. He will not be indigenous to the soil of India, if he returned to the home of his ances-

tors. Having lived in Natal for 83 years, he cannot bear the Indian climate, and is not content to revert to the ways and thoughts of his great-grandfather. All attempts to uproot him from South Africa will be futile, for he simply will not be uprooted. The project of sending South African Indians to New Guinea failed miserably, while the repatriation scheme, upon which so much public money was spent, has had to be discontinued. The government of India did its best to implement its undertaking, but the natural unwillingness of a man to leave his hearth and home and start a new career in a new and strange land proved too strong. South African Indians were anxious to secure for themselves free scope in spheres outside the region of authority embodied in Indian customs and rules. Men so vigorous and independent felt the joy of exploration and adventure in the virgin soil of Africa. Hence, the Indian in the Union is at heart a South African, and is proud of it. I may mention another example to show that such an attempt is bound to fail. When the ancient Greeks left the sacred soil of Attica to seek their future on the rugged coast of Asia Minor, they took with them their household gods, their sacred fire, their Greek culture, and Greek ideas of spiritual progress, but all authority of their parent state fell away as their galleys went over the horizon. Many of the early Indian settlers in the Union thought of the old country in the same way, but their children and grandchildren were nurtured in a different atmosphere, and they have now become South Africans, and are as loyal to the land of their adoption as any other race in the Union. It is true, of course, that they are imbued with the spiritual and intellectual culture of their motherland, and one finds many Muslims and Hindus keeping up the faith of their forefathers in its pristine purity. On the other hand, the young generation which is just emerging has lost many traces of its early origin and is not aware of the significance of many old customs of India in its daily life. A number of young and intelligent Indians have imbibed the liberal doctrines of the West, and are indifferent to the claims of Indian culture,

whether intellectual or spiritual.

I have mentioned these facts to show that the Indian in South Africa is inspired by devotion to his fatherland which is as intense and pervasive as the love of any other element of the European population to this magnificent country. While his culture remains Indian, in the case of the young generation, even this has disappeared, and the young man is wholly South African in the love of the land, in his political allegiance, and his cultural affinities. I feel therefore that all talk of repatriation to India or to any other country should be given up, and he should be allowed to develop his South African patriotism and culture.

The next important right which should be accorded to him is the right to parliamentary election, and membership of both houses of the Union Legislature. While the Natives have been given the right to elect Europeans to represent them in the Senate and the Assembly, the Indian, with an ancient culture, an intelligence which is second to none in the world and a record of service to this land of which other races may be legitimately proud, has been denied even this right. His own country is in tune with the spirit of the age, and every Indian is proud of the fact that his motherland became the spiritual mentor of one half of Asia in the time of Asoka, in the third century B. C., yet he has even less rights than the Natives of South Africa. How can a haughty and proud race, distinguished alike for valour and wisdom, bear this humiliation with patience? The Indian community in the Union includes men who would be an ornament to the Union Parliament. Yet they are rigorously excluded from its membership and are not given parliamentary franchise. It may be mentioned here that while Natives have been given the right of electing European Senators to represent them, the Indians and Coloureds have no right whatsoever in the Transvaal and Natal. This anomalous position is due to the fact that the second of the series of Bills laid before the Joint Session of the two houses of the Union Le-

gislature in 1929 was the Coloured Persons Rights Bill. The Bill provided for the compilation of the register of Coloured people living in the northern provinces, and for giving the vote to those people who could prove that they were living in a "civilised way and could read and write." After ten years the Coloured persons could be put upon the same register as the Europeans. It was withdrawn after the defeat of General Hertzog's first Native Bill and was never afterwards revived. The Indian, therefore, has no political rights whatsoever. Immediately after the defeat of these Bills, which had been introduced partly with a view to mobilising European support against a common danger, viz., The Black peril, Premier Hertzog came back to Parliament with an absolute majority, viz., 78 out of a house of 148, and he had no further occasion to revive this Bill except to pass the Native Representation Bill into law, whereby Natives were given the right to elect Europeans to represent them in the legislature. This is still the law.

I have given this analysis to show that attempts were made in the past to redress the wrong, but owing to the fear complex, and the desire for security, which is inexorably expressed in segregation, nothing was done to relieve the Indian of his disability. I am definitely of the opinion that the question of parliamentary franchise for my community is vital for racial concord, particularly in Natal, and it is the duty of every South African to do justice to a community which has been in this country for nearly 80 years, and is eminently qualified by virtue of its experience, sacrifice, wealth and public service to exercise political rights.

It has been a source of constant surprise to foreigners who visit South Africa to find that alien races, such as Syrians and races of Eastern Europe, some of whom are devoid of culture and are illiterate, are allowed to enter the Union and become full citizens, after residence of only a year, while Indians, who have been instrumental in creating new industries and working assiduously in the spheres in which they have specialised, viz., trade and industry,

should be debarred from the exercise of these rights. The anomaly is greater when we compare the condition of Indians in this land with their position in the homeland. In a few years, Indians will be independent in their land as South Africans are in theirs, and when they integrate their economic policy with diplomacy, their influence and representations on the position of their countrymen in this land would naturally acquire a momentum and influence which can hardly be ignored. Is it not better that a beginning should be made now, and relaxation be made of some of the laws which have operated harshly upon a gifted race? It is wonderful how the community has borne with exemplary patience a series of laws which would have crushed the spirit of any other race. It would either have given up the struggle as hopeless, or it would have been merged in the Bantu community; and the foundations of its racial identity would have been destroyed. I therefore strongly advocate the representation of the Transvaal, Natal and Cape Indians in the two houses of the Union Parliament. They should be represented by Indians themselves on a joint roll. I admit that the parliamentary franchise for Indians would have to be slightly different from the adult suffrage which is enjoyed by Europeans, as I feel that one should not alienate the sympathy and support of a number of sympathetic Europeans who are supporting our legitimate demands. I believe my community will accept modifications in the franchise for the transition period as it is conscious of the need for compromise on this issue. There are, however, two principles which it regards as basic, upon which no compromise is possible. In the first place, it cannot compromise on the question of electorate. It is not prepared to accept separate roll, as it fears that this will widen the gulf between the two races and will accentuate racial strife in Natal. In the second place, it cannot compromise on the question of representation. It is convinced that the only form of representation which can give genuine satisfaction is representation by members of the community, and not by Europeans. It is fundamentally op-

posed to the latter plan as it will imply a serious reflection upon its organising prudence, its intelligence and enterprise and its capacity for leadership. The material for membership of the Union Parliament in my community is considerable, and there are Indian leaders in the three provinces who have dedicated themselves to the service of their people, and have won the confidence and esteem not only of the people of their race, but also leading members of the European community.

None is more conscious, however, of the difficulty of securing this right at present than myself. Those who have had experience of parliamentary work must admit that it may be difficult to get the Union Parliament, constituted as it is, to agree to such a measure without strong arguments. The reason for it lies in the structure of the present Assembly. General Smuts' party is a heterogeneous combination of elements which are not cemented by a constructive policy. There is in the first place the Afrikaner section. Next there is the English element, from Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal. Thirdly, there is the Jewish element. Fourthly, there is the Labour Party. These four elements have not been fused into a unity and some of them, such as the Labour Party, are proud of their individuality and ideology. Of these elements it is likely that the Natal Members of Parliament, sixteen in number, will vote solidly against Indian claims. It is clear that vested interests of each of these constituent elements have been created, and it is impossible to secure their support for a measure which is likely to impinge upon their rights.

I have given an objective analysis of the parlimentary position, so that the readers of this book may have some idea of the difficulty of negotiating a settlement that will be satisfactory to the community. We shall get, of course, beautiful phrases and platitudes but if the leader of either party sees signs of fissure in his party over the Indian question, he will drop the latter immediately, to maintain its unity.

The noblest work for my race and community was performed by Dr. Malan when he agreed to the Cape Town

Agreement. I am afraid that I see little prospect of any Union parliament passing such comprehensive measures as Parliamentary franchise and representation to the Indian community, and removal of discriminatory laws which have been a source of constant humiliation to men of our blood and race in this land. How then is it to be done?

Should the matter be settled through the mediation of the British Cabinet? I doubt if the British Government would like to be involved in such a quarrel. They have rigidly held aloof from such a controversy, though they allowed the issue to be raised in the Imperial Conference of 1917 and 1923. In the present mood and temper of South Africa, and after the passage of the Statute of Westminster, which has radically modified the relationship between England and the Dominions, it is improbable that England would allow such an issue to be discussed. It will affect the rights and privileges which are cherished by every Dominion.

The only alternative, therefore, is direct negotiation between the Government of India and the Union Government. The representations of my Government will depend ultimately upon the sanctions which they are able to use in their representations to the Union Government. As this is a matter of great delicacy and complexity, I cannot deal with it at this stage. It is sufficient to state here that the Government of India has constantly aimed at safeguarding the rights and principles of the Indian community in South Africa, and has spared no efforts to attain this end. India owes a debt of gratitude to the number of Viceroys who, from Lord Hardinge onwards, have rendered invaluable service to Indians in South Africa. When the material relating to this period is published, India will know the contribution which His Excellency Lord Wavell has made to the solution of the Indian problem in the Union of South Africa. His Excellency's advice proved invaluable at a critical stage of our relationship with South Africa, and he brought to bear a rare combination of ability, character and ex-

perience to the delicate and difficult task of constructive policy on the Indian question in the Union. It is, however, clear that until India is mistress in her own home, and is independent, her protests and representations will not be effective, as she is still a subordinate government. An ideal solution will be a treaty between India and the Union based on the principle of reciprocity, which may even concede certain commercial rights to the Union nationals in return for political concessions to Indians in South Africa. India ought to be ready for such a compromise, provided, of course, that the price demanded by the Union is not too high. There is no reason why we should not bring South African wool and Cape wines, and exchange them for our textiles, groundnuts and gunny bags.

I am inclined to think that reasonable men on both sides will evolve a settlement; adjustment of some of the issues is possible, and South African leaders may show their statesmanship and sympathy by conceding points here and there, in a way that will not alarm their party. A prudent man will naturally take what is offered. That is the line of least resistance and I should certainly recommend it until India is free. When we get our independence, and acquire the sense of men destined to rule our own country, we shall gather energy and grow in solid strength. I hope and believe that in the last resort we shall achieve what we desire by an honourable settlement on a footing of equality. The colour bar in Durban, Cape Town and other parts along the coast subjected the cream of Indian leadership in wartime in the defence forces of our government, en route to and from India, to humiliations on many occasions. There have been some very ugly incidents, and it was only the tact and wisdom of liaison officers, who are appointed by the Union Government in consultation with the High Commissioner for India, to prevent such incidents and look after the comforts of distinguished Indian visitors, that such incidents have not been frequent. Other Asiatics, from Ceylon, Java, (before the

attack on Pearl Harbour) and Egypt, have been subjected to the same treatment. South Africa has not relaxed these restrictions, though it must be said to the credit of the Government that it has made earnest efforts to remove all possibilities of friction. Indian high ranking officers and others found for the first time such a thing as colour bar, and have been astonished at the patience and fortitude with which the Indian community in the Union has borne these humiliations for the last eighty years.

I may sum up this part by saying that the prejudice against colour is so strong that it would be a miracle if the Indian community succeeds in getting any concession of a substantial nature in the near future. Diplomacy depends entirely upon the strength of the country which a diplomat represents, and it is ultimately the organised power of his country which is effective in getting its grievances redressed. The record of the Government of India in this respect is one of which any Government may be proud. They have spared no efforts to champion the cause of Indians in the Union, and have lent all the weight of their influence for the removal of these disabilities. They must, of course, respect the susceptibilities of a Dominion, but they have so far succeeded in getting all controversial matters referred to the cool and calm atmosphere of diplomatic negotiations by which representatives of the two Governments have discussed and settled numerous issues concerning the Indian community, of which the Indian public has no knowledge. The main difficulty which every Indian in South Africa encounters is that the structure of South Africa is built upon segregation. This does not of course mean that we should not confine our energies to the redress of only those grievances which are limited in scope, and do not affect the basic policy of Africa. Had Indians of any province of the Union been allowed to travel and reside in other provinces, such as the Cape, the pressure on Natal would have been lessened. It would have given employment to thousands of young Indians who are cooped and confined in Natal and are not allowed to travel

to other provinces without a permit. It would have solved the housing problem in Natal. By a wise distribution of the Indian population in the three provinces of the Union—the Cape, the Transvaal and Natal—the Indian problem would be easy of solution and the Indian community, too, will gain immeasurably. City life in the Cape and the Transvaal with its varied opportunities for the display of talent and energy, and its restless competition in commerce and public affairs will develop a vigorous personality in the Indian young men of Natal who seek adventures, and will act like a potent stimulus on personal endeavour, generating an acute desire for fame.

While we must keep up the goal in view, and never lose sight of the fact that our community will ultimately secure equal rights with the European, no serious effort can be made in this direction until India is a mistress in her own land. Until that position is achieved, we must go slow, and regulate the pace of our demand in proportion to the influence which we build up in the Government, and the contacts we establish in the Union. I repeat my warning in the early part of this book and declare that I should not be surprised if there is a fresh wave of anti-Semitism and anti-Indianism on the eve of a general election after this War, when South African soldiers come home. I have every hope that the sound commonsense of the leaders of the two races will succeed in preventing a recrudescence of the disgraceful incidents which followed the last war.

Education

I have dealt with the problem of education in some of my addresses, and have tried to show that, so far as Natal is concerned, it is an exceedingly delicate issue. An officer of the Government of India submitted a brilliant memorandum to his Government and the Union Government in 1928. In it he exposed the shortcomings of the Natal administration, and suggested several important proposals for reform. This took place in 1928. No action has been taken upon the report so far. Then came the Broome

Commission in 1937. Its chapter on Indian Education is eminently sensible and practical. Nearly seven years have elapsed, and the administration has taken no action on any of its recommendations. The only important measure that has been adopted so far is improvement in the pay of Indian teachers.

I will give you a summary of the educational progress of the Indian community in Natal.

	Coloured	*Indian*
Population (1936 Census)	18,513	183,646
Total number of Schools ..	37	105
No. of Government Schools	14	17
Hostels	2	Nil.
Government Bursaries ..	12	Nil. (except training as teachers).
Government expenditure on poverty relief in schools in 1937	4,289	1,000 (about)
Transport	Assisted	Nil.
Government expenditure on equipment and material in Govt. Schools in 1937 ..	2,542	637
Fees	Education free	Fees charged (this has been modified this year, and an eight-year scheme of free education has been introduced).
Number of children in schools	3,427	22,478
Expenditure by Govt. on education in 1937	39,830	96,085
Average cost per child ..	11·15	4·5
Percentage of children not at school	9%	50%

The Indian in Natal occupies the same position as the Coloured at the Cape. In fact the population of the Coloured at the Cape is nearly 700,000 while that of the Indian in Natal is only 183,646. Its proportion to the European population is practically the same. Yet we find that half

the school going population of Indians is receiving no education whatsoever, while only 9% of the Coloured children go without education. In the Cape, education is free up to the age of fifteen, while in the Transvaal both primary and secondary education is free, and poor pupils are supplied with books. In both these provinces, Indians and Coloureds are treated alike, and no distinction is made between them. The Natal administration have recently introduced a new scheme whereby all Indian children will receive education at the end of eight years. A start is being made with the lowest classes this year. They have also revised the salary scales of Indian teachers in aided schools.

Between 1927 and 1936, there was unprecedented expansion in the primary stage and the number of aided schools rose from 53 to 102, the number of pupils from 9,766 to 22, 274, and the annual expenditure on Indian education from £35,982 to £86,962. The position was, however, still unsatisfactory, and Mr. Hofmeyer induced the Natal administration in one year to provide £10,000 in its budget. Of this amount only £200 was spent.

The report of the Broome Commission showed that only 50% Indian children attend schools. The report also shows that thousands of Indian children never go beyond the infant standard and their education stops at this stage. The position of girls' education was far worse, and only 5,762 girls out of the estimated population of 19,000 between the ages of 6 and 14, were enrolled. Another point to which attention may be drawn is that while the Union Government pay the Natal administration a subsidy of £5-5-0 per Indian and coloured child, the actual expenditure incurred by this body was £4-5-0 on an Indian child and £11-15-0 for a Coloured child. Later on the Natal administration spent the whole of this amount on the Indian child, but it had not gone beyond this figure. The difference in the subsidy paid for the European and Indian child is substantial. On a European child £16-17-6 is spent, while on an Indian child only £5-5-0 is actually spent. The provincial administration pays nothing out of

its funds towards the expenditure of Indian education. The secondary education is in the same condition. There is only one secondary school at Durban, the Sastri College. It is overcrowded and many students cannot secure admission to it. Another school has been opened at Pietermaritzburg. The need for a secondary school in Northern Natal has long been felt, and I find that the Newcastle Primary School asked that it be raised to the status of a secondary school and some classes have been added to the primary schools. There is need for a secondary school at Ladysmith and Stanger, both of which places I have visited personally.

I have dealt so far with primary and secondary education. The education of the community in University institutions is subjected to serious restrictions. In all countries, no restrictions have been imposed on the admission of students of all nationalities to places of culture and learning. Yet Natal is the only province in the Union which debars Indians from admission to the Natal University College. To meet the needs of Indians who wish to prosecute their studies to the University stage, classes are held at a distance in Sastri College for Indians. I understand that the number of Indian students who are now preparing for a University degree is 93. Many of them are, however, part-time students, and are teachers in local schools. About 43 Indian students, of whom seven are girls, are receiving their education at Fort Hare College. There are about sixty Indian students in the Witwatersrand University and about twelve in the Cape Town University. This is the present position of Indian students. The progress of Indian students in University education is satisfactory, and I have no doubt that the number will increase in future.

On my representation, Mr. Hofmeyer most kindly appointed a Committee to discuss the feasibility of a Technical College for Indians in Natal and the possibility of a University College being established. I understand that the project of a University College is premature, and the Indian community is not yet ripe for it; a Technical College is, however, a vital necessity and the Committee recom-

mended the establishment of a Technical College in the immediate future. The Mayor had promised a piece of land for the College and the Durban Corporation had approved of it. Unfortunately racial feeling was aroused in Durban and the Finance Committee rescinded its previous resolution and the Durban Corporation have confirmed this rescission. The project of a Technical College for Indians has, therefore, been killed by the policy of the extremist section of the Durban Corporation. I have given a very brief analysis of Indian education in Natal, as I feel that in this province, the educational requirements of the community have not been fully met.

I am not, however, despondent, as I feel that the Indian community is determined upon giving a chance to every promising child wherever it is possible and its devotion to learning is proverbial. No community in the Union has contributed more to the establishment of aided schools in Natal, in proportion to its population and resources, and the stream of philanthropy has not yet dried up. In fact it is calculated that the community has donated nearly £ 94,000 for education up to date. The Natal administration too can no longer ignore the claims of the community, and I hope that the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee will be implemented without delay.

So far, secondary education has been neglected by the Indian community owing to the paucity of its resources. There are, however, two important educational projects which are going to have considerable effect on the future of the Indian community. The first project is sponsored by a wealthy Muslim merchant, Moulvi Mia, who has already established a boarding school for Indians. He is now anxious to found a secondary school with a boarding house at a distance of about seven miles from Johannesburg. It will be a residential institution, and most of the students will be supervised by school authorities. This is a step in the right direction, as young Indians have great temptations in a large place like Johannesburg, and I feel that no real

education can be imparted in a day school in a crowded city. The second project is launched by rich Muslims in Durban who are keen on establishing a secondary school with a boarding house. The amount actually promised is £ 30,000. This is a substantial sum and it speaks volumes for the new spirit of philanthropy which inspires the Indian community.

I do not think the time has yet come for a university for Indians in Durban. For the present it is necessary to concentrate on existing institutions and utilise them to the full, instead of incurring expenditure on a new institution of University standard and status. This is advisable both from the academic and financial points of view.

A review of the above will show that the Indian community has great leeway to make up in every grade of education. We have, however, no reason to be despondent, and I am confident that my community is now ready and keen on accelerated advance in every grade of education.

I should like to add that the Natal administration has decided to raise the scale of Indian teachers after strong representations and there is a distinct improvement in their salaries. The introduction of their eight-year scheme will take effect from this year. The proposal is to give free tuition to Indian children in Government and Government-aided schools. The transition is to be spread over a period of eight years commencing from August 1942.

It is intended to compensate Government-aided Indian schools for the loss of fees sustained by them by reason of this change. The revision of scales of pay of Indian teachers and the introduction of the eight-year scheme of free education undoubtedly marks an advance over the existing conditions. It does not provide for a substantial increase in the the per capita grant, as is done in the case of Coloured and European children. Nor does it provide for compulsory education or for education of Indian girls. Again, it leaves out of account the imperative need for proper nutrition of Indian children. The grant for this purpose is absurdly inadequate; nor

does it safeguard the health of Indian children by providing for medical inspection. There is no bursary system for our boys and girls while the buildings for many aided schools are in an unsatisfactory condition.

The Social Uplift of the Indian Community

South Africa is a western country in the sense that not only western standards of thought, but also western standards of life, have been adopted here by the ruling race. It is a young country, but its present inhabitants regard themselves as pioneers not merely of European culture, but of European ways of living. This is expressed in their dress, food, manners, behaviour towards the sexes, religion and sports. The Indian labourer in this land came with a small amount of culture, and it must be admitted that his home environment was by no means conducive to the intensive development of social progress. The merchant class belonged to the lower middle-class in Gujrat and Kathiawar, and the Upper Provinces, while in the Cape we find a number of Muslims from the Konkan. Had the representatives of the Indian middle-class come into this land, along with the labourers, the position of the Indian community would have been different. Indian students at Oxford or Cambridge find little difficulty in making friends with English students, as both imbibe the same intellectual culture. This is exemplified in the social and intellectual contact of the Indian with his European colleagues in the superior services in India. There is an amount of social solidarity in their daily intercourse, which is of the highest value in the maintenance of racial concord in India. But in Natal the situation was fundamentally different. Had a substantial proportion of our middle-class come to Natal their mind would have always been at work upon the ways of their fellow Europeans, the ideas they lived on, and the goal to which they were bound. From his earliest days the Indian middle-class man on his arrival in Natal would have travelled in body, from one virgin forest to another, with a

probing, questioning, analysing gaze which would have had an unshaken faith in the ultimate splendour of human achievement, and human brotherhood. This was unfortunately not the case. The Indian working class was thrown on its meagre resources, and it took a long time to throw up leaders, disfranchised and under-privileged as it was for decades. It can boast of some able men in Durban at the present time, after about 83 years of strenuous struggle in Natal. It was engaged in a desperate struggle for survival, and its energies were consumed in a ceaseless endeavour to improve its standard, and give a better start in life to the future generation. Compared to the European worker, the standard of the Indian factory hand or farm labourers is exceedingly low. He has discarded his distinctive natural costume, and is dressed in European style. Indian ladies, being the custodians of Indian traditions, have stuck to sarees, and it is a most pleasing sight to see beautiful sarees on graceful shoulders in Indian gatherings. The Indian people have not yet given up rice as their staple diet, but they found it difficult to procure it in the years 1942-43. Had the Indian workmen and merchants become accustomed to nutritious diet in a new clime the Indian race would have been stronger today. Physically, the Indian compares unfavourably with the Native, and this is due, in the main, to his diet.

The merchant class has better diet, and it can afford meat, milk, butter and fruits. The Bantu has his mealies, which is a nourishing diet, and much cheaper than rice, and is wholesome. I started a propaganda on nutrition in 1942, and told the Indian community that if it wishes to rise it must not be merely intellectually, but also physically fit. It must also be admitted that the descendants of Indians in South Africa who emigrated from Gujrat and Madras, lack the stamina and sturdiness of Indians from the North. Had there been an infusion of about 100,000 Pathans, Sikhs and others among them, the rigours of segregation would have been

modified in many parts of the Union. Every element of the Indian population has done well and has adapted itself to the needs and requirements of South African economy. The Indian community ought to have discarded all caste distinctions in a new land, and the purdah should have been given up long ago. Caste distinctions are fast disappearing, and the rigours of purdah have been relaxed, but the progress is not rapid enough in a progressive country.

In spite of these drawbacks, it has achieved substantial progress in the social sphere. Young Indians are European in their outlook and tradition, particularly in Durban. I am now convinced, after my tour through a large part of Natal, that the Indian community is swiftly assimilating western ways of living and developing the innate intelligence of its race. Europeans in Natal are aware of this phenomenon and admit the intellectual capacity of Indians. This makes the rivalry between the two races all the more keen. If a movement for political freedom of the Indian race gains momentum in South Africa it will not have its origin in Natal but elsewhere and Natal will acquiesce in such changes only because of the world opinion, and the pressure of renascent India.

In the Transvaal the Land Tenure Act of 1932 and the Interim Act of 1939 have seriously obstructed the progress of Indians. In Johannesburg the Indians are cooped up in the so-called Feetham Areas and are not allowed to purchase property in any other part of Johannesburg. This degrading condition has produced serious overcrowding among the Indian poor, has intensified competition among Indians for houses, has bred tuberculosis and other diseases which have levied a heavy toll owing to overcrowding and insanitary conditions, and has dragged Indians to a low social level. There was a talk of an Indian Township at Deepkloof about six miles from Johannesburg, but the objections to the scheme were so strong that the scheme is not likely to be realised.

Owing to segregation in industry, the Indian community has had no opportunity of productive work in industry. Its mind is necessarily set in a narrow groove, and the depth and range of its capacities are limited, as it is still saturated with the modicum of Indian culture which the pioneers brought here, and the new culture has so far been reflected only in external forms, in dress, in food to a certain extent, and in business acumen. In the Transvaal, the Indian community is practically synonymous with the Muslim community, except, of course, in Johannesburg. At Volksrust when the Indian community gave me a reception, in 1942, both the Mayor and Chief Magistrate said that it was given by the Muslim community, and I found few Hindus in the country districts. Muslims in country districts lack the resilience of their fellow-countrymen in big towns, are theological in their outlook, and have no incentive to move with the times. Their isolated life, which insulates them from cultural intercourse with their fellow-men, is at once the cause and effect of their medieval outlook on life. Their mind has stood still owing to their isolation in the country districts, and they are consequently backward in the knowledge of the new movements of thought. Their petty cares for their stores absorb most of their activity, and the outlook they bring to bear is that of the petty shopkeeper. Their young men are more enterprising and have greater energy, but they are cooped up in their shops, cannot go to the local cinema owing to the colour bar, cannot attend the local European school, cannot acquire land and cannot become members of any club. Hundreds of young Indians in Pretoria and elsewhere have told me with tears in their eyes that they do not know what to do with their wealth or their time and energy. Wealthy Indians are confined to separate Asiatic Bazaars or Locations through the Transvaal, which are dirty and insanitary, with poor roads and inadequate sanitary arrangements. This is another aspect of the

social problem. How can any community make any social progress and apply the social uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement, if it is denied the freedom to live in decent houses, the franchise in local bodies, and right to enjoy the social amenities of the towns? The Locations or Asiatic Bazaars, which are to be found all over the Transvaal, are deeply resented as outward signs of racial inferiority.

The Trade Union movement has made great progress in Natal, and has proved a most important factor in inculcating pride, self-respect and a sense of discipline among Indian workers. It has raised the status of the Indian workman, has improved his wages and housing, and has given him a feeling of solidarity with his white mates in a joint organisation. If the movement is confined to trade union work, pure and simple, it will prove a blessing to the Indian masses. The leftists have great influence in the Union's movement and its leadership was supplied in the initial stages by a brilliant leader who was of the Communist Party in Durban and districts. H. A. Naidoo was the ablest leader of the Trade Union movement in Durban. After his departure for Cape Town, the movement is guided by a number of ardent young men. The organising ability and messianic fervour of these young men have changed the outlook of the Indian worker, and it is not surprising that the Indian young man who has the femininely sensitive temperament of a race despised in Natal and subjected to discrimination should have thrown himself into the movement with characteristic ardour. It appeared to him as the armour of the Indian proletariat against exploitation and segregation. Good many Muslim and Hindu youths have filled the ranks of the Trade Union movement. The movement is fed and nourished by iniquitous laws passed in the interests of racial supremacy and is likely to encounter determined opposition in the post-war period. It is essential that cautious and moderate counsel should guide its growth during the stormy post-war periods.

There has been no relaxation in the severity of segregation rules, regulations and laws since the last war and this is likely to be intensified at the end of the present War. From 1885 to 1944, nearly sixty anti-Indian laws have been passed by the Union Parliament. The community dwells under the flickering shadow of the fearful sword wrought by prejudice, now uplifted in flashing menace, now held anew to the grindstone. Discrimination is a mocking paradox and it seems to rob our collective thought of reason and feeling. Each of the laws has been passed by legislative bodies of the country, and is a living appeal to the youth and manhood of the dominant race. The longer they last, the greater the danger of their being regarded as sacrosanct, and the greater the risk of people regarding them as the essence of South African culture. Indeed in some fanatical homes in the Transvaal and even in Natal, they are regarded as the highest expression of European supremacy. I am, however, glad to say that such fanatics are small in number. Such feeling against inhuman restrictions will, however, take a long time to find statutory expression, and will remain inchoate and vague. My experience of the South African people, both Dutch and English, is that they are very kind and open, and have generous instincts. They have established high living standards for the non-Europeans. I have a great admiration for their character and ability, and I rarely found it difficult to establish contacts with the best mind of the European population. The dislike of Indians as a community is due to the instinctive fear of India's teeming millions, and their low living standards. Their feeling of insecurity is real, and it is essential that Indians should understand their point of view. Though some South African leaders have succeeded in appeasing the internal stresses, and at the same time have shown themselves capable of rallying the whole strength of the Union in the cause of democracy, they have never yet dealt satisfactorily with the Native question or the Indian problem, and have left this unpleasant task to posterity. Whenever the Indian question

comes up for discussion in the Union Parliament, the whole beehive of the Union Assembly buzzes about vehemently, but with a clear purpose in accordance with the spirit of the hive. The racial feeling aroused by the fear complex and the Indian question is a hardy annual in the Union Parliament, and has established in the Assembly a spacious and predominant middle zone within which Indians can be fought out, and from which the handful of Cape Liberals who are supporters of the Indian cause are rigidly excluded. Hence we find that some of the most brilliant minds of South Africa, such as Dr. Malan and other intellectuals, find themselves living among the fears and uncertainties of the Middle Ages due to the inexorable working of segregation, without the energy and inspiration of the medieval faith.

I have indicated the difficulty which everyone must experience who wishes to relieve the community of some of its social and legislative disabilities. I feel, however, that social disabilities will gradually lose their force and potency if Indians are given political rights. It is no doubt a terrible humiliation for a highly educated Indian from Oxford or Cambridge, who lands in Durban and is told that there are laws in Durban which even czarism in its palmy days did not enforce against the Polish jews. He cannot sit on European benches on the beach; he cannot bathe in a particular section of the beach, as it is reserved for the superior race; he cannot, of course, enter a restaurant, a tea—room, barber's shop or a hotel as he has not the uniform of a white skin. In the Transvaal he cannot buy land and he must live in the ghettoes, Asiatic Bazaars or Locations, at a safe and sanitary distance from the graceful villas. No European theatre or cinema will admit him, and he has his own churches and his special cemetery. He is not eligible for Government or municipal posts, and he cannot enter any skilled or semi-skilled trade, as he is not accepted as an apprentice by Europeans. White nurses will not work under Indian doctors. Though he pays income tax and other dues, he has no municipal or parliamentary franchise, and

has no political rights. I have not exhausted the list of other regulations, such as separate counters for Indians in post-offices, railway stations, banks etc. The list will show the pervasive influence of the colour bar, and the intensity of its application. He dare not set foot on the soil of the Orange Free State, unless, of course, he goes on official business or is travelling to other provinces. If he enters this forbidden province he will be prosecuted. Finally, the Indian cannot travel freely from one province to another, and must get a permit before he gets on the train. He is subject to inter-provincial barriers. This is not a complete list of disabilities. I am not, however, despondent as I feel that if Indians are given political rights and have representatives in the town councils, it may be possible to modify the rigours of segregation in the Union of South Africa.

I have confidence in the capacity of my countrymen to overcome these obstacles, as I know that it is their power of spiritual resistance which has maintained the integrity of our race in this land. The time is not distant when the South Africans themselves will revolt against this vicious system, while the increase in national esteem and in the self-confidence of my community will turn the current of men's minds into channels of mildness, and will enable reasonable men of both races to pursue their prophylactic work with far greater harmony. My task has consisted so far in building up bases of good will and mutual trust between my race and the South Africans.

The Indian community in the Union has borne these humiliations with exemplary fortitude for more than seventy years. Memories of India's ancient greatness have spurred her children on to emulation, and new breed of men has sprung into being by the combination of diverse elements of the Indian community, each locality, such as Stanger, Cape Town and Durban, deriving specific quality from the varying proportions in which the virtues of our race are mingled. The modern Indian genius, the genius of the Indian Renaissance, which has been expressed in

politics, literature, administration and scholarship, is now expressing itself in pioneering work in new and undeveloped regions in Africa and Asia.

The Ganges Valley is the abode of Indian culture and freedom, and its noble tradition and yearning towards antiquity have acted like a potent stimulus on personal endeavour, and a burning aspiration to be numbered with the mighty men whom India has produced for thousands of years. The Indian in Durban has the same blood flowing in his veins, and the young Indian lad, by the bank of the Umgeni river, with long dark hair and liquid eyes, still considers India's sacred lore his spiritual sustenance, and has a sincere faith in the goodness and the glory of the Indian intellect revealed by India's heroic endeavour through thousands of years of organic growth.

The Indian community has risen from the depths through suffering. It will gain in mental stature and political maturity through discriminatory laws and colour bars. Pegging Acts, Natal Ordinances, restrictions on mental growth of the Indian race, shackles on its economic progress, and social amelioration, will strengthen its determination to maintain its self-respect and racial honour, and it will oppose with the resources at its disposal all attempts to lower its status or deprive it of means of limited opportunity for advancement.

The Indian issue in the Union has never been regarded as the domestic concern of the South African Government. The Government of India was a party to the immigration of Indian labourers to Natal. It is bound by the engagements entered into by the Natal administration for fair treatment of Indians under its jurisdiction. Moreover, the world opinion is being mobilised on this issue. The twenty-six nations that fought for the cause of freedom against a ruthless foe are animated by principles for which the Indian race has sacrificed in thousands. They know that colour bars against a highly gifted and cultured race will bring about an ever-widening separation between Asia and Europe, and will obstruct natural action

of the mind for freedom. The Indian community in South Africa relies upon the good sense of all peoples of the world who have entered into the inheritance of spiritual freedom by fighting Hitlerism to listen to its grievances and give it political freedom and social justice. I am convinced that the case of the Indian community will be heard, and its claim for freedom will be conceded.

The enormous influence which the Native policy of South Africa wields in Central and East Africa will be clear from one example. A Secretary of the South African Workers' Union visited Northern Rhodesia in 1936, and formulated the policy of his Union with the utmost frankness, in the following words, "He had come to help make Northern Rhodesia a white country. He was surprised to find that the Native had actually encroached upon not only unskilled labour but skilled labour in this territory, and he asked what was going to happen to the white man in this country if they were not organised. In the near future, Union men only would be employed on the Copper Belt." The then Governor (Sir Hubert Young) made it clear that the Native policy of the Government would not encourage any encroachment by Natives on the work now performed by Europeans. The same Secretary made it perfectly clear that Downing Street will not be allowed to interfere in this matter. The colour bar is as severe in Southern Rhodesia as in the Union. In fact, the two Rhodesias, Northern and Southern, have given examples of discrimination in their educational policy which are worse than many administrative measures in South Africa. While Southern Rhodesia spends £ 30-13-9, and Northern Rhodesia £ 28-8-7, on each of its European children, they allot no more than 13 shillings and 9d and 4 shillings and six pence for each child of Africans. In Kenya, £ 18-12-0 was spent on each European child, and only 14 shillings and 3 pence on Native child, of which 20% was derived from direct taxation of Africans. The Indian child in Kenya received a higher percentage.

On the whole, it must be said that in Kenya and Tanganyika and Southern Rhodesia the Indian is not subjected to discriminating laws in force in the Union of South Africa. So far as the Natives are concerned, there appears to be a definite movement in Kenya to encourage the Native against the Indian, and undermine Indian influence in East and Central Africa by keeping in force the war time defence regulation which prohibits the immigration of Indians into Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda for the duration of war and six months thereafter. I am convinced that strenuous attempts will be made by European leaders in Kenya to make these regulations permanent on some pretext or other, unless India takes strong measures to prevent it. I am also of the opinion that an attempt will also be made to bring the Indian community in Kenya down to the level of the South African Indian. Tanganyika and Uganda are more liberal in their outlook than Kenya and the two Rhodesias, and I must place on record my conviction that the Tanganyika administration has tried to do justice to Indians. Uganda appeared to me to be the most progressive part of Africa. Its Natives have given many examples of political ability and administrative experience. From my talks with high officials in Dares Salam as well as with Indian leaders of all classes, I am convinced that the Tanganyika Government will not be a party to any measure which will limit Indian rights. Their present policy may be due to the fact that it is a mandated colony, and they were to give an account periodically of their administration to the League of Nations. That this is so will be clear from the fact that South Africa makes a clear distinction between Natives of the Union and those of South West Africa which was a German colony before the last war, and was given to South Africa as a mandate in 1919. The treatment of Natives in this colony is far better than that of South African Natives, and this is due mainly to the fact that it is a mandated territory. The justification of the mandate system lies in the fact that the mandated power is accountable

to the League of Nations for the treatment of inhabitants committed to its charge. Various proposals have lately been made for the abolition of the system, such as annexation of mandated territories by the mandatory power. Mr. Sumner Welles has discussed this question in the *Time for Decision,* and has made proposals which will improve the mandatory system. He thinks that the mandatory system should be safe-guarded by supervisors appointed by the proposed world organisation. I am of the opinion that some such organisation is absolutely essential for the progress of the peoples of Africa and Asia. It will be one of the most important duties of the new body to insist upon the abolition of all discriminatory legislation in countries which are members of the organisation. The new organisation must sweep away these examples of racial arrogance, and insist on strict enforcement of its decisions.

Having dealt with discrimination in the British territories in East, Central and South Africa, let me say a few words on the colonial systems of Latin nations—Portugal, France and Belgium—in Central and East Africa. The Latin nations are comparatively free from the colour complex. They are not colour-blind, but are more liberal in social intercourse and in the treatment of Natives. Natives of Africa have attained high positions in these colonies. I had the privilege and pleasure of paying my respects to the Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, in June, 1942. It takes only about twenty minutes to reach Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, from Leopoldville, the capital of the Belgian Congo. I was received by His Excellency Ebouve and Madame Ebouve and discussed many topics for about an hour. Their Excellencies were pure Negroes. Her Excellency was educated in a convent school at Paris. His Excellency made Brazzaville the headquarters of the De Gaulle movement in the dark days of 1943 and his success as an administrator was acknowledged by all the leading Europeans I met in those parts.

The French system is more humane and the Natives seem happier, as they have prospect of attaining the highest position in their land, and mix freely with their European colleagues. There are, however, two points which should be taken into account in assessing the merit of the French system. In the first place, the Natives who reach high position in French administration can do so by sacrificing Negro interests and sharing in the exploitation of their compatriots. They are the "mental slaves" of France, and cannot secure the progress of the Negro race outside the frame-work of the French political and economic system. This is facilitated by the use of French language, which is compulsory in Native schools. In the second place, the exploitation of their colonies is conducted with a rigour and severity which have ruined the economic and political growth of these colonies. Their economy is integrated with French economy, and the island of Madagascar must specialise in coffee, and is not permitted to build up subsidiary industries on a big scale as they may compete either with French products or with products of other parts of the French Empire. The economy of the French Empire must be subordinated to French economy, and Metropolitan French issues authoritative decrees for the regulation and exploitation of the resources of the French Empire.

The Belgian system may be studied in the Belgian Congo. The Belgian atrocities which were made known by E. D. Morel and Roger Casement horrified Europe in the beginning of the present century. The present administration seems to have changed its old policy and I found throughout the Belgian Congo, during my visit to this enormous area in June 1942, as the guest of the Governor-General of Congo, that the Natives were relatively free from colour bar in industry, services and other spheres. Most of engine drivers and assistant medical officers are Natives, while in the textile factory at Leopoldville, which employs 3,000 workers, only about 300 superior posts are held by the Europeans, and the rest of the workers

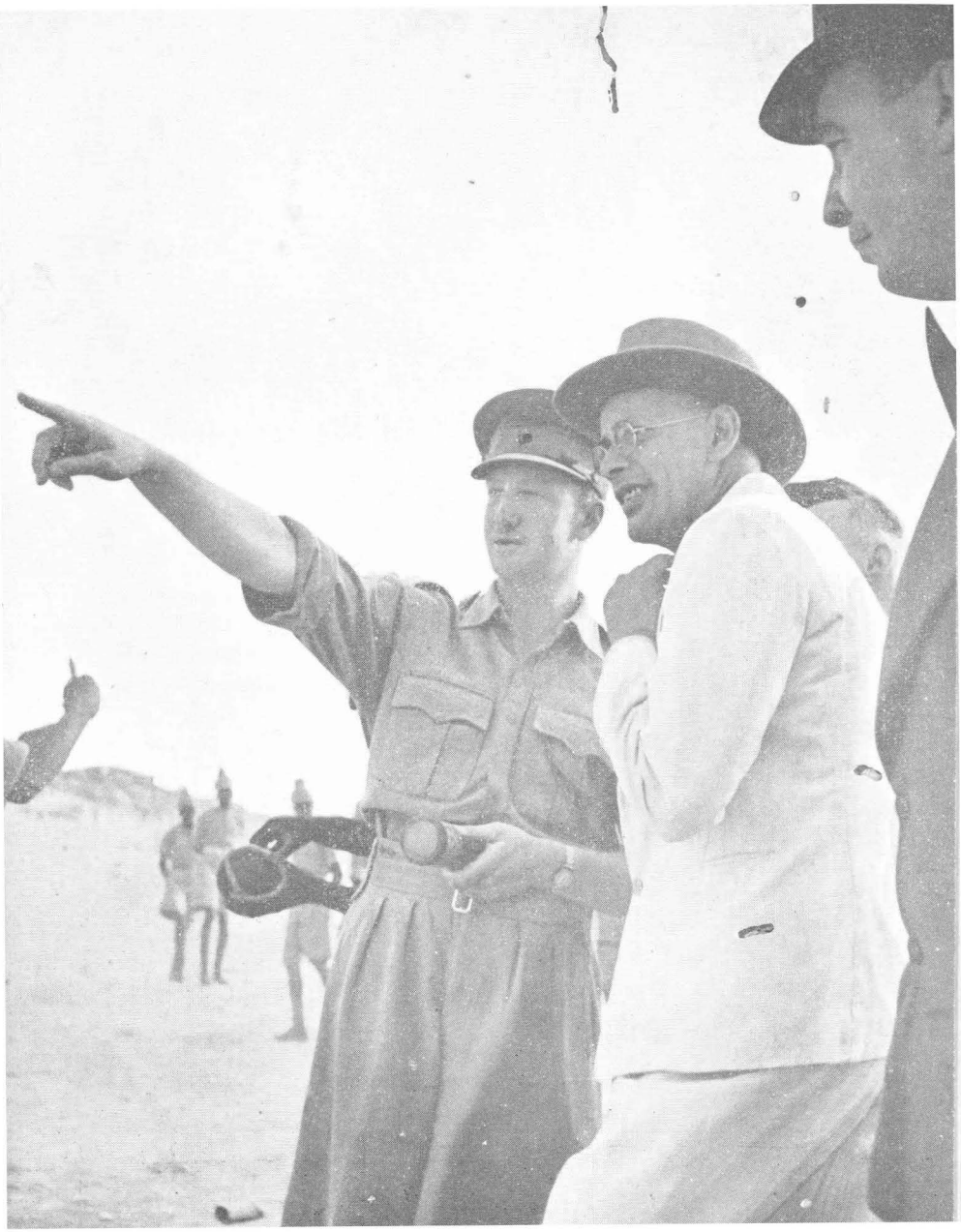
are Natives. The Belgian Native appeared to me to have greater intelligence and initiative than the Bantu. The Governor-General is a Fleming, and his record in the present war has been magnificent. I was deeply impressed with his energy, ability and sympathy with the legitimate demands of Natives. It is a colony with an area of one million square miles and only ten million Natives. Hence, the life of every Native is essential for the rapid development of the Congo. The resources of the Congo are illimitable and the government is adopting effective measures to preserve and strengthen the Native races by proper attention to their nutrition, housing and public health. The Congo is virtually in the hands of four combines, which are now engaged in the development of its resources; the Catholic Church also takes an active part in looking after the educational and spiritual needs of the Natives. Roman Catholicism is playing a most important part in elevating the lot of the Native in Belgian and Portuguese colonies in Africa. In South Africa, too, its votaries are distinguished for their liberal outlook and humane treatment of the Negro. In the Belgian Congo, the influence of the Catholic clergy has proverbially been wholly beneficial to the Negro race.

The Portuguese are proverbially liberal and generous in their treatment of the Natives. The contrast between the liberal outlook and kind treatment of the Indian at Laurenco Marque, which is only about 350 miles from Johannesburg, and the suffocating atmosphere of discrimination and segregation in the Union is overwhelming. Indians occupy high administrative posts in Angola, and in some cases Portuguese have intermarried with Indians. The Portuguese have all the grace and culture of a great people and in their treatment of the Indians they are considerate and courteous. Brazil which was once a colony of Portugal, is free from the colour complex and its Archbishop is a Mulatto.

On the whole, I am definitely of opinion that the Latin races have been far more successful in the administration of their colonies in Africa than other European races, and

colour bar is less stringent in their territories than in East, Central or South Africa.

Let me refer here to another aspect of the colour problem which has not been dealt with so far. Discrimination in Africa is the result of monopoly capitalism and has its root in the greed and rapacity of imperialist powers. The scramble for Africa started only a few years before the end of the last century, and the whole of Africa was partitioned in a decade by gigantic companies which were floated to develop copper in Southern Rhodesia, gold in South Africa, and minerals in the Belgian Congo. These companies have been changed into huge cartels and have established monopolies in their areas. Africa has attracted shareholders and investors from all parts of the world, but the bulk of the capital in British Colonies comes from England. Those who wish to study this subject further may refer to Professor Frankel's book, *Capital Investment in Africa.* Africa is par excellence the home of monopoly capitalism, and the gigantic combines and cartels are all linked together, by agreements and conventions. The United Kingdom Corporation worked actively in all the British Colonies during the War; so did the Imperial Chemical Industries, and Lever Brothers. The Copper Company in Northern Rhodesia is another example of monopoly. These industrial combines are under the effective control of the financiers and bankers of the City of London. The influence of these integrated combines is overwhelming. Imperialism in Africa is simply a development of monopoly capitalism, and in this respect it differs wholly from the imperialism of ancient Rome. Discrimination and segregration are the inevitable result of monopoly and capitalism. Hence the problem of colour is in one sense the problem of freedom from the tentacles of economic monopoly, and the emancipation of the under-privileged from the domination of capitalism. Had we applied in modern times the principles preached in the first three centuries of Christianity, the faith of south Africa would not have attached itself to symbols of racial inferiority;



The High Commissioner for India in South Africa on a visit to Indian troops in Libya, in May, 1942. An officer explaining movements of a brigade, somewhere in the desert

and it would have been taken as the shrine of an indwelling spirit nobler than itself The passionate aspirations of the Indian race would not have ended in segregation.

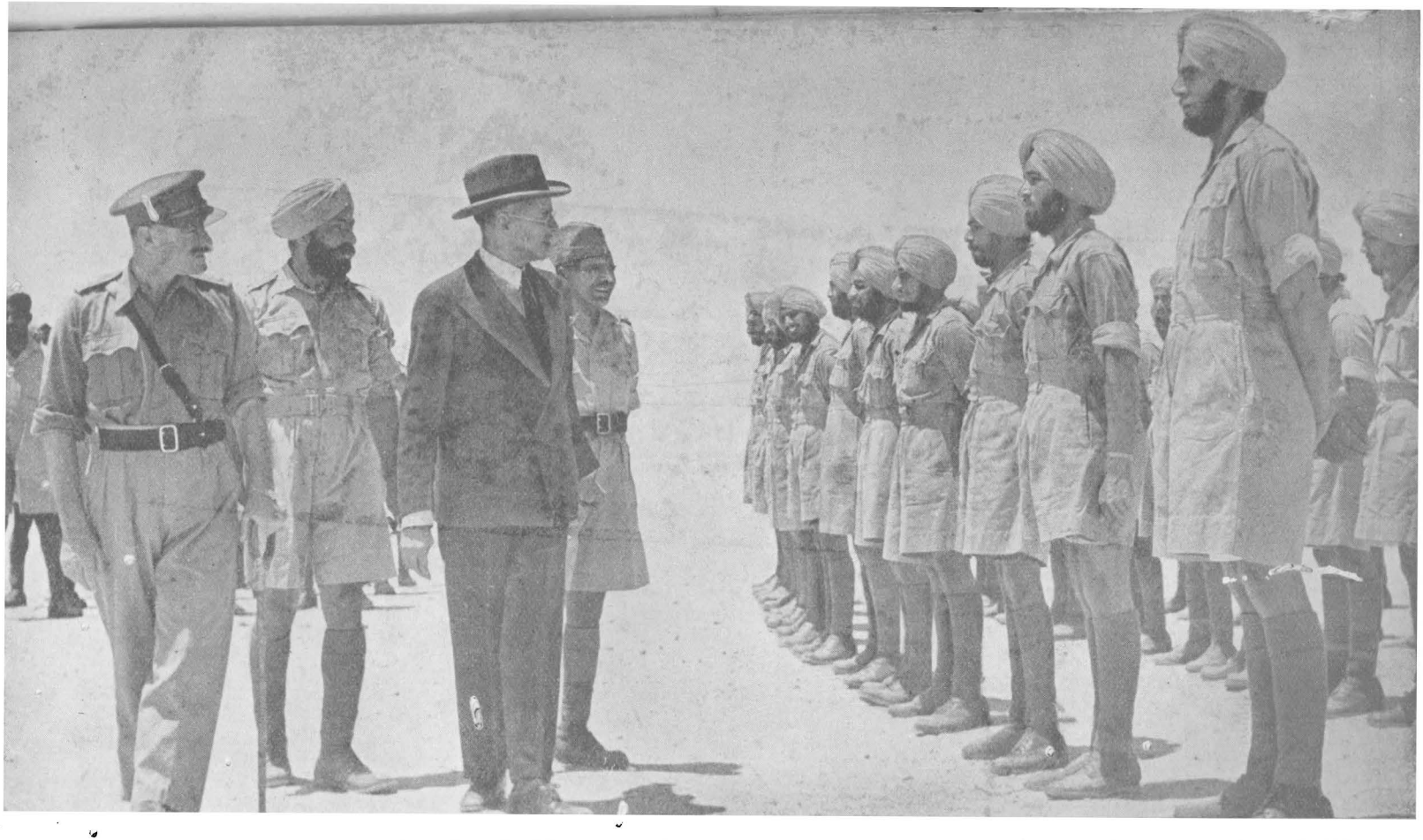
I may give here a brief account of my visit to Libya in May, 1942. I left Durban at the end of April, 1942, and arrived at Cairo in the beginning of May. After a short stay in Cairo, I went by air to Mersa Metruh, a distance of 300 miles, and went on to Sollum by car, a distance of 175 miles. I slept at Sollum, and the following morning went on to Fort Capuzzo. At Sollum, I was received by Colonel Chowdhry, who later commanded a battalion in Burma, and the following day met General Mayne, now Military Adviser to the India Office. The mighty escarpment which leaves the coast at Sollum and swings down inland had a great defensive value, and Sollum changed hands several times in campaigns in Libya which did not end till Rommel had been driven into Tripoli. In June, Rommel started his famous offensive, and Tobruk fell. In July the Alamein front was established. I was the guest of His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleck during my tour in Libya, and was introduced to officers of most of the battalions of the Fourth and Fifth Indian Divisions in the desert.

The impression made upon me by Indian officers and men in Libya is unforgettable. This is, however, not the place for a detailed account of the tour.

The campaign in Libya has been discussed by a number of journalists and numerous books have already been published in England and U. S. A. An objective account is not possible till after the War is over. I may, however, refer here to an able study of the campaign against Rommel by a correspondent who was in all its phases, and has recorded his impressions in a work entitled, *War Against Rommel.* I may conclude this brief account by quoting a sentence from this book, "The preparations for the battle (of Alamein) had been long and elaborate. The

tanks and guns and planes and many of the men of the army had started out from Britain and America months before, when Auchinleck was still Commander-in-Chief. The front line itself—the whole *mise en scene*—had been bequeathed by Auchinleck to Montgomery as a going concern. It was for Montgomery to tell them what to play, and then to conduct them himself." From Cairo I went by air to the Congo, and was the guest of the Governor-General at Leopoldville for four days. On the fifth day I flew to Elizabethville and after a forced halt in a Congo village for a day, as my plane had been damaged, we reached Elizabethville in the evening. In the morning I left at six o'clock and arrived at Johannesburg at 12—a record flight of 1500 miles in six hours. Elizabethville appeared to me to be one of the healthiest parts of the Belgian Congo.

A Royal Commission on the Indian question in East and South Africa would certainly have gained a greater support in India, if Indian leaders had arrived at a settlement and formed a national government at the centre. The impression in India is that sections of European opinion in East and South Africa are trying to entrench themselves in the positions they have built up through discriminatory legislation for the last twenty-five years, and are exploring fresh grounds for more effective forms of discrimination to maintain an unchallenged supremacy. Hence, when Indians become masters in their homelands, they will find it difficult to remove these discriminatory laws and it will take them some time before the Indian race secures an equal opportunity for economic and political equality. I hesitate to express an opinion on this point, but I am bound to say that this view among Indians was general, and leaders of the Indian race were apprehensive of the post-war plans which South and East Africa had been maturing during the last three years. I am bound to say that the forecasts of these men have been verified, and confidence in the promises made during the War has diminished considerably. It is a tragedy that these events should



Sir Shafa'at's visit to Indian troops in Libya, in May, 1942. The High Commissioner inspecting a famous Indian regiment in Libya

occur, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, and a calamity that a new policy in Kenya should be pursued at a time when the Labour Government is in power.

The position in South Africa has shown no signs of improvements. On the contrary, it deteriorated considerably in 1945. The Government of South Africa made a fatal blunder by conceding the demand for a Pegging Bill in 1943, and passing it with indecent haste against the strongest protests and representations of the Government of India. The proximity of the general election probably forced the hands of the Government, otherwise the support of Natal province to the United party would have been jeopardised. But it was a fatal concession, as Natal was not satisfied with the Act. The following year, in 1944, the Pretoria Agreement was signed. The Government of India lent only moral support to the agreement on the perfectly sound ground that they had no right to disown a pact which had been brought about by the duly constituted organisation of the Indian community. It is necessary to reiterate that the Government of India are not committed to the Pact, and have never regarded it as an ideal solution of the problem. The Pretoria Agreement was, however, repudiated by the leaders of Natal Europeans, and a number of Ordinances were passed by the Natal Provincial Council which would have greatly restricted the few remaining rights which the Indian community had been able to preserve so far. The later cables from South Africa show, however, a disquieting state of affairs. I quote the later cable below:

"Pretoria, October 13—Outlining the Durban City Council's proposals for "racial zoning," the memorandum handed to Premier Smuts at yesterday's talks says the broad objective of the proposal is "merely that the natural tendency of men to localize themselves in groups, in obedience to the instinct which leads them to choose to live amongst men similar to themselves, should be assisted and encouraged and guided. Without guidance in this way, this

tendency leads—as it has in the past—to the establishment of 'racial islands' of one group of the population, surrounded by an unsympathetic or even hostile ring of members of another group."

"It is fundamental that creation of racial islands of this sort should be avoided if the ideal of racial harmony within the city is to be achieved.

"Ultimately the Durban City Council's proposals visualize that all the members of each racial group within the city—Europeans, Indians and Natives—will be localized in their respective zones, with the exception of the central commercial and industrial parts of the city, which do not lend themselves so readily to this treatment."

As a first step towards the achievement of these ideals, the memorandum says the City Council proposes to establish a model satellite township for housing those Indians for whom better housing is required. In the satellite township Indians would be given all the amenities provided in European townships.

The Council, however, does not contemplate any sudden or violent uprooting of the people concerned, as such a proposal would be incompatible with the Council's general attitude towards the whole problem.

The Council's proposals have not so far been developed beyond the general principles, outlined in the memorandum."

The satellite town which the Durban Corporation proposes is nothing else but a Location, and those who know what a Location in South Africa implies will realise the implications of this proposal. For more than two years, since April, 1943, the poor, helpless Indian community passed through the nightmare of racial strife, and now it is called upon to accept segregation of the worse kind, a separate township which will reproduce, in essentials, all the horrors of locations for the Natives of South Africa. The sanitary condition of these Locations is terrible, and the Indian community, which has steadily improved its social condition in the century, and is in no way inferior to other

communities in any respect, is called upon, not only to accept the Pegging Act, and Natal Provincial Ordinances of 1944, but also to relegate itself to the position of outcasts from Durban.

This amazing proposal is made by a Catholic leader, who forgets that there are thousands of Indian Catholics in Natal, at a time when a Labour Government is in power in London and a war for freedom of mankind has just been concluded.

This is a remarkable interpretation of the doctrine of trusteeship, and I have no doubt that General Smuts, who came back from the San Francisco Conference this year, with fresh laurels on his brow, will be able to enlighten South Africa on his views on the latest proposals of the Durban Corporation.

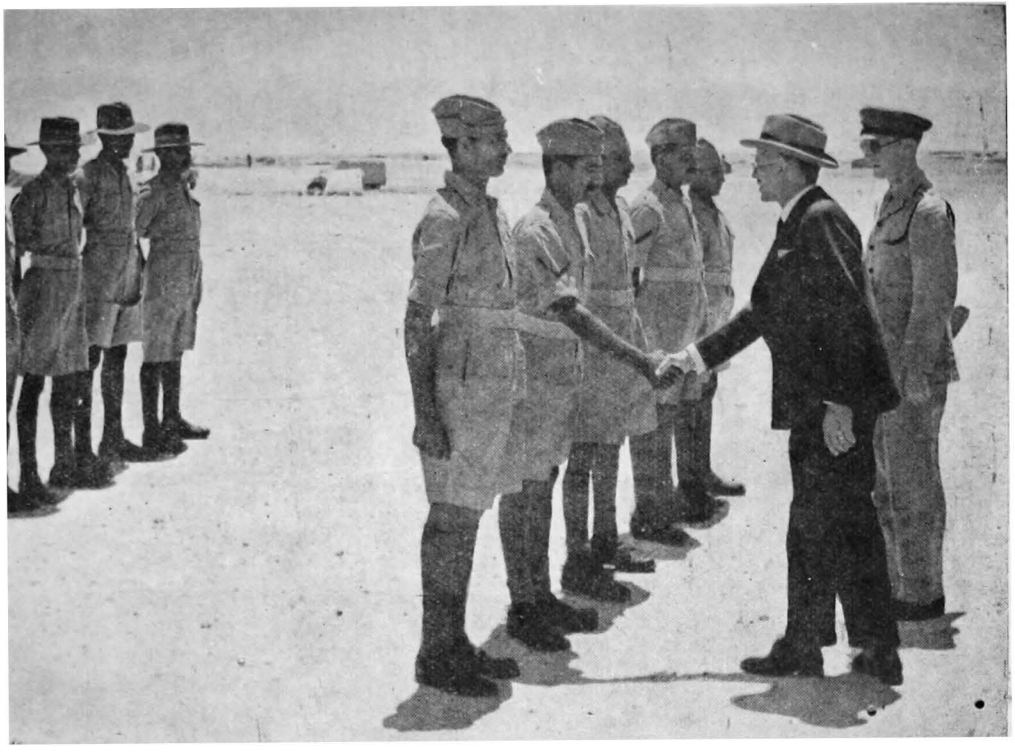
The astonishing feature of this controversy is the complete silence of the powers which fought for freedom against Nazism on the Indian question in South Africa.

What is U. S. A. going to do in this matter? Has France no interest whatsoever in alleviating the lot of a race that has been heroically trying to maintain its struggle for freedom from segregation? There are one thousand Chinese in Johannesburg. What action is the revived and rejuvenated Chinese Government going to take in a matter which concerns thousands of Chinese in South Africa? What provision, if any, is made for investigation by international powers into the discriminatory laws which have been piled up in East, Central and South Africa? Unless England, France and U. S. A. take concerted action, there is little likelihood of substantial improvement in the lot of Natives and Indians in these lands.

As one who has had many opportunities of talking with the South Africans, and dealing with their high ranking officials, on some of the most delicate issues, I have no hesitation in declaring that the South African people as a whole are endowed with all the qualities which make a great nation. In their political and social institutions,

by anticipating the tendencies of the modern world, and stressing the need for a high standard of living, they have created the intellectual milieu required for the social progress of the post-war world. The standard of living of Indians in South Africa is much higher than in India and in the application of science to the problems of hygiene, sanitation, housing, food and nutrition, South Africa has set an example which India ought to follow. This is unfortunately combined with an amount of discrimination in many walks of life which is legitimately felt by Indians as signs of racial inferiority. It must also be admitted that discrimination in its varied phases is the product of already existing social forces in the country, and the present generation of South Africans has entered into the inheritance of an ideology which has been an active force in the life and thought of the great Afrikaner race for over a century. When the Afrikaner race arrived at self-expression, from 1836 onward, it perpetuated the qualities of its race, and impressed its character upon the social institutions of the country. In its struggle for survival amidst a swarming mass of indigenous inhabitants, it lost the opportunity of grounding a rational philosophy of human relationship upon a solid basis of morality for the modern world.

We must, however, study the background of these people, before we pass judgment on their action. As I have been forced to criticise some of the measures passed in 1943-44, I may say that in the expression of these views I was obliged to voice the views of the Indian people. They were the views of a sincere admirer of the country and its great people. It is, moreover, essential that we should take into account the peculiar difficulties of the South African Government. The Indian issue has a vital bearing on the Native question, and though I do not believe for a moment that these should be treated as a single issue—that would be disastrous to the Indian cause—it is necessary for Indian leaders to consider dispassionately the complexity of the colour problem in the



Indian soldiers in Libya, in 1942. Sir Shafa'at shakes hand with men of a Signal Company

Union. It is essential that we should refrain from interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa. This does not mean that India should not insist on the fulfilment of the agreements into which South Africa solemnly entered for the last fifty years. Until the Indian race in the Union is granted franchise and the right of representation in her political institutions, India must continue to press for the freedom of the Indian race. All that it implies is that South Africa like all young and virile nations deeply resents any interference in her domestic policy, and Indian representations must be conducted with great tact and discretion. The normal methods of diplomacy must always be used, as delicate negotiations between two Governments cannot be conducted in the headlines of newspapers, nor can they be maintained on the floor of the Assembly. The Polish people tried it in London, with disastrous results.

I have infinite faith in the future of the Indian race in South and East Africa. Had India equipped her sons with the rudiments of science as applied to diet, hygiene, food and housing, before they left her shores, their lot in these lands would have been much happier. They have overcome the initial difficulties, though good many still retain traditions which are imcompatible with the social system of the new lands, and in their struggle for survival, they have been compelled to assimilate the results of western science.

The younger elements are impatient of the restraints which are imposed upon their expansive energy, and mistake dreams for realities and words for facts. To them I would advise patience and self-discipline. India is on the march, and no power on earth can delay her freedom. Freedom is India's birth-right, and she will get it through her inherent strength. Indian intellect, after lying spell-bound during a long night of centuries, has resumed her activity, and is enjoying the pleasures of unimpeded energy. When India achieves her freedom, she will not forget the claims of her sons and daughters overseas. She will

then be able to speak with power and authority, and her voice will be heard with respect and attention in the council of the world. South African Indians will undoubtedly gain by the added prestige and influence which India will command. It is, however, necessary to point out that they should not look to India to help them in their relations with the Union Government on all and every occasion. This will only embitter their relations with their fellow-citizens and will intensify racial cleavage. Only on rare occasions, when basic rights are infringed, should they appeal to this country, and to the Government of India. On all other occasions they must build up their relationship with the other races on the solid basis of common interests and common citizenship.

APPENDIX A

THE PEGGING ACT

I am giving below important Sections of the Pegging Act. I have left out sections 2 and 3, as they are purely formal.

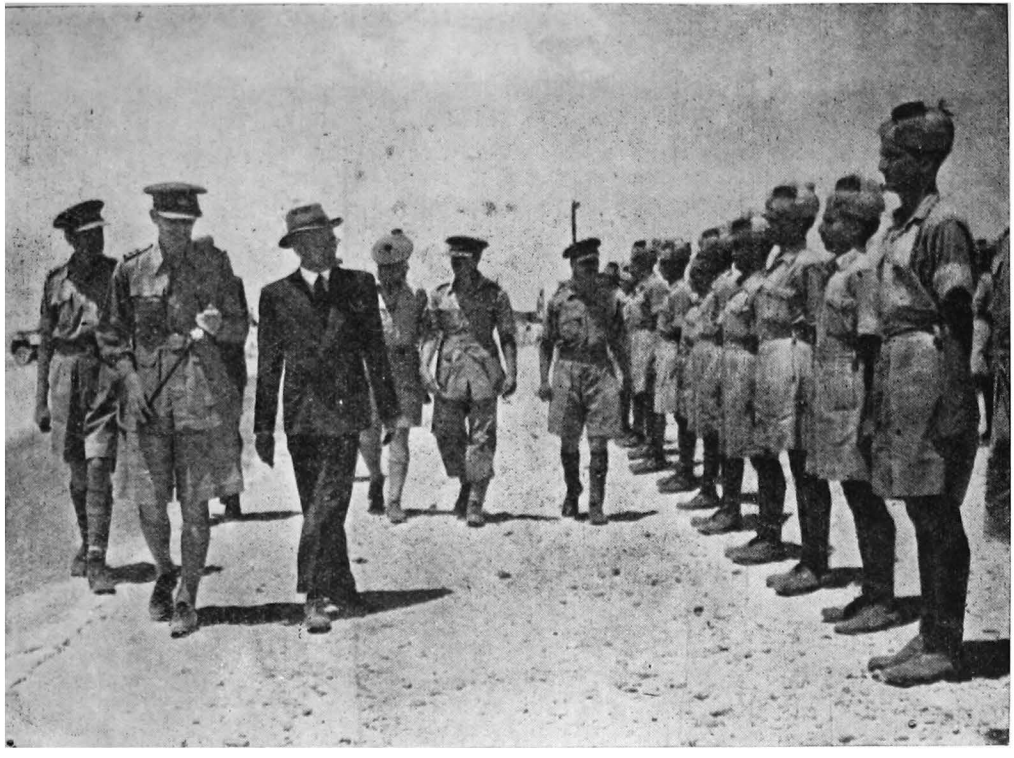
Definitions—

1. In this Act:—

"Asiatic" has the meaning assigned to that expression by section eleven of the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal), 1919 (Act. No. 37 of 1919), and includes any Asiatic company as defined in the said section; provided that for the purposes of this definition an interest which is held on behalf of or for the benefit of an Asiatic shall be deemed to be held by an Asiatic;

"European" includes a company which is not an Asiatic company in terms of the preceding definition:

"fixed date" means, in relation to the municipal area of Durban, in the Province of Natal, the twenty-second day of March 1943 and in relation



Sir Shafa'at's visit to Libya, in May, 1942. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan talking to men of an Indian Armoured Brigade

to any other area in respect of which the provisions of section six apply, the date as from which the said provisions have by the relative proclamation under section eight been applied in respect of that area;:

"Minister" means the Minister of the Interior or any other Minister of State to whom the Governor-General has assigned the administration of this Act or any other Minister of State acting on behalf of any such Ministers; and "premises" includes any room or apartment in any building.

Amendment of section 3 of Act 28 of 1939 as amended by section 2 of Act 28 of 1941.

4. Section three of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939, is hereby amended by the deletion in sub-section (1) of the words "and before the first day of May, 1943."

Restriction on certain agreements relating to certain land in Natal:

5. (1) No European shall, except under the authority of a permit issued under section seven, enter into any agreement with an Asiatic in terms of which any party to the agreement acquires or purports to acquire—

(*a*) any land or premises in any area in respect of which the provisions of this section apply in terms of section eight; or

(*b*) any right to occupy or to allow any other person to occupy any such land or premises for an indefinite period or for a period of ten years or longer or for a period which, together with any period or periods for which the holder of such right is entitled to renew the agreement, equals or exceeds a period of ten years; or

(*c*) any share in or debenture of any company which is the owner of any such land or premises or the holder of any such right;

and no Asiatic shall, except under the said authority, enter into any such agreement with a European.
(2) Any such agreement entered into after the commencement of this Act between a European and an Asiatic, otherwise than under the authority of such a permit, shall be null and void.
(3) Any such agreement relating to land or premises in the municipal area of Durban in the Province of Natal, or to any share in or debenture of a company which is the owner of any such land or premises or the holder of any right referred to in paragraph (*b*) of sub-section (1) in respect of any such land or premises, entered into on or after that twenty-second day of March, 1943, and before the commencement of this Act, between a European and an Asiatic shall be null and void, if such a permit is not granted in respect thereof within a period of three months after the said comment.
(4) In this section any reference to a European or an Asiatic includes a reference to any person acting for the benefit of a European or Asiatic, as the case may be.
Section 6. (1) purports to be based on the principle of reciprocity as it subjects the European to precisely the same penalty to which the Asiatic is liable. This will not deceive a person of the meanest intelligence, as there are very few cases of Europeans wishing to occupy any land or premises occupied by Indians, and it was the insistent desire of an overwhelming number of middle class Indians to improve their standard of living by occupying European houses which led to the passing of the Pegging Act. The number of Europeans desirous of occupying Indian houses is fantastically small yet the provision is solemnly inserted to make the world believe that there is strict impartiality in the allocation of residential areas for the two races in Durban. It is sufficient to state that

the outcry raised by the publication of the Report of the Second Broome Commission had no justification whatsoever for publishing a map which gave a false perspective of the situation in Durban. This was not of course, the intention of the Commission, but the effect produced on the mind of an average member of the Union Assembly must have been detrimental to racial harmony and peace. The value of property held by Indians in the Old Borough is estimated at four million pounds sterling as against thirty five million pounds worth of property held by Europeans. Indians owned only 1783 sites as against 12,782 owned by Europeans. Of a total acreage of 8,274 acres, Indians held only 359 acres which is only 4 p.c. of the total acreage. The penetration into European areas was not excessive and the largest amount of penetration took place in the two months that preceded the introduction of the Bill. The Indians began building houses on a disproportionate scale as they feared that a Bill was being prepared by the Government to bring about residential segregation, and precipitated the issue by this action. Even the number of houses that changed hands was relatively small, and did not justify the introduction of the Bill. The total acreage of land in Durban which is occupied by Indians is only 4 p.c., while the population percentage of Indian and European is about equal. The Pegging Act was according to some people used merely as an instrument to rouse racial passions, and thereby secure success in the general election which took place in July, 1943. All impartial observers agree that the same object could have been achieved in Natal without subjecting the Indian race to the Pegging Act.

Permits—

7. (1) The Minister may, in his discretion, direct

that a permit be issued, to be signed by an officer thereto appointed by him, authorizing any agreement referred to in section five or the occupation of or the granting of permission to occupy any land or premises in respect of which the provisions of section six apply.

(2) In exercising his powers under sub-section (1), the Minister may take into consideration the relative needs of Europeans and Asiatics in the area concerned in regard to housing, the amenities of life and educational and recreational facilities and any other matters which in his opinion are relevant to the question whether or not any permit applied for should be granted.

Areas in respect of which sections 5 *and* 6 *apply—*

8. (1) The provisions of sections five and six shall apply in respect of the municipal area of Durban in the Province of Natal, and in respect of any other area in the said province in respect of which they may be applied by the Governor-General by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

(2) The Governor-General may by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that the provisions of sections five and six shall cease to apply in respect of the said municipal area, or in respect of any area in respect of which they have been applied under sub-section (1).

(3) The Governor-General shall not issue any proclamation under sub-section (1), unless a commission appointed by him has investigated the expediency of issuing such proclamation and has made a report to him in regard thereto.

9. Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub-section (1) of section five or of sub-section (1) of section six, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months

or to both such fine and imprisonment, and in the case of a continuing contravention, to a fine not exceeding five pounds for every day during which such contravention is continued.

(2) The court which has convicted any person of a contravention of sub-section (1) of section six may make an order for the ejectment of the person convicted from the land or premises in respect of which the conviction took place.

Duration of sections 2 and 3 of Act 28 of 1939 as amended, and of sections 5 and 9 of this Act—

10. Sections two and three of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act 1939, and sections five to and including nine of this Act shall cease to have effects on the thirty-first day of March 1946: Provided that the operation of any of the said sections may, after due enquiry and consideration, from time to time be extended by resolution of both Houses of Parliament for such period or periods as may be specified in such resolution.

Short title

11. This Act shall be called the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act 1943.

APPENDIX B

MAIN STAGES IN THE GROWTH OF ANTI-ASIATIC AGITATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

I am giving below a summary of anti-Asiatic agitation in the Union of South Africa. This does not include discrimination by municipal authorities, such as access to cinemas, hotels and places of entertainment, nor does it include financial segregation, such as fixation of varying quotas for different races in particular industries, such as sugar, nor industrial segregation, such as the exclusion of

non-Europeans from skilled and non-skilled work in industrial establishments. It will be noticed that the Orange Free State deported the Indian "coolies" and Chinamen from the State without compensation in 1891. All Indian businesses were to be closed after a period of twelve months ending on September 11, 1891. This law is still in force in the State.

(1) Law 3 of 1885, which was amended in 1887. Under this law, Asiatics could obtain burgher rights in the South African Republic. They could own property only in such streets, wards and locations as the Government could fix for sanitary reasons.

The law was not rigidly enforced.

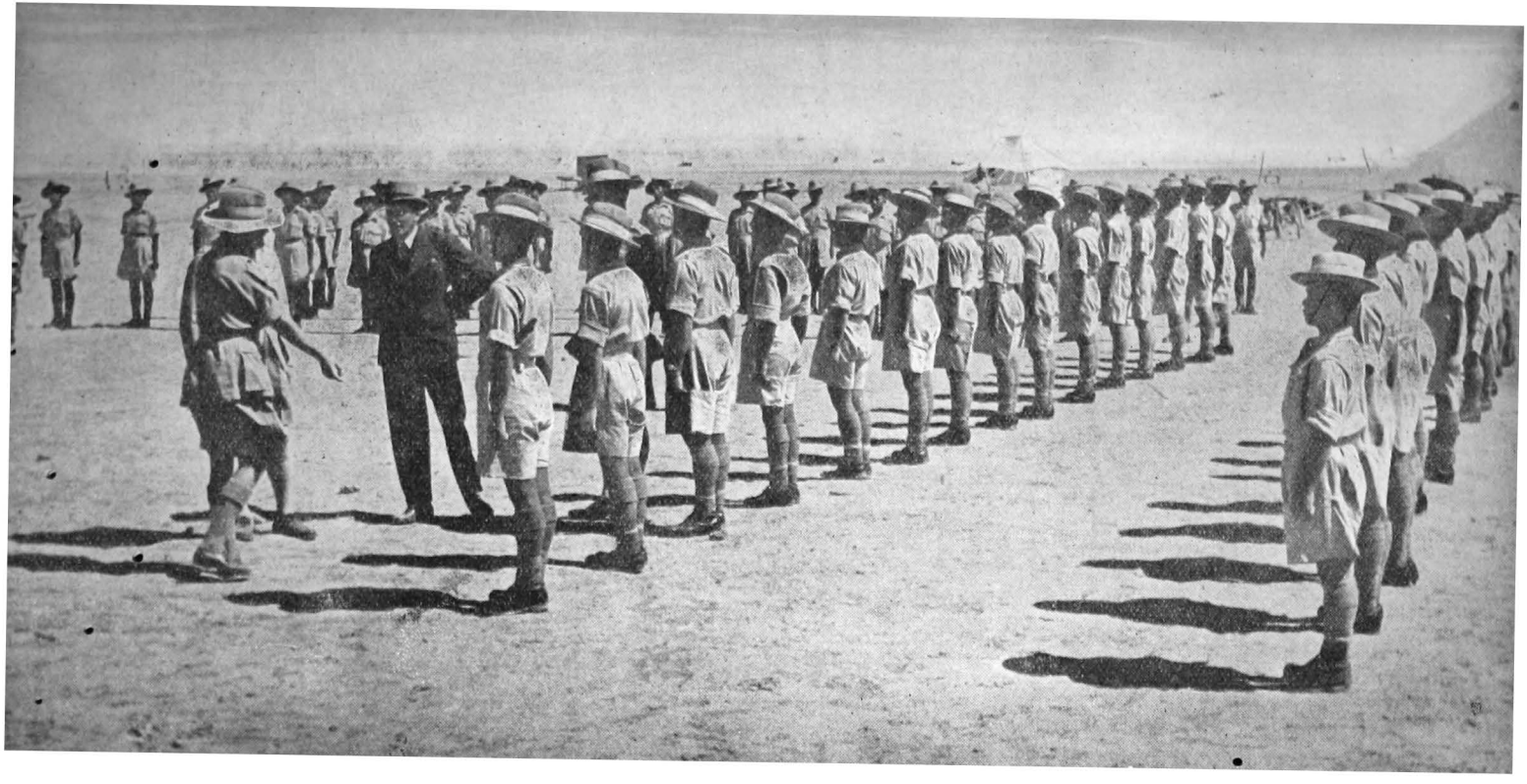
(2) In April 1899, a proclamation was issued by the President of the Republic setting apart streets, wards, and locations for the use of Asiatic trade and residence. In the same year, the Republic prohibited the Coloured persons from walking on the side-walks or steps serving as a side-walk of the streets of its towns.

(3) The Franchise Act of 1896, passed in Natal. This most unfortunate Act deprived Indians of their parliamentary franchise. This law has proved the greatest hindrance to racial cooperation in Natal. Had the law remained on the statute book, Natal would have evolved satisfactory arrangements for harmonious work in the task of constructive statesmanship.

(4) The Townships Franchise Ordinance, 1921, passed by the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance deprived Indians of municipal franchise which they had enjoyed for years.

(5) The Franchise Act of 1896 and the Townships Franchise Ordinance 1924, taken together, reduced the Indian race in Natal to the position of a helpless, impotent and voiceless community. These laws are the greatest blot on the fair name of South Africa.

(6) The year 1908 was remarkable for the laws passed by General Smuts against the Indian community. This year also witnessed the titanic fight between Smuts and



Sir Shafa'at inspects a famous Gurkha regiment at Helfaiya Pass, in May, 1942. The place is only about fifty miles from Tobruk. Tobruk fell about three weeks after Shafa'at's return to South Africa, and Rommel's Panzer Divisions occupied this ground for a few months until their defeat at the battle of Alamein

Mahatma Gandhi. The Gold Law of 1908 contained Sections 130-131, which restricted the occupation of proclaimed land by Coloured persons. Another law passed this year provided that Coloured persons could live in townships only as domestic servants. Act No. 16 of 1908 prohibited Coloured races from having intercourse with white women.

(7) Lord Hardinge's memorable speech in Madras, in 1913, on the struggle of the Indian race in South Africa. He said, "Your compatriots have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust. They have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country."

(8) The position and policy of General Smuts were clarified in a speech in which he opposed the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, in the following words, "The whole basis of our particular system in South Africa rests on inequality. It is the bedrock of our constitution. You cannot deal with the Indians apart from the whole position in South Africa; you cannot give political rights to the Indians which you deny to the rest of the Coloured citizens in South Africa."

(9) The Class Areas Bill of 1925, introduced by Dr. Malan. The Bill, if passed into law, would have provided for the reservation of special areas for Indians. The municipalities were required to suggest special areas for Indian trade or residence within their jurisdiction. Such areas were to be approved by the Commission, and the Governor-General was to proclaim it as an area for Indian trade or residence. The views of the Natal Indian Congress on this measure may be quoted here. "The effect of the operation of two clauses alone will be to cripple the whole life and trade of the Indian community, and absolutely without the shadow of doubt crush all Indian agricultural work, progress, and prospects. In plain lan-

guage the Indian race is an alien element in the population."

(10) The representations of the Government of India led to the withdrawal of the Bill, and the first Round Table Conference met at Cape Town.

(11) Unfortunately, the Cape Town Agreement did not prevent the passing of discriminatory legislation against Indians. In fact, after the signing of the Agreement of 1927 the Union Government passed four laws: (1) The Nationality and Flag Bill, which refused to recognise Indians as South African nationals by denying them the right to become naturalised; (2) the old Age Pensions Bill, which denied aged and impotent Indians the benefits of a pension available to other races; (3) specially mentioned that no Indian woman is to have a vote; (4) provided that any Indian whom the Minister of Justice deems to be a dangerous agitator may be deported to India.

(12) The Second Round Table Conference at Cape Town, in 1932. The Conference virtually abandoned the project of repatriation to India of South African Indians.

(13) The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1932. Under this Act, Indians were prohibited from the acquisition of rights under the Gold Act and were barred from residence and occupation in the Gold areas; the municipal authorities were to be authorised to set apart separate areas for Asiatics residing within their jurisdiction; no Indian could own fixed property, and no other person could hold any property on behalf of Indians.

(14) The passage of the Transvaal Law and Trading Bill, also called Interim Bill, in 1939, into law. The Act gave protection to Indians in exempted areas for another period of two years; refused a certificate for a trading house or its transfer except under special authority from the Minister of the Interior. The Act also prohibited the renting to or occupation by Asiatics, of land which was not occupied on April 30 except with the Minister's permission. The Minister of the Interior was allowed to make exceptions

in regard both to trading and occupation. The Act was designed to "peg" the present position in the Transvaal to enable the Government to devise a comprehensive policy on the Indian question.

(15) The Pegging Act of 1943. Details given in the book.

(16) The Pretoria Agreement of April, 1944.

(17) Violation of the Pretoria Agreement, 1944, by the passage of Ordinances by the Natal Provincial Council, in October, 1944.

(18) Introduction of the Land Tenure Bill in the Union Assembly in 1946.

(19) Retaliatory measures by the Government of India in March and April, 1946, against the Union Government, (*a*) repudiation of the Trade Agreement of 1941, (*b*) Return of the Indian High Commissioner to India on the passage of the Bill into law, (*c*) the Government of India decide to refer the matter to the U. N. O.

(20) Arrival of a deputation of South African leaders in India, and their interview with the Viceroy.

(21) Threat of mass Civil disobedience against the "Ghetto Bill" by the Indian Community in the Union.

SECTION II

DUTCH AND INDIAN CULTURE

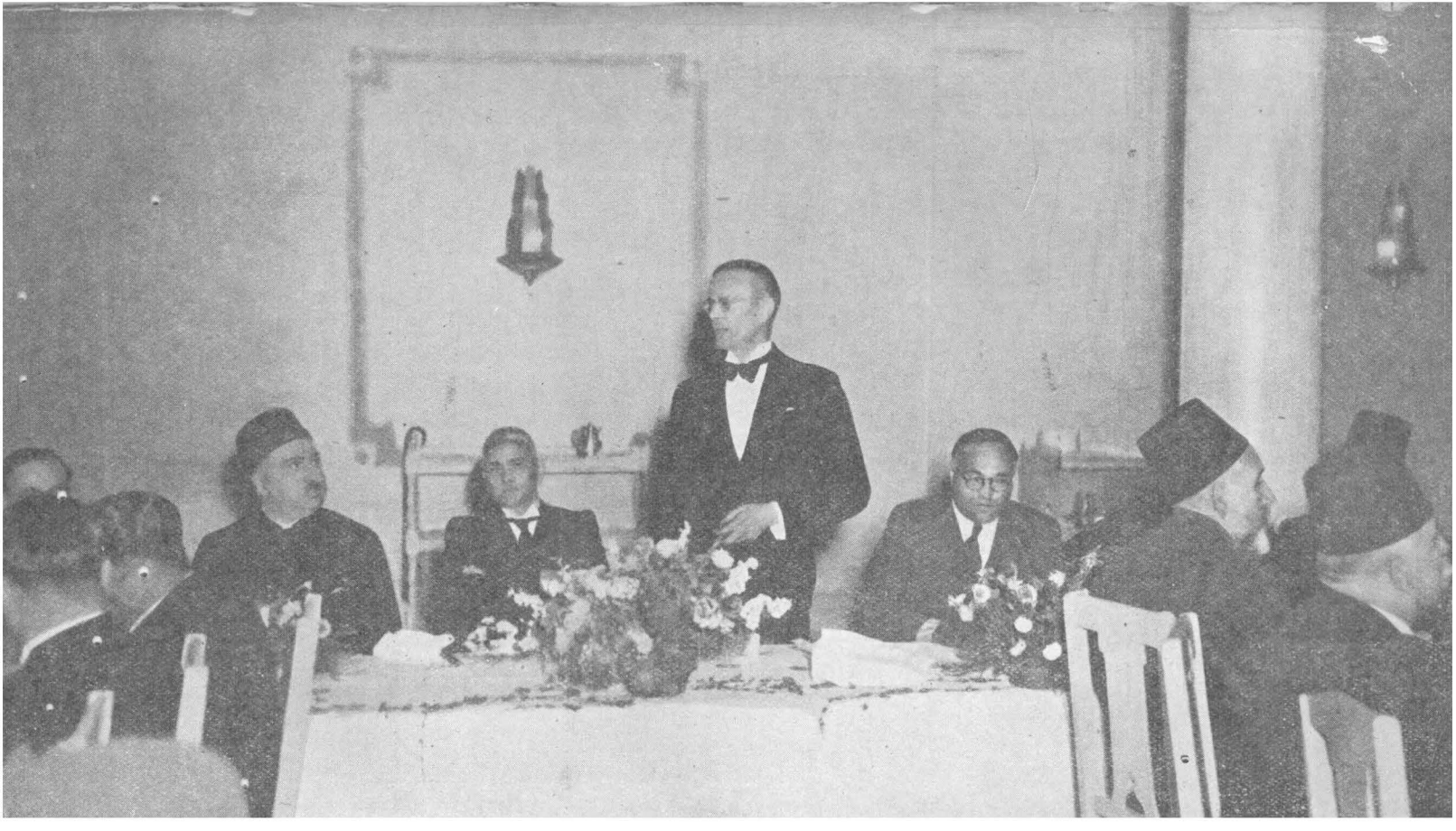
A Speech delivered by Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, at Boksburg, on Friday the 13th November, 1942 at a Dinner Party given in his honour by the Boksburg Branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

[*Note.*—This long address was delivered at Boksburg, nearly 18 miles from Johannesburg, at a meeting attended by many Indians and Afrikaners. The address deals first with the culture and tradition of a great race, the Afrikaners. The author has sketched the growth of Dutch culture, art, and commerce, and in his account of the Dutch or Afrikaners, at the Cape, he has analysed the chief elements that have made the Afrikaner race supreme in politics, and other spheres.

The author then gives a glimpse of Indian culture, and summarises Indians' achievement in the domains of feeling and intellect. He casts a glance at the Moghul empire, and discusses briefly the contribution of Indians in Natal, and in Transvaal to the growth of South Africa.]

MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the kind reference you have made to the members of the Indian community at Boksburg as well as for the generous sentiments you have expressed regarding my humble and insignificant services in the cause of the Indian community in South Africa. I have been deeply moved by the courtesy and kindness which have been accorded to me by every element of the population in South Africa, and I find it impossible to express my obligation to a number of my European and Indian friends who have come together on this occasion, and lent the weight of their name and influence in making this function



Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan addressing Indian leaders at a banquet at Johannesburg, in 1942

a success. I see here faces which are known and loved by everyone in Boksburg, whose work for their beautiful town is engraved in the heart of her citizens. It is functions like these which pave the way not merely for social intercourse between members of my community and the Europeans in the land. They do something more. They show even to the most prejudiced and the least instructed the great bond of culture which unites the two peoples, as well as the strong tie of community of economic interests which has fostered a feeling of solidarity and unity.

I was, indeed, pleased to hear that the relations between the Indians and Europeans in this city have been conducted in a spirit of amity and a feeling of sympathy, and it is the unanimous view of all sections of the Indian community that under the inspiration of your charming personality, Mr. Mayor, and that of other leaders of this progressive town, the two races are living happily together, and are trying, each in its own way, to build up a future for this young and virile land, of which every son of South Africa, whether European or Indian, has a just ground to be proud. It is my earnest prayer that the efforts of all these men be crowned with complete success, and my community may show a record of positive achievement in every sphere of life which may prove indispensable in the growth of this fair town to something bigger and nobler, something which may make it a fortress, defying the foes of human spirit, and unconsciously seeking her own redemption. I have always held, like the ancient Greeks, that every town has its own spirit, and, it may be every town may have, as ancients taught us, its special deity, which protects it from its foes, both internal and external, and keeps it pure and incorruptible amidst the ebb and flow of partisan warfare and racial strife. One could gaze on far sunny horizons amidst the green meadows and fertile valleys of the Transvaal, and recall to one's memory the fact that historic towns like Boksburg have tenacious memories, which perpetuate the epic of a great people, with all the implications of a greater and nobler future; and underlying this record of the

strenuous life of the great Voortrekkers is the rich continuing life of the great Afrikaner race in the Transvaal. It may, indeed, be said in tracing the progress of a town of which you are legitimately proud, that these men, judged by modern standards, lived lives of almost indescribable hardships, ready like their forefathers, to dare and do almost anything, and the safety and wealth of this, as of other towns, rested on their brawny arms, and strong minds. Indeed, set against the background of their industry and toil, the simple peasants with their bucolic achievements assume an aspect of epic dignity. The pioneers of this town, like their forefathers, the Voortrekkers, had their instinctive feelings and their elemental passions but they were disciplined and drilled into subjection, and were harnessed to the constructive work of statesmanship. It was by this means that they were able to conform to the natural rhythm of life in their days of concentrated activity, and in this lay their enduring strength. They had love of the soil, love of good food, love of and devotion to the Bible, and an immovable structure of a character, and it was these attributes which, combined with their integrity and spiritual energy, laid the foundation of their greatness. It was in houses round about Boksburg that those who reaped and sowed, fought and conquered, were bred, and it was here that many an old veteran, recalling the days of his strength and pride, would point to scenes of his former glory. I am not, therefore, surprised to find that the scenery of your countryside, and the culture of your town, have entwined themselves round the heart of her citizens.

I am grateful to the Transvaal Indian Congress for the address of welcome which it gave to me on my arrival at Johannesburg, as well as for the kind words in which it referred to my arrival. Almost a year has elapsed since that time, and I have since had many opportunities of studying the needs and desires of Indians in the Transvaal. About a month after my arrival, I was obliged to go to Cape Town for the parliamentary session, and after about three weeks spent in Libya, I had to go to Natal, and

stayed there for two months. I do not know if the Transvaal people grudge the time which the High Commissioner spends in Natal. I have received no official or informal communications from infuriated Transvaal Indians on this point. No meetings of protest against continued absence from Johannesburg have so far been recorded, and, I take it, no resolution against what may be deemed by some discontented element to be a step-motherly treatment to this province has so far been passed. It is possible that the Transvaal Indians resent the disproportionate amount of time which the High Commissioner has to spend in Durban. If so, I can only plead that this attitude is unreasonable, for, after all, the great bulk of my community is concentrated in that province.

For reasons mentioned above, I was not able to make a long stay in the Transvaal till the beginning of August. I can, however, assure my Transvaal Indian friends that I have been exceedingly busy during the last three months, studying the condition of the Indian community in this province, meeting its supreme leaders, and establishing contacts with officials at Pretoria. I have not yet been able to do anything positive for my community either in this province or in Natal, and it may, indeed, be said that no definite act, could be pointed out as a landmark of the new regime. In justification, I may point out that I am still learning the rudiments of my craft, and I am not presumptuous enough to think that I have mastered it during my short stay in South Africa. On the contrary, I am free to confess that the more I study the situation intensively, the more difficult and complex I find it. Had I promised a new heaven and a new earth, immediately on my arrival, it would have been reasonable to assume that the promise had not yet been redeemed. But I did nothing of the kind. I made it clear then, as I make it clear now, that it will be my endeavour to bring about cordial relations between the two races, and to secure the removal of some of the disabilities under which my community has been labouring for years. I have, in attempting to

remove them, secured the co-operation and support of the Transvaal Indian Congress. I feel that I must place on record the help and co-operation which this powerful body has rendered. The Government of India is indebted to the Congress for its support and advice on every question which concerns the Indian community in this province.

I need hardly add that the Government of India has recognised the Transvaal Indian Congress as an authoritative organ of the Indian community in this province, and it is my earnest wish that there will be complete unity and solidarity in its ranks.

The Boksburg Branch has made reference to some points in its address. I need hardly assure the office-bearers of the Branch that I have noted all the points which have been referred to, and I will do my best to give relief along the lines indicated in the address, consistently with my position and responsibilities. I need hardly assure the honest and sturdy citizens of this charming town that I shall carry with me the most pleasant recollections of this visit, and it will be my constant endeavour to do what I can to ameliorate the condition of my community. I am, and have always been, proud of the privilege of being an Indian, and I have no doubt whatsoever that every Indian in this hall will echo my sentiments on this point.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have dealt so far with the parochial politics, and have dilated, I am afraid, at inordinate length on the peculiar features of Boksburg, and the condition of Indians there. With your permission, I may be allowed to refer to something which is the real source of its strength. I have had, in the course of my tour through Natal, occasion to refer to the debt which Indians owe to European culture and their intercourse with Europe, a connection which has lasted for about a century and half. It may, no doubt, be urged by certain irreconcilable elements, that a century and half is only an incident in the eternal movement of Indian history, and it may be contended that the bond between Europe and India has produced neither spiritual unity nor

feeling of cultural solidarity. I do not wish to discuss this point of view, as it will take me too far afield, but will content myself with the statement that the intercourse between India and Europe has been of mutual benefit, and India has profited no less than Europe. Gently lifted from the medieval period to the modern age at the threshold of new civilisation, one eastern, which incarnates her spirit and energy, and the other western, which embodies the modern urge for the resurrection of the human body and the spirit of freedom, India has forged ahead. She has enjoyed a period of organic growth in which beauty and liberty have determined her national life, and moulded her intellect. Without the stability and security of a well-balanced administration, it would have been impossible for India to make any advance in the present century. It is, of course, true that for a long time, the best minds of India were without power and authority to mould their destiny in accordance with their economic and political needs, and a furious agitation was conducted for nearly half a century before substantial power was conceded to the Indian people. Hence, scholarship, fine arts, social work, and, ultimately political agitation, became their refuge from the deep inner discord of political subjection. It is this growing intimacy with the antique culture, the desire to bring their country into focus, to resolve her inherent, and often carefully cultivated perplexities, that compelled their imagination no less than their intellect to ring out into the world. It was the lack of Indian unity in the eighteenth century which constitutes the tragedy, and at the same time the fascination of Indian history. The result was that every Prince and every adventurer in that stormy period provided for his own family, while few provided for the country, and India was perpetually divided and redivided by a succession of rulers, until it became a mosaic state. We must view the present position in India against the background of chronic uncertainty and insecurity which pre-

vailed in that period, and then alone would it be possible for us to assess the change which was brought about. I should like to point out that I am dealing here solely with the past, and am not concerned with the future, which I have pointed out on numerous occasions, must be determined solely by Indians, in accordance with Indian needs and aspirations.

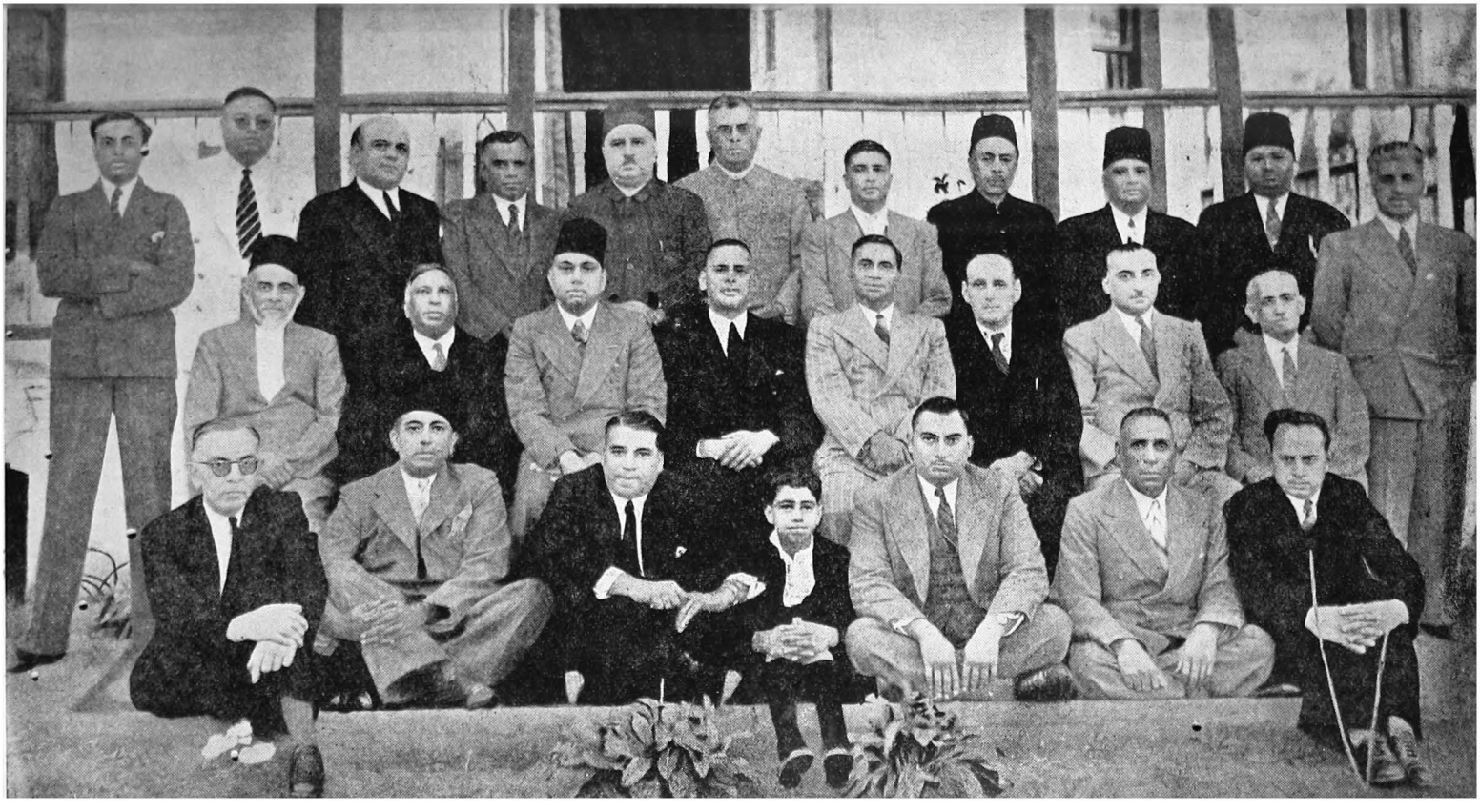
Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is to me a source of great pleasure to find so many Afrikaner gentlemen and ladies in this room. I have had the privilege of meeting some of the most brilliant leaders of this gifted race for about a year, in different departments of Government at Pretoria and Cape Town, and I am not flattering national or racial vanity, when I say that it has been a source of great pleasure and delight to me to make their acquaintance. I am tempted to deal with the achievements of this people at this stage, as the year's residence and intercourse with its finest specimens has convinced me that the environments of mind and character which have made the Afrikaner people leaders in the political life of their land are worth extended analysis and profound study.

I have always had a profound admiration for the heroic exploits of race which sprang into fame through the stupid folly and ruthless zeal of Spain, and for the succession of brilliant generals, statesmen, and scholars it produced during the astonishingly brief period of about sixty years. I may, however, venture to suggest that the real foundations of the Dutch spirit were laid by a humanist who was truly the greatest figure of his age. Erasmus embodied the Dutch spirit long before it blossomed forth in the spheres of politics and military glory. Holbein has depicted this remarkable man, and in his masterpieces one sees the crystal clarity of his spirit, his serenity and genius, with a vividness which is unsurpassed. His poise and balance have infinite grace and gravity but his restless spirit would not suffer him to linger in his own country. The lust of travel was upon him, as a new philoso-

phy of mind and of life occupied his brain, vertiginously big with coherent births of modern thought. What Thomas Carlyle peevishly called the "fire in his belly" burned and irritated his passionate blood. Hence, unsettled, cast adrift from traditional moorings, suspected of heresy, wholly out of sympathy with the Catholicism of his time, he became almost a wandering scholar, like the Goliardi of the Middle Ages. His feet found rest in Switzerland, as that country was the harbour of all vagrant spirits in the sixteenth as Amsterdam was in the seventeenth century. Erasmus found that the theological stronghold of his time offered no freedom, and no security of life to one whose mind was bent on new developments of thought. If we compare the halo which surrounds the immortal features of Erasmus in Holbein's masterpieces with the portraits of Leibnitz, one is astounded at the supremacy of his mind and character. I cannot deal at length with his writings, as they are known to, and loved by all scholars of the Renaissance. It is sufficient to state that he aspired to reason and philosophy rather than theology, and subjected the superstitions of his period to an irony which exposed the covetousness of many-sided, combative, self-centred crowd of numberless priests, princes, and princelings. The most insignificant priests receive from him their stigma of immortalising satire and insulting epithets, and pass away like mists upon a mountain—side beneath a puff of wind. Erasmus was older than Martin Luther by twenty years, yet he accepted him as an ally. It was, however, clear that the two great spirits of the age would never agree, and when this prudent and far-sighted man said that the movement launched by Luther tended not only to remove the abuses which had crept into the fabric of the church, but also to destroy the spirit of free inquiry and criticism, he parted company with the great reformer.

I do not think it is necessary for me to detail here the wonderful achievements of the Dutch people in every department of life. Every schoolboy knows, and is

inspired by the knowledge of the heroic efforts of a handful of hardy and adventurous spirits, who led the revolt against oppression and tyranny, and created a state out of elements which might appear at first sight to be most unpromising. I do not wish to reconstruct the history of the period which must be familiar to everyone present here. I am, moreover, conscious of the fallibility of human judgment, and agree with the view of a great German historian, Wilamowitz, who declared in "Greek Historical Writing and Apollo", "tradition yields us only ruins. The more closely we test and examine them, the more clearly we see how ruinous they are, and out of ruins no whole can be built. Tradition is dead; our task is to revivify life that has passed away. We know that ghosts cannot speak that have drunk blood, and the spirits which we evoke demand the blood of our hearts. We give it to them gladly, and if they then, abide our question something from us has entered into them". This is a perfectly correct analysis of a difficulty which faces everyone who attempts to reconstruct the past. If it deals with the resurgence of a national spirit, when the whole people rose by an instinctive process of spiritual awakening, and the revolt of the spirit was changed into life and death struggle with a relentless foe. The truest chord in the Hollander's voice vibrates when he speaks of the heroic period when he won his independence, and the names of the heroes who gave life and energy to the new Republic shine with trebled splendour and evoke concentrated passion which lend its power over the heart and mind of the race. I feel, therefore, that a reference to men of that heroic race is necessary. Everyone knows, of course, the achievement of the supreme architect of Dutch independence, William the Silent, and everyone is aware of the sacrifices which the Orange family had made for the freedom of a great people. A second stage in the evolution of this heroic dynasty from spiritual struggle into political and practical sagacity was reached when Maurice became the Stadtholder. He showed all the qua-



Party to High Commissioner at Durban, July 15th, 1942, by Sheikh Abdullah, an Indian merchant of Durban

lities of a consummate general and a prudent statesman, and by his unfailing tact and charm, no less than by his sagacity in the selection of his subordinates, he laid the foundations of the new state upon durable basis. The sound sense of Maurice, and his successors, the sense of one destined to lead men, gathered energy and grew in solid strength. Holland then produced leaders, whose words were as a fire, and whose methods of political discipline were salutary and illuminative. Mention may also be made here of the great Barnaveldt, the scholar-statesman with the acute sense of an eagle, who had vision of the greatness of the infant Republic, and was able to inject something of his energy into the people who followed him. From this time down to the end of the seventeenth century, the small Republic, which had its origin chiefly in the need for union and defence against a common enemy, had been transformed into a mighty empire. It had conquered some of the fairest islands in the Pacific; it had driven the Portuguese from the seas which Portugal had dominated for nearly two centuries; it had built up a formidable empire in Java, and had also a number of prosperous factories, studded over the long coastline of India.

It is a fascinating subject to trace the history of the Dutch struggle with the Portuguese in the South Seas in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The Dutch and English combined against a common enemy, and succeeded in eliminating Portuguese influence in these islands. The allies soon fell apart, and a new struggle started between the English and the Dutch in almost every island in these seas. The intensity of this struggle between these two cousins is borne out by the despatches of the English Company's factors in islands which have become famous this year, owing to the Japanese invasion of Malaya and Java. The Dutch succeeded in their design, and the issue was decided at Amboyna, in 1623. Bantam was soon conquered, and the Dutch established their rule in Java, and the neighbouring islands on foundations which endured until 1942. The consequences of the

Anglo-Dutch struggle were far-reaching. Dutch confined themselves to Java and other islands in these seas, and the English, driven out of these parts, were obliged to maintain their trade with the East by establishing factories along the coastline of India. I am afraid it has to be admitted that the Dutch rule brought misery which was unprecedented. The natives groaned under the system, and ultimately the Dutch people also suffered, as they lacked the incentive and the stimulus of competition with rival powers, and the system soon degenerated into gross exploitation of the human and material resources of an immensely fertile part of Asia. The modern Dutch system of administration was not evolved till the beginning of the present century, and is an immense improvement on monopoly capitalism, which worked havoc in that part of Asia for more than three centuries. In its own home, within the circuit of its national pride and glory, it established a reign of culture, on principles of mental freedom which have never been surpassed. Holland was a refuge for the spirit, a sanctuary for the philosopher, the dissenter, and the Jew. The slumbering creative powers of the Dutch people arose in the building of great palaces and churches, the expansion of industry and commerce, and the inculcation of the spirit of free inquiry and research while Italy had to pay for her devotion to her beauty and fine arts, with submission to the Spaniard. It was the golden age of the great Dutch Republic, and to that period may be traced the rise of the renowned Dutch Universities, which attracted students from all parts of the world. The development of modern philosophy, the expansion of Dutch trade and industry, and the emergence of a cultured and enlightened ruling class which gave to Holland a succession of able middle class leaders, such as the De Witt brothers. In short, Holland stamped the century with the impress of her powerful personality.

It cannot be denied that this most precious heritage of the Dutch race is claimed by a branch of their race in South

Africa, the Afrikaners, who migrated here to build another sanctuary of the human spirit, another refuge from social and mental slavery, and the most precious elements of the spirit are to be found among some of the outstanding leaders of South Africa. Many of her present leaders are self-created by their genius and character, and have risen from the depths. It is these people who have determined the specific character of South Africa. It would, of course, be absurd to claim that the government in Amsterdam exercised a controlling authority over the Voortrekkers who left the Cape to find freedom, or built up the administrative framework of the Transvaal and the Orange Republics. Many of the characteristics which we associate with the Afrikaners sprang from the persistence of racial qualities of the Dutch people, others from the infusion of fresh blood from Huguenots, Danes, and Norwegians. To the Voortrekkers, as indeed to others who have followed them, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were the creation of the Dutch people, and they regarded themselves as the architects of their destiny. Whatever be the precise influence of the mother country on the mental characteristics of the Afrikaners in South Africa, it is clear that the infusion of Huguenot blood created a revolution in the mind and spirit of the people as a whole. It is possible that this infusion had taken place on a large scale in Holland itself, and many of those who were sent to the Cape, were not really of pure Dutch descent, but were of mixed Dutch and Huguenot descent. Indeed it is clear that the nearest place of refuge for the stubborn dissidents who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 was Holland, and there is reason to believe that an overwhelming majority of them went not to South Africa, but Holland. There they intermarried with the Dutch, and later, finding few suitable avenues for their energy in the competitive struggle which was raging in Amsterdam and other cities, they naturally came to the Cape. I cannot go into the details of their early history as I confess my knowledge of that period is limited. Everyone knows

the early history of this period, and every schoolboy knows how wave after wave of colonists came over from England, Holland, and other European countries. It is clear that the early Dutch who came to settle in this land, carried with them not only their cargoes of worldly goods, but also of Dutch culture, and they probably did what ancient Greeks used to do when they sent colonists to distant lands to explore new lands and navigate new seas. The Greek colonist left his native land, not only with his stock of goods, but also with his household gods and the sacred fire. The early Dutch settlers who had been stationed by the Dutch East India Company were succeeded by French Huguenots, refugees of good family and stubborn character, who came here to seek religious freedom. They were followed by more Dutch settlers who were of a superior class to the early settlers sent out by the Dutch Company, some Low Germans, some British colonists, who had been sent to the Cape in 1820, and some North Germans who had fought in the Crimean War, and are to be found near East London, in the eastern Cape. I do not think I can deal with other European races that followed the gold and diamond rush in 1870, or with the arrival of Jews who took refuge here from pograms of Russia and Poland.

The Dutch and the Huguenot races which were fused into a unity have produced a stock which is distinguished for its virility and creative energy. I believe I am correct in saying that the two races were merged into one, and produced the present Afrikaner race. There was, of course, spiritual unity between the two and both had given defective expression to their stubborn love of independence and freedom, and their desire for adventure, which had induced most of them to forsake the security of their home for the perils and adventures of a strange land. Both were inspired by a fierce determination to brook no interference with their freedom, and in both alike shines the light which has illuminated the path of thousands who have followed them. The greatest asset in a new land is neither riches nor des-

cent but grit and character, and it was these virtues which enabled them to remove obstacles to their path, and unite themselves in a common bond against a savage foe. The two races had a record of heroic resistance to oppression which had raised them to supremacy in their peculiar sphere, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that they coalesced and built up a coherent and well-articulated framework of administration which, rude and simple as it may appear to us at the present day, served its purpose admirably, and was later on transformed into a full-fledged and well-equipped administration. The Huguenot lost his French language and learnt Dutch with surprising facility. He imparted to the Dutch people some of the qualities which have distinguished the French people all over the world. He had the analytical mind of a logician and a jurist, and his brilliance in the field of administration as well as in the sphere of literary pursuits was the result of a long tradition of French culture which had been grafted upon all the elements—whether dissident or conformist of the French people. These were the great intellectual qualities he had inherited, and he developed these qualities in the fertile soil of South Africa in the present century. There was a rich and positive quality about these men, who carved out their careers in a region which would have daunted the boldest of pioneers.

It is not the purpose of this address to trace the progress of Voortrekkers, or discuss the policy which underlay their wanderings. The spirit which impelled them to resist authority, and seek freedom was the same which had compelled their ancestors to oppose the tyranny alike of Philip V, and of Louis XIV. It may, indeed, be said that they were determined to maintain the tradition of freedom on which their people had been nurtured for centuries, and when the whole body left *en masse*, and "trekked" for the Cape in 1836 they showed that they had retained their old vitality which was an essential link with the past. They were not a new people needing concentrated energy to secure their national existence,

but a community that had retained intact the political ideals and spiritual traditions of their race. What they passionately desired was freedom for expansion, each after its own type, freedom of conscience, and freedom for the social organisation of the commonwealth in which the burghers had implicit faith. The growing power of the British at the Cape offered a serious obstacle to their political growth, and as they could not tolerate a rival near the base of political power the very reasons which had made their ancestors revolt in the wars of liberation roused their hostility to a movement which threatened to destroy the foundations of their identity. Hence to raise up a political association as a bulwark against subjection, and by the formation of this defence to become an independent and united nation, seemed to their minds to be imperatively necessary. Ill at ease among the customs and ideals of the settlers of 1820, who had settled down on the Cape, stubbornly refusing to merge their local independence and racial pride in the Cape Colony, struggling against the mountain of rules and regulations, passionately opposed to the sentimental philosophy of Dr. Phillips, and his followers who wielded enormous influence in London, inspired with a vivid faith in the justice of their cause and the integrity of their purpose, they were scarcely themselves, until they regained the right use of their energies by contact with the new land which tempted them to a glorious adventure. This makes the movement of these pioneers a national, a patriotic, a dramatic movement, and gives life and passion, dignity and grace to a process which in countries with traditions of stability and security might have aroused little interest. This explains also the remarkable fervour with which the whole people, men, women, and children threw themselves into the search for a land of freedom, abandoning ease and comfort, disdaining the amenities of a settled existence, and emerged from the fiery ordeal with a fresh sense of national unity and national vigour. By this heroic achievement, and by the positive results of their struggle for independence, they found themselves,

and found for South Africa the civilisation of the modern world. They resumed their natural activity, and recognised their vocation in the new provinces of the Union, and adjusted their traditional style of living and thinking to modern requirements.

I cannot deal here individually with the great leaders of the Trek, as this will take me too far afield, and it will take up too much time. It is sufficient to state that in the new provinces which had been carved out by the enterprise and vigour of these men, agriculture remained the great central productive industry, employing the mind and heart of the whole race, and providing thereby a vigorous type of settler. It is in the country that a nation knows its treasures, and it is here that the pride of race and station, of physical and mental energy, and capacity for ruling have their full play. Here the good, sturdy, honest burghers, still untouched by the commerce, and unstirred by the craze for diamonds and gold dust, living in the cultivation of the leisured past, had their roots deep in the soil, and sent out shoots into the administrative and political life of the Union which it kept, or tried to keep, honest and pure. The later days of the Republic have been painted to us in vivid colours by many who had witnessed the epic progress which the City of Johannesburg had made in an incredibly short time. We have pen-pictures of the revered President of the Republic, Oom Paul Kruger, who presided with dignity and grace over a people that had set out to breathe the purer air of the Transvaal. Mrs. Millin remarks that it is the Vaal River which truly symbolises South Africa. Her description of this historic river, "this is what its Dutch name means—dun-coloured. And in olden days the Hottentots called it, applying to it the adjective that described their own skins, the Gij Gariep, the Yellow River. One bathes in this Vaal River, and there is a fine layer of mud settled in one's chin. In winter, it trickles apologetically among great, black, shiny, defiant stones, and in summer smitten by rains in the Transvaal, it rushes down in a thundering wall of water, thick and overbearing and dangerous

and arrogant like a whining beggar who has been left a fortune overnight." Boers escaping from the pressure of humanity looking for some place where they might not see the smoke from the next man's habitation, sought for loneliness beside it and across it. Under the hot sun it shines when it is not in flood like molten metal. President Kruger was one of the early "trekkers" and was born at Colesberg in the Cape Colony in 1825. He had the Spartan ability to bear pain, and had killed his first lion at the age of 14. Kruger became the acknowledged leader of his people in 1872, when President Burgers failed to save the Transvaal from bankruptcy. When, with twelve shillings and six pence in the treasury, and a large public debt, the Province was annexed by Great Britain on April 12th, 1877, the president tried to get the annexation revoked but failed. After Majuba and Laing's Nek, however, he succeeded in recovering virtual independence for the Republic, and Oom Pall, as he was affectionately called, thereafter became a national leader. We can picture him in our mind's eye with a strong furrowed face, ribbon of office, and presidential silk hat. It is a strong but good humoured face, and one is not surprised to find that the popular president would give friendly dig in the ribs with his stick to any personal acquaintance whom he might encounter in his passage along the corridor of the public buildings to his office. Finally let me quote an interesting extract from the Memoirs of the President. "Every Boer when trekking taught the children to read and write, and above all instructed them in God's word. At dinner and supper the children sat round the table, they had to read part of the sacred scriptures, and to repeat from memory or write down now this and that text; and this was done day by day, unless unusual circumstances made that impossible. That is how my father taught me the Bible, and instructed me in its teachings during the evenings. My other course of instructions were covered by a period of three months with frequent interruption. My master's name was Tielman Roos who found much

difficulty in carrying out his mission. Whenever the Trek came to a resting-place and we out-spanned, a small hut was built of grass and reeds, and this became the school for the trekkers' children." Kruger represented his people as no other leader has done it before or after him. He took the contradictions of a strong-minded dynamic race for granted, and threw himself into the work with the piety and fervour of a crusader. He had the love and affection of the Transvaaler, and venerable Kruger loved the familiar scenes of the African countryside—the towering castle, the green lawns. His people loved him for his unshakable individualism, his strong dislike of outlandish ways and manners, his delight in spirits, his little jokes and intimate talks with all who called upon him. I have met Indians in Pretoria who have proudly told me that they counted President Kruger as their friend, and the President himself would come down, and have a nice quiet chat with them. The man who had the discipline of established leadership has become a legend, and this is due no doubt to the fact that he summed up in his person the aspirations of his race. They would have said of him, "Oom Paul—that is ourselves." He had enough of vigorous country blood in his veins to make light of the financial bankruptcy of his province, and his pride in the beauty, order, and peace of the countryside no less than vigorous assertion of his independence endeared him to all.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have briefly traced the origin of the great Afrikaner people and have given a brief, and I am afraid, incomplete account of their progress. I cannot go into the details of their achievement, as this requires an extensive treatment, but I feel that I must point to the extraordinary progress which the leaders of this race have made in every sphere of national activity. It would be invidious for me to mention names, as I know that everyone in this room can recall the names of many persons in politics, scholarship, administration, and public service who have built up solid reputations by their intel-

lect and character. It must be noted that it is in the political sphere that the Afrikaners have shed lustre of their race and tradition. I cannot, of course, deal with the political parties into which they are at present divided, nor can I, consistently with my position, explain their policy and programme. This is wholly a domestic question with which naturally I am not concerned. All that I need say on the point is that the existence of so many parties is in itself an indication of the great interest which this people takes in the governance of their land. Whatever view one may hold as to the advantages or disadvantages of a multiplicity of political parties, it cannot be denied that it is sometimes an expression of the traditional individualism and love of freedom of a people. A sturdy and self-reliant people, intent upon the exercise of the inalienable right of freedom of speech, sometimes express their spirit in diverse parties and ideologies. *Punch* once put this typically English attitude in a parable of fire that destroyed a long street piecemeal, because each occupier refused to subscribe to a fire-engine on the extraordinary ground that the central authority was incorrigibly incompetent and heartless. The citizen is represented as saying, "Let every man get his bucket and squirt and put out the fire himself. That is self-government." One has only to read Herbert Spencer's '*Man Versus the State*' to find the absurd length to which the fetish of personal freedom could be carried. Individualism can be carried too far, and it will be easy to show that England had to pay dearly for her individualism, for more than a century after the Industrial Revolution. On the other hand it may be pointed out that an attitude of passive obedience to power has wrought havoc in Germany. The German mind has for hundreds of years accepted with docility and humility the orders of Junkers and princelings, and Martin Luther's fiercest diatribes were not against the Catholics, but at the communists, who were the disturbers of the social order. Goethe put the question tersely, "Germany. Where does it lie? How can we find the whole? I learned Germany is one, but the State has a

different soul?" Luther even went so far as to assert, "If constituted authority says that two and five make eight thou must then believe it against thine own knowledge. So must the service of war and sword be regarded with manly eyes, though it come hard and do monstrous deeds." While the German has clung passionately and persistently to his belief in princes and princelings, and later the fuehrers and deputy fuehrers, who wield not only absolute secular power over the bodies of their followers but also control their mind and soul, the Afrikaners expressed the independence of their spirit by "trekking" away from foreign subjection, and building up centres of political and spiritual influence, while their German cousins showed that the richer veins of political and spiritual freedom, which had distinguished Germany in her War of Liberation, had been worked, and freedom in all its forms was exhausted in the native soil. While in Germany personal liberty and freedom of conscience were nipped in their unfolding season by the blighting influence of absolutism, the Afrikaners in their political progress put forth lusty sheets, and flourished in their compact little republics in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Independence started among members of the race with the fascination of a golden dream, and like the music of a dream, it floated over the length and breadth of the two northern provinces. The early struggle of the race has been recorded by the national historian, Theal, in his monumental history of the race, wherein all the important sources grasped in their diversity by his powerful memory and illuminated with his mature judgment, are worked into an impartial and dispassionate narrative. It records the epic progress of a race that was destined to give life and energy to a sub-continent in which wild men and ferocious animals roamed with perfect freedom. We have also the impressions which Lord Bryce formed of South Africa and his pen-pictures of the small Republic in the Orange Free State, which he found full of interest.

It will be clear from what I have said just now that many of the qualities which have brought the Afrikaner people

from a position of comparative insignificance to one of pre-eminence in the councils of nations have their origin in the love of freedom which they brought with them from their native soil. It is this passion for freedom which accounts for their ascendancy in the political life of the country. For freedom postulates freedom in the state, otherwise personal freedom, without political liberty, would be meaningless and barren. The creed of the Afrikaners has had a profound effect on the political and intellectual development of the country. We find the effect of the new movement in the progress of arts and letters, and amenities of refined existence, as well as in the restoration of freedom to the soul and conscience by strenuous efforts after religious sincerity and political independence. I deeply regret to say that I have not yet been able to learn the Afrikaner's language, and I assure you that it will be my endeavour to do so before I return to India. I have had opportunities of meeting some of the young leaders of the literary and political movements of the time, and I can say that I am struck with their ability and energy, no less than by their faith in the future of their country. I believe I am right in saying that there are few races in modern times that can show a greater number of men in proportion to their population who are distinguished in almost every sphere of life. Each race has its own vehicle of expression which becomes the symbol of that race, and when a leader arises in a race, his soul will draw nourishment from the innate capacity which has made his race pre-eminent in that sphere. We have, therefore, in a variety of ways a number of brilliant men in letters and arts, and above all, in administration and politics, whose lucidity, vision, dignity of imagination and depth of feeling have raised them to position of leadership in their chosen sphere. They break up the unity of orthodox opinion, and create new forces in the domain of life and thought. Such men have been produced by this race in abundance in the past, and judging by the persons whom I have met, I may say that the stream of their energy and initiative is not yet exhausted. They still breathe vital energy into their antique

ideals, and we may rest assured that their descendants will maintain the tradition of their heroic past.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have deemed it necessary to pay my meed of tribute to a people whom I have had the privilege and pleasure of meeting in this land. I have done so, not in disparagement of any other race in the land, but in the knowledge and belief that an impartial analysis of the character of a people is an indispensable preliminary to a true understanding of the country and its problems. We cannot maintain cordial relations by levelling carping criticisms at a race, a nation or a community as a whole. Edmund Burke pointed out long ago that you cannot indict a nation. I should, however, like to make it perfectly clear that I have dealt with the character of the people in their struggle for freedom, and their desire to express their national ideals in a state which they have created by their energy. I have not discussed, and naturally cannot discuss their policy towards the Indian community. I cannot consistently with my position deal either with the genesis of that policy, or with its effects on the social and political condition of the Indian people. I could certainly deal with it comprehensively as it is, and must remain, my supreme duty to represent its legitimate grievances before the authorities, and suggest feasible means for removing them. I have tried to discharge this part of my work for about a year, and members of my community, who have been generous enough to extend their co-operation and help, have proved invaluable to me. It is, however, clear that it is impossible for me to use the present occasion for such discussions. I have, therefore, refrained from introducing this subject so far. But this does not imply approval of the policy of the Afrikaner people towards the Indian community. On the contrary, I hold that the policy which was pursued in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and has been followed up to 1939, was based on incomplete knowledge, and was due wholly to misunderstanding. It was due wholly to the fear complex. If the people of the Transvaal had had greater experi-

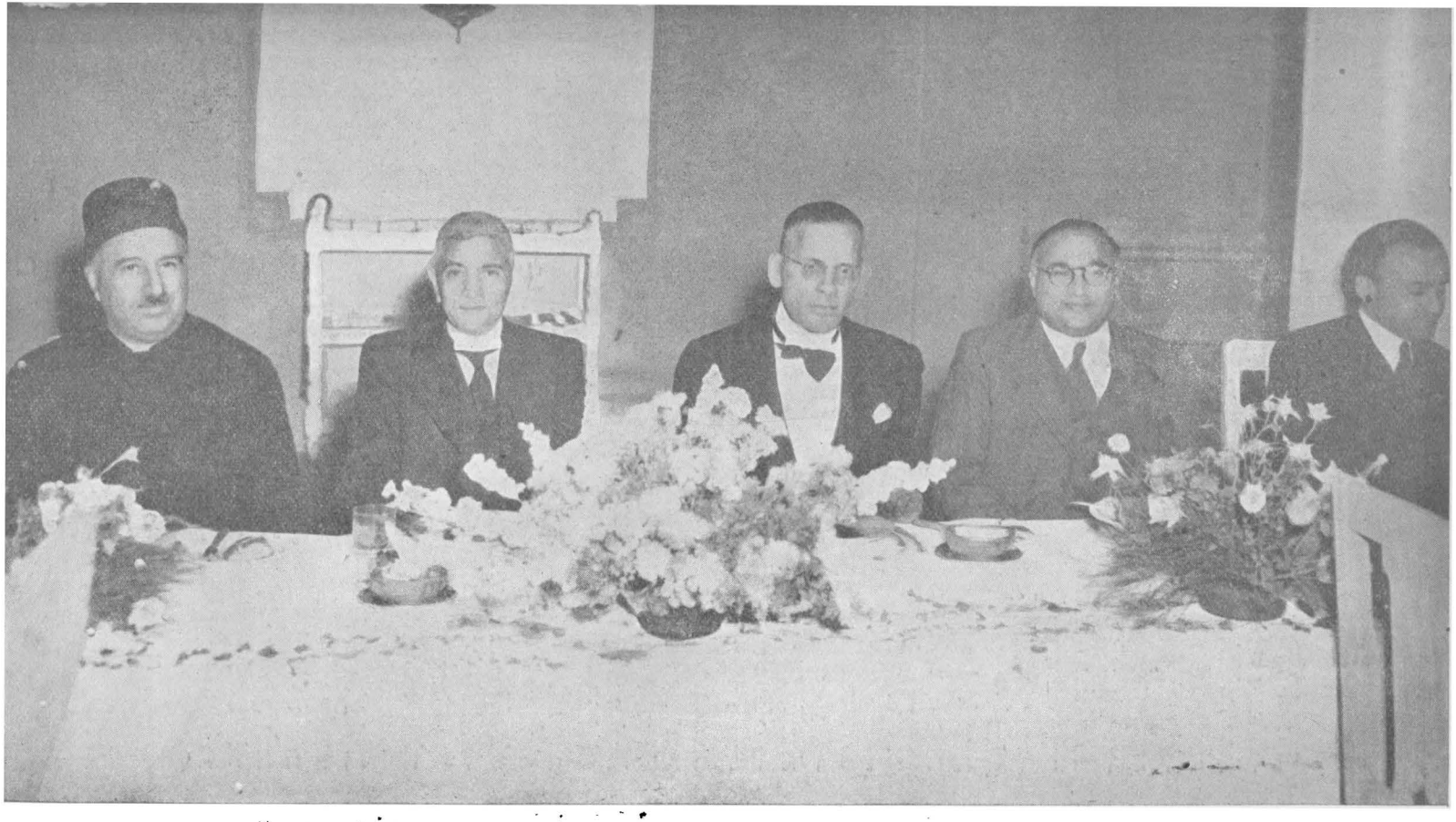
ence of Indians in their midst, the policy they pursued would have undergone a radical change. Hence, in the sketch which I have attempted above of your virile race, Mr. Mayor, I have confined myself to the analysis of certain elements in the character of your great people, which appeared to me, and if I may say so appeared to every sensible man, to be worthy of respect and admiration. This does not involve approval of everything done by any race or community in its dealings with the Indian people. I have also studiously refrained from discussing the policy and programme of the different parties into which the European people at different stages of their political growth were divided. It is not my function to discuss political ideologies on the public platform of the country to which I have been sent as an envoy, as it is essentially a domestic concern of the people, and I have no right to involve myself in domestic quarrels.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel that the people of South Africa are not acquainted with the origin of my people, with the grandeur of their history, or with their positive achievement in every sphere of human activity at the present time. Nor are the people of this land aware of the great part which my community has played in the building up of Natal, and the economic development of the Transvaal. Everyone knows, of course what the Indian community has achieved in Natal, and everyone is aware of the immense debt of gratitude which the whole of that magnificent province owes to people of my race and blood. I had the honour to visit the Congo last month, and during my flight over that immense area from Kampala, the capital of Uganda, to Leopoldville, the capital of Congo, I was impressed with the unrivalled fertility of its soil, the abundance of its resources, and promise of a great future for this land. The fauna and flora of the land lend themselves to mythology, and human life and nature interpenetrate, as nowhere else, in that kingdom. Yet the bulk of that enormous area, which is awaiting development, has not yet been developed, and is still waiting the

application of industry and intelligence to its fertile soil. The region contains everything which a modern man desires, and it would one day be the granary for Africa, as it is also destined to be the source of the richest minerals in this continent. The Belgian administration is distinguished for certain qualities which behoves other administrations to imitate. It was characterised by sympathy for the natives, and by efficiency which impressed itself forcibly on my mind. Yet in spite of all these positive advantages, an efficient administration, an intelligent indigenous population, and an evident desire to develop the resources of the land, that enormous region will take some time before it can be fully developed. A large part of it is forest, and a view of this enormous belt of forests which stretched from the borders of Uganda to the confines of Leopoldville, a distance of about 1,200 miles, will show at a glance even to the most uninstructed that the Congo will have to remain in this condition until and unless the population is equipped with the necessary education and stamina to convert the haunts of the wild beasts and wild men into a garden. Compare this with Natal, which is justly regarded as the garden colony of South Africa. No greater contrast could be observed. I was fortunate enough to tour through the North and South Coast of Natal last June and July, and I cannot describe to you the impression which its magnificent scenery, and its excellent husbandry left upon my mind. I have, of course, a number of beautiful spots in my own country which are infinitely superior to Natal in the magnificence of their scenery, the splendour of their landscape, and the fertility of their soil. I may be pardoned for mentioning that Kashmir remains unrivalled for its charm and grace.

I may, of course, be told that the comparison of Natal with Kashmir is hardly fair, as the honest Natalians have never presumed to compete with this fairy-land in the realm alike of beauty and of imagination. I feel, however, that Natal is the prettiest part of your beautiful country, and the patriotic citizens of that province are justly proud of her

pre-eminence in this sphere. There is another important element in Natal which has made her what she is, and that is the development of her agriculture and industry. Her agriculture has been built on very sound lines, while her sugar industries are product of Indian labour. But for the application of Indian intelligence and industry, Natal might have remained in the condition in which the Congo finds herself at the present time. It was Indian energy and persistence, its desire and urge for order and discipline, which lifted them from obscurity of their daily life into the higher world of the spirit. On the new sugar farms which were the product of their unremitting toil, at the very dawn of the new bloom, in their tea gardens and sugar plantations —and such were the Indian's great endowment in a strange land,—Natal burst into bloom of unfading beauty, and inevitably became the greatest productive unit of the Union. The intense sincerity of the quiet and sustained labour of the early Indian pioneers found expression in the new culture of the Natal soil, and proved a solvent of the main problem of Natal. But for their efforts, the fertile valleys and pleasant fields of Natal might have remained uncultivated, and the prosperity of the province might have been seriously affected. To the rude and simple Indian labourers who arrived not only with their worldly goods, but also with their household gods, and their sacred rites and picturesque customs, the future was dim, although the haze through which the vision of the new land came to them, was golden. The sympathy with rustic life, that love of nature humanised by industry, that delight in the garden, the grove and the cultivation of his patch of land which the Indian peasant has inherited from his ancestors, gave reality to an occupation which seemed at first to have been harmonised by no great hope. Yet the climate of Natal conquered their hearts and won their affections. The beauty and pathos of Chaka's land, the felicity of the simple folk, the graceful details of their rustic life, the charms of its woods and forests, the legends of Zulu warriors—all these were deeply impressed on the memory of the Indian labour-



Dinner Party given by Mr. Ashabhai Patel, a leading Indian merchant at Johannesburg on November 15th, 1942, on the occasion of the Dashera festival. The party was attended by 300 Indians. Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, a great leader of Indians in South Africa, and Mr. Patel are sitting with the High Commissioner

ers in a series of vivid pictures which profoundly influenced the daily life of the labourer. I have talked to some of the old settlers who came over when they were exceedingly young, and was struck by these hardy sons of the soil, who have done their duty to man, and are now preparing for eternity. Through the peculiar blending of Indian energy and persistence with rhythm of the modern machine we are enabled more nearly than in any other sphere to appreciate the stubborn spirit that abode in their frail bodies. It was the superb qualities of the Indian peasant and labourer which enabled him to tame nature, clear the province of impenetrable forests, hew roads out of rocks and cliffs, and led by prescient instinct, contrived to make Natal reflect one of the deepest and most permanent expressions of Indian intellect, intelligence, and initiative. Such was the work of the humble Indian labourer, who was helped by the organising prudence and creative energy of the Englishman. Without the latter, the Indian labourer would have been helpless. Without Indian industry and persistence, Natal would have remained a land without agriculture, and without sugar and coal. The Indian labourer was helped by the intelligence and enterprise of the Indian merchant, who came to Natal about the same time, and embarked upon several enterprises which proved indispensable to the growth of her prosperity. The two elements of the Indian population combined to make the experiment in a new and strange land a success, and the results of their labour are now seen in the smiling lands of this province, as well as the growth of her sugar and tea industries.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have given this picture of the contribution of my race to the growth of one of your fairest provinces, not in a spirit of vainglory but in the hope and belief that the work which they have done for the land will not be forgotten when the time comes—and I believe it is coming very soon—for a due assessment of our services. The humble, unknown Indian labourer, whose worldly resources were limited to a small bundle,

with a spiritual heritage which he proudly traced back to thousands of years, has taken deep root in the soil, and is now equipped with education, and other amenities of modern life. His grandson is a strapping, loose-limbed lad of twenty-five to thirty, with fine Caucasian features, and an intelligence that has been sharpened by constant struggle with nature and man. I have met hundreds of these young men in Natal, with a light bearing on their brow, and have put the inevitable question to them, "What do you wish to be?" They are in zenith of life when youth still shines, and acquired experience has not yet dried up within them all hope and faith in the improvement of their race in this land. This is the new type of Indian you find all over Natal, gifted with intelligence and industry, and determined to play his part in a land which he loves as dearly as any other race in Natal. He knows, and will tell you if you ask him, that he will never be able to live in India, and to him India is only a name, though it is, and must remain, an exceedingly dear name. He is in the same position as the Greek colonist of ancient Asia Minor, who left Athens with the sacred fire, and the household gods, yet, after a few years in a new land, Greece fell away from his mental horizon, though the memory of Greek culture survived and continued to nourish his soul. What is South Africa going to do with the young, intelligent, gifted Indian, who finds the psychological frontier of colour bar in almost every sphere of activity, and sometimes becomes reckless in his talks, and irresponsible in his action. We have only to project ourselves into his position to realise the feeling of brooding melancholy or hopeless despair which dry up the springs of human energy and human personality. His father possessed the municipal franchise, yet it was taken away from him on the ground that his country did not possess representative institutions. The position has fundamentally changed since then, and India herself is taking gigantic strides towards independence. The great forces of freedom and democracy, which have given significance and meaning to the present world conflict, are mov-

ing with epic majesty to their predestined goal. Freedom will, we hope and trust, triumph and democracy will be established. The young Indian, no less than the experienced and sagacious Indian, who has built up his position in industry through sheer force of character and ability, is naturally asking, "What is going to be the place of our community in the new social order which is being forged in the fires of Libya and Algiers, of Stalingrad and Marianas?" Will the quinessential flame which has breathed a breath of life into the fabric of twenty-six nations of the world through a period of organic activity, become too dim to be written into the new charter of human freedom? The present war has discovered the new controlling code of the Atlantic Charter. Will it be applied in the formation of the new social organisms, and the formulation of political rights for the Indian community in this land? Will the throbbing blood of the new ideals be transfused into the flaccid veins of monopoly capitalism and discrimination which have so far distracted the path of racial advance? These are some of the questions which members of my community, who are inheritors of a great culture, are asking at the present time. How can men who have been watching the dawning of a new light shut their eyes upon the dayspring? It is not possible in human societies to check the tide of national energy in full flow, or to disintegrate religious and moral conceptions which have persistent vitality.

The Indian community in Natal as well as in the Transvaal has also built up a structure of leadership which can compare with the leadership of any other community in the Union. It is led by a group of able and patriotic men who entered politics thirty years ago, whose life has been devoted to writing petitions and memoranda to government bodies beseeching them to redress their grievances. The archives at Petermaritzburg must have in their dry pigeonholes at least 500 memoranda by Indians. Indians are distinguished alike for their intellect and character, and have the qualities of intellectual sagacity, determined

volition, and the instinct for moderation which mark them off from the tub-thumper, the visionary, the revolutionary, and the social misfits. Are these men to be told that custom and tradition have trenched themselves, where they are strongest, in negation? Such a reply will be a complete antithesis to the basic principles for which the whole democratic world is now fighting, and it would mean a repudiation of compromise, an insistence on the grossest form of exploitation, which will produce consternation not only in this land, but also among millions of my countrymen in India. I do not believe for a moment that this will be the reply of the new generation, or of the sagacious and farsighted leaders of the old generation. Courtesy, gentleness, and justice have been embodied in the far-flung empire. The anomalies and contradictions of the period to which we owe the existing laws were due to its transitional character. The old order is now practically ended, and the modern has been born, with the rebirth of the new spirit and the new world order. Upon the leaders of South Africa will fall the immensely perplexing task of modulating from one period to the other. The mental vigour of the founders of the Union is by no means exhausted. Some people may object that I have given disproportionate space to Indians in Natal, and have left out the Transvaal Indians. This is a wholly false view of the position. In my account of Indians in Natal, I included by implication Transvaal Indians, as I did not think it necessary to differentiate the Indians of Transvaal from those of Natal.

I mentioned also the part played by the merchant class in Natal. That class is organically connected with many of the leading Indians in the Transvaal. The Indian merchants of the Transvaal trekked into this province at different periods. They came of a good class, and were imbued with the culture and tradition of Islam. Nourished on the grand principles of their religion, they carried into their business moral precepts which are the foundation of their religion. Active pursuit of commerce

and industry, restless activity, together with the loosening of all the political ties which had bound them to India, emancipated personality, and substituted freedom of mind and elasticity for the prescriptions of customs and traditions which have lost all vitality in a new land. While they clung not only to the spirit, but also to the letter of their religion, and are still deeply attached to their faith, in their business dealings they obeyed the instincts of their several characters, and in their commercial activity they severed themselves from the traditions of their country, and while observing all their religious precepts, they thought, wrote, spoke, and acted like farsighted captains of industry. Their natural genius for trade attained its fullest development simultaneously with the rupture of their relations with their mother country, the growth of a South African patriotism, and the drawing of all the forces of the nation into the channel of commerce. The results of the concentration of Indian energy in this province are seen in the position they occupy in the public economy of this province. In all the nooks and corners of the Transvaal one finds the Indian store-keeper working with marvellous industry and fortitude, and supplying the Afrikaner farmers in the platteland with all the articles which are essential for rural needs. He was probably born in the town which he serves; his father and grandfather too, were born in the district. Deprived of profound intellectual work, and cut off from intercourse with persons whose passionate and imaginative intuitions into the mysteries of the Universe generate art and philosophy, the Indian tradesman was, and has always been, keenly susceptible to the advantages of success in commerce, and he brought to his task virtues of no mean order. It was through him that the countryside was supplied with the necessities of a rural life, and it was the Indian trader who pointed the way to new enterprises, and brought profound change in the economic structure of his district. His settled tone of character and flair for trade, marked him out as a pioneer in the rural areas of the Transvaal. He has since been developing his spiritual qualities, and we find through-

out the Transvaal many Indian merchants, no less than many Indian labourers, distinguished for a sobriety of appetite, a courtesy of behaviour, and a refinement which can hardly be met with elsewhere. They have maintained the purity of their race and culture and endowed with qualities which were shared not only by Indians of Natal and the Transvaal but also by the great people of India from whom they sprang. Though their ancestors had been born in lonely cottages, and were not blessed with the good things of life, there is no doubt that the founders of their family and clan were pure and pious, and that the country which gave them birth occupied an enviable position in the spiritual and cultural progress of humanity. Hence it is not surprising to find that Indians prospered in South Africa, for trade was nearer to these great pioneers than intellectual activity; it was, indeed, less a matter of education than of the instinct of self-preservation, and it produced a temperament that was more fitted for commercial pursuits than for culture. Culture is, and must be, for many people the monopoly of the upper stratum of society. I make bold to say that in the whole history of South Africa, few races can show the same amount of aptitude and energy for mercantile pursuits diffused throughout all classes from the higher to the lower. No people in the Union have diverted distinguished genius to the service of Natal and the Transvaal on a greater scale than the Indian community. The results of this concentrated energy are seen in the growth of a prosperous merchant class which has left the impress of its personality upon everything it has touched. In Natal itself, while the Indian labourers have converted that province into a garden colony, the Indian merchant princes have built up business combines which have ramifications throughout the Union. They have diverted their specialised ability to the growth of Natal's resources, and are now in a position to determine the current of specific industries through their influence and industry. In the Transvaal, they are indispensable in certain parts to the farmer, and their relations with the latter are uniformly good. It would, indeed, be

difficult to find a more law-abiding and industrious community in any part of the Union.

The community has grown rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and influence. In Natal the average level of the Indian's income is low, and his wages are lower than those of the European. But the organisation of trade unions among the Indians has proved a solvent of many of their economic ills, and the movement for the integration of Indian Trade Unions with the European Trade Unions has made considerable progress. An educated class has sprung up in Durban, and the Indian community is now leading a life of vigorous social and political activity. Besides a number of public workers and politicians who entered public life when comparatively young, there are a number of Indians who are noted for their professional skill and experience. Durban has a number of Indian doctors, attorneys, graduates, and others who are giving a lead to the community in their respective spheres. In the Transvaal both the merchant and the labouring classes have given us some able leaders who are now organising the various elements of national life and energy.

I have given this brief sketch of the social and economic position of my community to show that the structure of Indian leadership in South Africa rests on strong foundations, and that in the pursuit of an aim which it clearly defined when it arrived in this country, the possession of wealth, there is no longer contention of varying thoughts, but firm adherence to a tradition which is rooted in the instincts, habits, and traditions of the Indian race.

It may be urged by some critics that I have given a roseate picture of the community, and there are shadows in the landscape. I do not deny that I have so far dealt, on the virtues of the Indian community in this land. I am not oblivious of the fact that its narrow specialisation in commercial activity has compelled it to deal only with the positive and mundane ethics of the merchant, and it has possibly arrested the development of other faculties which are essential for the growth of personality. It would

be an affectation to deny that the development of the community in this province has been lop-sided, and we have, as a consequence, merchants whose gaze is fixed on the profits which their transactions will yield on a given date. The culture and intellect are less highly prized than private profit calculated in gold and silver, and not in mental energy. While religion continues to dominate their thoughts, there is a lack of that pure zeal for public service and social reform which are and will always be deemed to be the foundation of a truly great people. While no merchant can forget the creed which he has drawn in with his mother's milk, the practice of the creed itself has not been adjusted to the new conditions of the growing age, and it has consequently petrified and has become mechanical. We have, as a result, devotion to the tenets of religion which is wholly admirable, combined with resistance to change in the social sphere which is, and must remain, a serious impediment to social progress. Nor is this all. The community is still encumbered with the customs of extinct antiquity, and has not yet struck new lines of activity in trade or industry. It pursues its hereditary calling, and it has not yet opened new trades partly because the former brings in a fixed and certain return. It refuses to take risks, and is, therefore, devoid of enterprise and creative work. Its channels of economic energy are restricted, and we have, as a result, a deeply rooted and almost an infantile piety with a stereotyped technique in business. It has made considerable progress on the lines of the uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement, and the social standards of most of the young men show an enormous improvement over those of their ancestors. Yet it would be true to say that we have still a great leeway to make up, and this requires the concerted efforts of trained thinkers and experienced public men. Education has not yet made rapid progress, though it could be shown that no community in the Union has contributed more to the support of aided schools in proportion to its population.

I have made these admissions because I do not wish to give an exaggerated account of the position of the community. For the treatment of such a subject, any estimate that leaves out the essential elements in the character of a people is worthless. I have, therefore, put on the garb of an *Advocatus Diabolis*, and tabulated all the sins of omission and commission of which it is guilty. It will, however, be clear to the most prejudiced that the defects I have mentioned are by no means serious, and they spring from a common root. Had the Indian community been given sufficient freedom, had it been provided with channels of energy in politics, administration or in other spheres, it is not only possible but probable that it would have made remarkable progress in spheres from which it has so far been rigidly segregated. It would have done in South Africa what its members are now doing in India. It would have built up the foundations of intellectual progress on a sound basis. It may be admitted that the political convictions of the Indian community in this land were highly unfavourable to a profound change in its social structure, and I am prepared to admit that a fresh element of political vitality is necessary for the advancement of the Indian community in South Africa, owing to its exclusion from all avenues of power and influence. Hence, the community was comfortable in its silent vegetation, as its members had faith, they had wealth, and, above all, they had the love of their neighbours and friends. They had freedom of choice within the bounds which had been meticulously defined for them by discriminatory laws. It is not surprising that their isolation, and segregation profoundly influenced their outlook, and they were left far behind their cousins in India, as politically they had no right as citizens. They lived only for their petty and private concerns, concentrating their mental vigour and energy on the attainment of the narrow aim which the laws of the country, their own predelictions and public opinion had laid down for them with precision. The heart of the community continued to beat

healthily, and the scattered colonies of our countrymen, landlocked for nearly half a century from the shores of India, no less than from the coast of Africa, would sometimes meet to exchange experience. They had sober joy in healthy living, and continued to sun themselves in the immemorial peace of the Transvaal countryside. Yet when we compare the rich and varied life which India's vigorous energy has set in motion since 1920, read the clear-cut intaglios from nature which our great national poet, Rabindranath Tagore was pouring forth in patriotic melodies, and study the polished arabesques and varied phases of expression of our deepest thoughts and aspiration by some of the noblest authors of the Indian Renaissance of the present day, we are struck with the fact that in South Africa the Indian community was denied inestimable boon of a normal social organisation, and the laws that had been passed from 1885 to 1939 implied an inversion of the principal laws of health in the body politic of South Africa. The community had consequently neither the time nor the opportunity to build up its intellectual or artistic foundations. It was too busy amassing wealth and fortune, and in this fierce struggle it could not be expected to devote itself to culture. Culture postulates leisure, and is the product of stability and repose. It pre-supposes the evolution of intellectual energy which begins with the assimilation of the classics, and the perfection of artistic form. While religious reformers appeal to the reason of the individual as conscience, the intellectual who is steeped in culture makes a similar appeal to intelligence. In the case of our community there could be no appeal of any kind to ideals of culture, for the simple reason that the struggle for existence did not permit any of its members to develop its specific qualities. Even music, the supreme symbol of spiritual unity in art, has not been developed. Indian music gives a wider, and more lasting empire over the hearts of millions than any other music in the world, as it floats beyond the scope of language in regions of tone and colour and sentiment. In

some schools of Indian music there are shades of feelings and sentiments which cannot possibly be expressed in words. In fact, the specific touch of Indian music upon feeling produces a kind of vagueness that could be expressed only in a melody.

I have dealt with this subject at considerable length as I feel that it is of crucial importance in understanding the needs and aspirations of my people in the Union. It has practically achieved what it set out to do nearly seventy years ago, and has drained its life-force in making itself and the Union prosperous and successful. Deprived of power, it concerned itself with trade and industry; deprived of the rights of citizenship, it contented itself with protests until its disabilities incorporated themselves with the very essence of its melancholy and feeling of depression. These feelings abode with the community through manhood, and as old age arrived, old men lost, submitted calmly, and regarded all efforts for self-improvement as vain and fruitless. I have met some old Indians who had passed through the bitter experience, had become crabbed, and had lost hope. Their declining faculties and waning strength being incapable of further struggles, incapable even of exploratory efforts, they resigned themselves to fate. They had lived and worked in a continual discord, a discord of spirit, which had brooded over their native genius like feverish exhalations. Is it surprising to find that in this atmosphere, the nervous elasticity no less than the courage of originality were overtaxed, and to weak-kneed men the struggle seemed hopeless?

I have not deemed it necessary to recite the laws that were passed against it from 1885 or to deal with the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to this land. The object of this address is not the raking up of controversies which have happily been forgotten, or the ripping up of old sores, but the construction of a bridge which will pave the way for good feeling and kindness between the two great races of the Union, the European race and the Indian community. I have consequently confined myself to the mental qualities of

the community, and have traced the sub-conscious impulse no less than the sentiments and feelings of an over-whelming mass of the people in this land. The Indian community has accomplished a remarkable work in the Union, and I am convinced that if it had been given a chance it would prove one of the most beneficial forces in the Union. It has passed the period of adolescence, and has entered manhood. The time has now come for taking stock of our resources, and re-examining the Indian problem in the light of new conceptions of political freedom and democratic equality. All that I claim is that the community is now so well-equipped, both in Natal and the Transvaal, that solution of this problem cannot be delayed indefinitely. This does not mean that it must be attempted here and now; nor does it imply the immediate concentration on an issue which pales into insignificance, when compared with the supreme issue of man for freedom with which we are faced at present. Our first and foremost duty is, and must be, to destroy Hitlerism, which does not logically involve the destruction of Germany. We cannot dissipate our energies on issues which, however important they may be to a few sections, pale into insignificance when we compare them with the life and death struggle in which we are now engaged. I have thought it necessary to make this clear as I feel that the position taken in this address may be misunderstood. At the same time, it must be no less clear to all that the Indian community is naturally asking whether its position in the New Order is going to be improved. It is a community of men who have passed through a period of anxiety and acute apprehension as to the future. It has lived in a nightmare of rumours and protests, of suspicion and distrust. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that it regards the problem as it affects itself as of far greater importance than any other issue with which South Africa may be faced at present.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, in dealing with the structure of the Indian community in the Union, I remarked that the Indian pioneers, who came over here,

had brought with them the tradition and culture of their motherland. They were passionate alike in their mental vitality, and the intensity of their personal feelings, and the breed was as vigorous in trade as in agriculture. They had a tradition which was derived from the splendid past of their motherland, and the *leit motive* of their culture was to make pious, god-fearing men, humble, valiant, and industrious. In their early struggles, they, like all pioneers, had to deny themselves human needs, and there was inevitably at times, a conflict between their conscience and circumstance.

A question may legitimately be asked, what was after all the condition of their country? What were those invisible assets which all the pioneers, whether Hindu or Muslim, brought with them? In order that you may have some idea of the country of their origin, I may be permitted to give an exceedingly brief account of the heritage of our race. India's contribution to the culture of humanity received recognition only a few decades ago. It is true, of course, there were some profound students of Hindu and Muslim philosophy and art who had studied the sacred writings of both religions, and put on record their appreciations of her contribution. The fact, however, remains that it was only in the middle of the last century that vigorous interest in Indian culture and civilisation began to be manifested in the select circles of London, Berlin, and Paris. It is only recently that men have come to perceive that India performed a double function in the forward march of humanity to perfection. She restored freedom to human intelligence and the senses by her metaphysics, and her sublime system of ethics; while she also restored freedom to the soul and conscience by strenuous efforts after religious toleration and moral perfection. Roughly, it may be said that India discharged the first duty in the early stage of her cultural development, while it was the task of the Buddhist age to achieve moral perfection. These two streams which issued from two sources, initiated that complete emancipation of the modern

mind which has not yet been fully developed. Both have a common root in religion, and religion in the morning of time about three thousand years ago, was comprehensive enough to include within its orbit the discovery of the world and man, and included concentration on the eternal through the free play of the intellect, the emotion, and the will over every field of knowledge. This conception had time and opportunity for the fullest possible development in the soil of India, and its remarkable extension to China, Malaya, Siam, Burma, and the Far East. Hence, it will be true to say that India gave mental and spiritual discipline, culture, and religion to humanity nearly three thousand years ago, at a time when Europe and America had not emerged from the stage of barbarism.

Superimposed upon this culture of ancient times is the culture of Islam. Muslim culture dealt with conduct, discipline, creative art, and administration, rather than with the spirit, and it was their disciplined and sober conduct and an intensity of purpose which made it invincible in, and lent dignity, beauty, and grace to, its work in India. While the glory of ancient India was spiritual culture, and that of the Buddhist, morality in action, it was the glory and pride of Islam that it established the rule of law, built up the structure of government and administration, and expressed its ideals in works of supreme beauty. The examples of Muslim architecture, and the stability of Muslim administration for hundreds of years, show that they embodied beliefs that were simple, sincere, and popular. The faun-like radiance of gladness which the Taj Mahal of Agra yields even to the dullest, the divine grace of the great palace of Agra, and the Sinaitic sublimity of the Pearl Mosque, are an expression of the Muslim ideal through the medium of beautiful symbols in marble. The architectural visions of the princes, in whom the slumbering creative powers of artists rose anew in the construction of noble edifices, the planning of cities of beauty and grace, like Jaipur, and the blending of mysticism with administration, have produced a profound effect on the art and

life of India as a whole.

The function of music in India is thus defined by a recent writer (Cultural Heritage of India, Volume III, Indian Music and Dancing). "In India, life has been saturated and consecrated with music. It meets us in the womb in the shape of protective chants, and follows through the various stages of life, enabling us finally to put away with ease the garment of flesh that has done its work. Sri Tyagaraja gives us the higher conception by showing that the *Trimurti* attained to that stage of evolution solely through the Upasana (worship) of nada (subtle stage of sound). If Siva is *nadu tauu,* and garbs himself in sound as the Swami says, then music is inalienable birthright of the soul, the Jiva which is fashioned after God, and is meant to rise to this attitude in the fulness of time. His thoughts, his emotions, his joys and sorrows, his hope and despair, his gratitude, all find expression in music, peculiarly developed to voice the same." To the ancient Aryans music meant something different to what it does to the moderns. The ancients understood by the work *Sangita,* a perfect and harmonious synthesis and interrelation of song, instrument, dance, and expression. It is a characteristic feature of our national life that with the exception of a few cases, almost all the saints of medieval India were singers, and its singers were saints. One has only to mention the names of saints such as Guru Nanak, Kabir, Kamal, Tulsidas, Mirabai, and Haridas in the North. Music is, however, incomplete without dance, and I need only refer here to the cosmic dance that starts the course of involution or disintegration of the Universe at Mahapralaya. The earlier references to dances are to be found in Rig Veda, while the Mahabharata also refers to Arjun, the most powerful of the Pandavas. The place of music in Indian society is thus defined by Aurobindo Ghose, one of the greatest Indians of the present day. (His Essay on Art for Art's sake). "Just as technique is not all, so even Beauty is not all in Art. Art is not merely technique or form of beauty, not only the discovery and expression of

Beauty—it is the self-expression of consciousness under conditions of aesthetic vision and a perfect execution. Or to put it otherwise, there are not any aesthetic values, but life values, mind values, soul values, that enter into Art." Hence it is said that "Art is for soul's soul, the spirit's sake, and the expression of all that the soul, the spirit wants to send through the medium of beauty." In India, music like other arts, has had a new birth, and Indian music has been revived in various places such as Baroda, Lucknow, and Calcutta. Different provinces have developed music, but music of Northern India has exercised powerful influence in the South. The Moghul Emperors patronised architecture, music, and painting, and both of these arts were highly developed in the days of our National Kings.

I have dealt so far with some of the arts such as music and architecture. But the most remarkable of our national arts are to be found in the great empires which Indian energy and character built up in the past. Emperor Asoka unified India under his spiritual care between 273 and 232 B. C. while another great Emperor of India whose reign falls between the years 606-647 A. D. gave to the whole of India as far south as the Vindhya Mountains Indian laws. A Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who spent fifteen years in India, arrived at the King's Court at Ujjain in 630. Here is an account of our countrymen in a book which has been translated from Chinese into French by Mr. Julian, and from French into English by Beale, in his *Buddhist Record of the Western World.* "The Kshattriyas and Brahmanas are clean and wholesome in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. There are rich merchants who deal in trinkets. They are very particular in their personal cleanliness. All wash before eating; they never use food left over from a former meal." Hiuen Tsang described the ordinary Indian of his day—he was in India from 630 A. D. to about 645 A. D.—as upright and honourable. They were straightforward in commerce, and the magistrates were merciful in the administration of

justice. They were neither deceitful nor treacherous, and they kept alike oaths and promises. The Chinese traveller says that in their rules of Government there was unusual rectitude while they behaved with gentleness and sweetness. As the administration was founded upon benign principles, the executive was simple. Here is a graphic account of Emperor Harsha's army. "The military guard the frontiers and put down disturbances. They mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of service. The royal forces are divided into infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants. The commanding officer rode in a chariot drawn by four horses abreast, his body guard around him, and a chariot on either hand. The elephants wore armour plate." Harsha's empire was very prosperous, and the people led a happy life. The soil was fertile, and then as now, highly cultivated. Wheaten cakes, parched grain, sugar, clarified butter and milk were the staple diet; but fresh venison and mutton were sometimes eaten. Learning was highly prized, and many wealthy men refused power and money so that they may carry on their studies without interruption. The University of Nalanda in Bihar was the most famous university in the east, and Hiuen Tsang spent five years there. The student had to pass an examination before admission, and the discipline was severe. The full course in this University included mechanics, medicine, logic, and metaphysics. Emperor Harsha prostrated himself at the feet of the Chinese traveller when he met him for the first time, and then he convened a meeting of all the learned Buddhists throughout the Empire to listen to lectures by the Chinese traveller, and a magnificent assembly of erudite scholars assembled at Kanauj, a town in the United Provinces. I cannot quote here the picturesque account which Hiuen Tsang gives of this gallery of princes and scholars. Harsha was the last great emperor of ancient India, and after his death the country was split up into small kingdoms. But learning and culture which had been sedulously cultivated by every Indian king, conti-

nued to flourish after his death, and the spiritual life of India remained indestructible.

In Harsha and Asoka, we find that the spirit had been transferred from the sphere of metaphysics and religion to the sphere of administration and intellectual energy. Harsha had refined upon the enthusiasm for the eternal, and this feeling, without losing its intensity, became a motive force of practical sagacity and constructive statesmanship.

We now enter a different scene. Here we see the manifestation of Indian genius and Indian capacity for empire building. The Moghul rulers of our country have become the exponents of the majesty and splendour of our race. It was an age of chivalry and heroism, in which our race expressed itself in every sphere of human endeavour, and attained supremacy alike in administration, the fine arts, scholarship, and spiritual vigour. The stability and security which the Moghuls established throughout India rendered it possible for the people to emerge from a state of chronic uncertainty into one of the strongest powers in India. It would be idle to deny that Akbar's predecessors had laid the foundations of administration which he later on perfected, nor would it be correct to assume that his predecessors had neglected their duty. The great ruler Sher Shah had marked out the broad lines of Akbar's policy in certain spheres, such as revenue and administration. It is nevertheless true that the great Moghul emperors, who gave India peace and plenty, and dowered her with all the graces of a refined life, were the most successful rulers India has ever seen. One historian, Stanley Lane-Pool states that Akbar was the "noblest king that ever ruled in India". To gain some idea of the impression created by Akbar one should read Tennyson's noble poem headed 'Akbar's Dream.' A great novelist, Leo Myers, has given a magnificent account of that gorgeous period in his brilliant novel, 'The Root and the Flower', while the German scholar, Count Von Noer, first brought out a full-length history of this monarch's reign in about 1876 in his work

Kaiser Akbar. Each of the six Moghul emperors was gifted with outstanding ability and great strength of character, and they did for India what William the Conqueror did for England. They injected into the country powerful currents of energy which gave new life to our race. India has appeared to many foreigners to be indeterminate, and her spirit has been likened to the Sphinx whose riddle finds no Oedipus. This is a superficial view of our national development, and leaves completely out of account the fact that every race and every country has had its ups and downs. She had been on the down grade before Baber came to India, though Sher Shah's brief administration was a happy interlude. To ignorant and stupid observers, who know nothing about our country and care less, it appeared that before Baber conquered India the world was over for the Indian people, as the arenas of their energy were closed. The people themselves seem to have lost all capacity for enthusiasm and sacrifice. They seemed to have developed a blend of affirmation and negation, and combined it with suave and genial scepticism, which undermined all capacity for action. Over India hung the shadow of servitude, political stagnation, and ecclesiastical depravity, and it seemed as if Indian genius, exhausted by the process of empire building in the time of Asoka and Harsha, Alauddin Khilji and the Tughlaq emperors, had little political and military ability left, and was spending its energy on frivolous and infantile pleasures, on social amenities and subtleties of literature, on dancing and music. A glance at the succession of brilliant rulers, generals, scholars, and architects, administrators and governors from the sixteenth century down to the middle of the nineteenth century, ending with the great Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, will show even to the meanest understanding that India produced men cast in a heroic mould whose incomparable brilliance has won the praise of every student of her annals. India has remained indelibly stamped with the genius of the Moghuls, and has yielded to humanity, in a new form,

in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a second crop of flowers and fruitage similar to that which she had borne in the Moghul period. In the modern period, which began for Asia, with the twentieth century, there has been a gradual and instinctive process of becoming; her reason is now awake and her mind is now conscious of its own treasures and capacities. Though the human spirit had been buried in the decay of Harsha's empire, it arose upon the ruins of that Empire, and the golden era of the Mughals, followed by the brilliance of the Mahratta Empire, bridged over the gulf between the two periods. India is now attaining self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the modern age. This does not involve merely assimilation of her old spirit, nor is it merely the knowledge of the mechanical progress which has revolutionised Europe and America. It is not so much knowledge of invention as the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence expressed in every sphere, political, spiritual, and economic which has enabled New India to forge ahead. The force which the impact of recent events had generated continues, vital and expansive, in the spirit which our people have displayed in Libya on the one hand, and in the development of gigantic steel works, such as Tata's Steel Company, on the other hand.

I have given this analysis of the general features of our people so that you may understand the peculiar position which India has occupied in the growth of Asia's culture, and the development of the conception of law and administration. Her severest military activity in the time of the great Mughal emperors, no less than in the splendid period of Mahratta empire, show that to an Indian the greatest glory, and the crown of his achievement, is to be a brave soldier and a skilful military leader. Her noblest races, both Muslim and Hindu, have been nourished on examples of heroism and patriotic fervour beside which stories of other countries pale into insignificance. The Rajputs of Rajputana have an unbroken tradition of valour for more than two thousand

years, and there is no country in the world which could furnish an example of nobler heroism than this chivalrous race. Read Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome or Sir Walter Scott's ballads of the Scottish border, and compare them with any one of the sagas of Rajput chivalry, as chronicled in Colonel Todd's *Rajasthan*, and you find the difference. Todd collected the songs and legends, histories and traditions of the Rajputs with devotion, and his *Rajasthan* is a mine of information on the ideals of Rajput chivalry. One example will suffice. When Rajput warriors of a besieged fortress found it impossible to defend it, they would put all the women and children to the sword, so that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, and then they would sally out to be cut down to a man. The Muslims, too, in their wars would put on the green turban of a Ghazi, and having dedicated their lives to God, would be killed to a man. This was the spirit of India's sons, and though the times have changed the spirit has remained unconquered, and has been expressed in deeds of heroism in different fronts, in the present war, as well as in superb achievements in spheres of administration, politics, commerce, and scholarship which show that Indian intelligence and Indian spirit are immortal.

This is clear from the records of our splendid past. Under the great Moghul rulers, no less than under some of the ablest Mahratta statesmen, India built up a fabric of government which still endures. The foundations of the present administration were laid by the great Moghul emperors, who have left scintillating memoirs of their reign. The wisest of our rulers, Akbar, had an exceptionally brilliant counsellor, Abul Fazl, who has left a minute account of the revenue, topography, history, and army of the Moghul rulers, in his *Institutes of Akbar*. Besides this there are nearly three to four hundred contemporary histories of the Moghul period, some of them composed by persons who had held high office or were actors in the drama of life. History was regarded as an indispensable aid to administration, and accurate records

of each reign were maintained. From these as well as from European travellers we learn that India was happy and prosperous in their reigns, that the people spontaneously regarded the Moghuls as their national kings, as they had settled down in the country, married Hindu wives, and adopted Hindu custom. The Moghul government was, therefore, a national government, in which the Indian genius realised itself. The Moghuls established a network of roads throughout Northern India, and worked up their vast empire by an elaborate system of administration. Those who wish to study the Moghul system of provincial administration should study Dr. P. Saran's Provincial Government under the Moghuls published last year. The administration which the genius of our race had created, has survived down to the present day. It is true, of course, that numerous improvements have been made in provincial administration, while the central government is, and must be, fundamentally different, as it is now based on the parliamentary system, but in the revenue administration, we find numerous examples of old Moghul officials performing many of the functions which had been marked out for them under the Moghul rulers. The structure of village organisation has remained intact, and the names of some of those officials are still the same. Our genius for adaptation and assimilation has found effective expression in the improvement, which have been grafted upon old forms and offices.

I cannot give details of the artistic splendour which the genius of some of our greatest Moghuls had created. There can be no doubt that the mind of the Indian people, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, was profoundly imbued with Moghul Culture, which had its origin in Samarkand and Bokhara, and was later infused with Indian culture into a unity. It is the synthesis of the two cultures which has supplied the intellectual life of India for the last three hundred years. It has created science and scholarship, in all their branches, and has sustained the soul of India in its persistent effort after freedom, and its revolt

against absolutism in Church and State. It seemed indeed during the eighteenth century after the decay of the Moghul Empire, that India lay trampled on and dying, and a mournful discouragement descended on the age when arts and crafts had decayed, and she was divided into a hundred fragments. The reign of Shah Jahan the magnificent, the builder of Taj Mahal, had closed to a solemn symphony, but discord sounded immediately after Aurangzeb's death, and she seemed to have become a stagnant pool, left behind by the subsidence of rivers in flood, and isolated from the tidal stress of cosmic forces. This is true of the eighteenth century, when she was undergoing the experience of a feeble central government, and heaved like a mighty ocean in the grip of a cyclone. In this period, too, though Indian unity was impaired, India threw some of her greatest rulers, generals, and administrators of which any country could boast. The names of Tipu Sultan, Hyder Ali, of a succession of Mahratta diplomats and generals, and of a number of scholars and saints are a household word in my country. In the permanence and stability of our administrative structure, few Asiatic countries could furnish a parallel. India was peaceful, and hundreds of European travellers toured through different parts in safety and comfort. We have vivid accounts of the period from some of these men, and we can reconstruct from these, and other sources how our ancestors lived and fought. Indian arms ruled over Afghanistan while the Frontier tribes gave little trouble. Attempts were also made by our rulers to occupy parts of Central Asia, while Kandahar remained in our hands for some time. For the first time, Assam was invaded by Moghul armies, and Bengal was ruled vigorously by one of the ablest Moghul Governors. Of Indian culture and art, we could say much but the space at our disposal is limited, and I will content myself with the remark that painting was highly developed, and Akbar instituted weekly exhibitions of pictures to encourage Indian arts. The Persian influence had so far been dominant, but Indian artists soon outnumbered

persian painters, and the Indian style predominated. Mughal paintings were greatly developed in the reign of his son, who was a lover of fine arts, and has discussed the subject in his memoirs. Laurence Bunyon has remarked that Rembrandt made drawings based on Moghul paintings. Poetry received great encouragement, and one of the greatest Hindu poets, Tulsidas, lived in Akbar's reign. Akbar introduced a new style of architecture, and so his lifelong friend and counsellor wrote: "His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay". With regard to decorative art of Akbar's time, it is sufficient to quote Vincent Smith, "The choicest Italian work does not surpass, if it equals, the superb carving on the white marble cenotaph of Akbar which occupies the topmost storey of his mausoleum at Sikandara".

Before I conclude this account of the Moghul period, let me give you some extracts from contemporary historians of some of these rulers. Of the founder of the dynasty, the great Baber, it is sufficient to say that he was a consummate general, an accomplished poet in Persian, and in his native Turkish, he created a new style of simple and natural prose. He was besides a fine musician. His physical strength was tremendous, and he could take a man under each arm and leap along the ramparts from one pointed pinnacle to the other. He was besides a mighty hunter, and excelled as a swordsman. Baber's 'Memoirs' have been translated into English, and show that his sense of humour was keen, while his love of gardens and flowers, and the habit of composing verses in the midst of a campaign, mark him out to be one of the most lovable men of his age. His daughter too has left us a beautiful account of her father's reign. The story of Baber's death is known to every child in India. When his son, Humayun, fell ill, and his life was despaired of, Baber decided to perform the rite of circumambulation, which is still used in Persia. In this rite the most treasured possession is offered and Baber performed this rite. Walking round his

son's sick bed, Baber prayed,"Oh God! If a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Baber, give my life, and my being for my son, Humayun". His prayer was answered, and the dying son soon recovered within three months, while the noble king was carried to Kabul to be buried in the garden which he loved.

Of his grandson, the great Akbar, so many stories are told throughout India that every Indian child could recite the deeds of Akbar, his wise sayings and his sagacious rule. Akbar's attitude to the Jesuit fathers from Goa, whom he had invited to his court, is thus described,"On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accorded quarters in the palace, and were given food from the royal table; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him, and greeted him in Portuguese. He never allowed them to remain uncovered in his presence. He would shake hands with them most familiarly, and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to indulge with in private conversation". In 1575 Akbar created a House of Worship which was devoted to religious discussions. They were held every Thursday night, and His Majesty would follow discussion between the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, and Buddhists with the greatest interest. Akbar's son, Emperor Jehangir, who succeeded his father in 1605, has given the following account of his father in his Memoirs. "My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion. Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures, and his buried wealth past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for the moment forgot Him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding. He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day; the

length of his sleep during a whole night was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to his life".

Of the golden age of Shah Jahan's, the builder of the famous Taj Mahal of Agra, and numerous palaces, mosques, fortresses, and colleges, here is an account from a contemporary historian. "The means employed by the emperor in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for their welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown lands and their tenants, encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil-doers, oppressors and malcontents, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire". Shah Jahan was the most magnificent prince that ever ruled in India, and though Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror, and a law-giver, yet for the order and arrangement of his empire, and for the organisation of his finances and the good administration of every department of state, no prince can be compared to Shah Jahan. His reign was the most prosperous ever known in India, and he was justly called the father of his people.

The following quotation by a contemporary historian, Khafi Khan, will give us a glimpse of Aurangzeb, the last great Moghul. "Of all Moghul rulers, none was so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice". Here are extracts from his last letter to his son. He died soon after, at the age of ninety. "Old age has arrived, and weakness has grown strong, strength has left my works. I came alone, and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regrets behind them. I have not at all done any true government of the realm or cherishing of peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away, for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that

are no more; and of future there is no hope." Nearly two thousand letters of this Puritan emperor have been preserved, and many have been published. His conception of kingship was expressed to an officer who had suggested to the emperor that he should spare himself. Here is his reply. "Being born the son of a king, and placed on the throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except in so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice in the maintenance of the royal authority, and security of the state".

I could go on quoting extracts for hours but this would, I am afraid, only weary you, and it will also swell the size of this address. I have given a few personal touches of our national rulers to show how firmly rooted they were in the heart and mind of our people, how they developed the powers of our race, and symbolised national unity. The Moghul Government was a national government, as it gave for the first time for centuries full scope for our special gifts. They galvanised a divided country, which threatened to break up into innumerable fragments, into vital energy, and set Indian culture forward on fresh paths divergent from previous medieval tradition. Moghul emperors grew originally out of the special conditions of India, and acquired force and momentum from that habit of mind which is called progress. India attained greatness both as a great military power, with her frontiers in Samarkand and beyond Kabul on the north-west, and in Assam on the north-east, while in the south, few important kingdoms had remained unsubdued. The peace and security, which a long line of our great rulers established throughout India, are eloquent testimony to the creative energy and administrative capacity of our people. India realised herself in the golden era of her empire, and her militant expansive force

expressing itself in concentrated energy in art, administration, scholarship, and diplomacy, made her one of the most powerful nations of Asia.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have given this brief account of our heritage so that you and others, who have taken a keen interest in my community may know that every member of my community in South Africa has the accumulated tradition, not only of culture but of administration, and the spirit of my community in this province is a part of the racial spirit, and Indians in this land are heirs to ages of stable and carefully graded organisation which in India as elsewhere, has preserved our national traditions and culture, and constitutes the essence of vitality in human affairs. I admit that in the following century, there was a disintegration of our government and a weakening of our administration. The cause of our failure in the eighteenth century is to be found in the contradictory conception of a problem which was really one. The problem of unity remained, and still remains, the problem of India. It is being solved, and will, I am confident, be solved without delay. Whatever our difficulties may be, and I shall be the last to ignore them here, there is one point on which Indians of all parties and creeds are unanimous, and that is the condition of my countrymen overseas. Upon this issue there is, and has been, no difference whatsoever. On domestic issues, such differences are inevitable in a country with a population of 400 million souls. On this issue, my country has never shown the least trace of difference. A leading humorist of the Anglo-Saxon world, Professor Stephen Leacock, has traced the progress made by China in ancient times in these words: "The Chinese long, long ago invented wonderful things—the use of wheels, the processes of weaving and dyeing, and working metals, and a set of picture signs to tell about it all, stamping them on plates to make books. This done, they fell fast asleep over the picture signs and sacred words, and woke to the thunder of foreign conquests". It may indeed be said

that India followed the example of China, and after showing inexhaustible reservoir of spiritual energy in ancient times, and great organising capacity, and creative work in the Moghul period, she fell fast asleep, and poetry and metaphysics, architecture and painting, military glory and spiritual hegemony, having borne their flowers and fruits, retired to rest. The political unity which had begun in the time of Moghul emperors was nipped in its unfolding season by unkindly influences. She had not been able to transfer her spiritual vigour or intellectual energy to the political sphere in the eighteenth century, and she had to pay a very high price in her disintegration and division, her low position in the councils of nations, and her disappearance from the list of powerful and independent races.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, the phase through which India is now passing may be called the rebirth of the Indian people. I may venture to say that the tree of genius is evergreen in that land of culture, and our country is politically and intellectually alive. Having secured a firm footing in the intellectual field, partly by assimilation of western knowledge, and partly by reviving interest in her classical past, India has been concentrating on political growth, because after all, it is power and freedom that determine the nation's future and assign its place in the world. To those who have been intimately associated with the political education of my countrymen, it is clear that the rich veins of our genius have not been worked out, and there is no exhaustion of our mental energy. India, like France, has had always an extraordinary capacity for recuperation, and she is just now moulting, and is building up a new shell, like a lobster. A number of forces are working to restore a new shell to her. Her shell is still soft, and she is not yet ready to come out. When she does, and it will not be very long, she will have an armour strong enough to protect her against her foes. Until that time arrives, she must lie low, so that she might secrete a new one quickly. Even so, Indians' pro-

gress during the last decade has been phenomenal, and she will soon be a full-fledged Dominion after the war, when she will be able to mould her political and economic policy in accordance with her needs and requirements. She feels that she has a soul, and an intelligence as significant of real living as any nation in this world, and she is determined to sacrifice everything for her freedom. Her economic structure needs long-range planning; her political framework will naturally undergo overhauling, and her intellectual energy will have to be, in fact, it has already been to a certain extent, diverted to the study of the mechanical and scientific development of the present day. Sir George Schuster, an ex-Finance Minister of the Government of India, has remarked in 'India and Democracy', that India will do well to study the New Deal of the United States of America, and the organisation and technique which the Soviet Russia have evolved during the incredible short period of 22 years. There is no reason why India should not learn the wonderful devices which Russia has introduced in the industrialisation of her vast area.

Very few people in South Africa realise the debt which India owes to a long line of American missionaries who have worked selflessly and unostentatiously for the intellectual and moral advancement of my countrymen for the last seventy to eighty years. India's educational progress would have been much slower without the inspiration and energy of a band of men whose ingenuity and disciplined activity of mind created a profound mental change in the mind and heart of the young. Hundreds of thousands of young Indians have received their education, and imbibed their ideals at these institutions. There are still in existence a number of American colleges and schools in all important centres of India, and the number of students who are receiving their education at these and similar institutions cannot be less than 50,000. I may strike a personal note, and mention that my most vivid impression of my childhood is that of the

American High School of my native town where I first received the rudiments of my education. That High School is now prosperous. I well remember the American principal of that institution, who with his low forehead, eagle eyes, powerful nose, and jaw, and stern trap mouth, looked like Gladstone. I later on came into contact with a number of brilliant American educationists and physicians at Allahabad, in the United Provinces, whose devoted work at the Agricultural Institute, the Ewing Christian College, and, above all, the Leper Asylum, is appreciated by Indians of all classes. Their spiritual fervour, and tanned faces which shine in the Indian sun as though they had been carved out of old oak, have wrought a remarkable change in the public economy of my province. I have given these examples to show that American influence has penetrated the highest circle of our Indian society, and has conferred upon India that reverent sense of beauty and culture, which has animated the imagination of many of the present-day Indian leaders. I am confident that America is going to forge even stronger links with India in future. India is going to receive her education in economic and social reconstruction in American workshops, factories, and business-houses, and as her economic structure is malleable, she will be spared the horrors of the Industrial Revolution if she avoids the mistakes made by the western countries in the past, and locates her factories not in congested cities, but in healthy surroundings on principles which have made Russia and United States of America leader, in commerce and the greatest organisers of machinery which the world has ever seen. New India will need hundreds of American technicians and business men to build up her economic structure, and as United States of America educated Japan and China, and prepared them for equality of status with other nations of the world, let us hope that western powers will join in a common undertaking, and help India in realising her aim as an independent nation.

New India will be a powerful state, and she will

gather to herself all the energy and intelligence which is now dissipated in different channels. Though at root these forces are identical in their tendency towards freedom, these stirrings of the new spirit have assumed externally such diverse forms as to make them appear reciprocally repellent.

I, therefore, come back to the point from which I started. India has witnessed the growth of magnificent civilisations, and has acted as torch-bearer of civilisation for centuries at a time when the whole of Europe and America and Africa were submerged in barbarism. Nearly three thousand years ago she lighted a fire which is still burning brightly, and has illuminated countless races for centuries. She then took up the world itself, and left her mighty kingdom of the mind and spirit, and developed the great empire of the Moghuls, and later on, of the Mahrattas. Having discharged her duty to this world and the next, she went back to sleep, and hibernated for nearly two centuries. She is again on her feet, self-reliant and self-confident, determined to restore to herself some of the power and influence which she had exercised in the past, so that, to quote a Persian writer, she may again sit upon the throne of distinction. Her progress cannot be stopped now, for the simple reason that she has transfused her spiritual energy into her struggle for political freedom. Her intellectual renaissance which began with Macaulay's Minute of 1832, and had led to the assimilation of western knowledge and thought, has now invaded the field of political speculation. In this wider province of exploration and struggle, they have naturally issues of incalculable magnitude, and have made mistakes. But political progress will crown and complete the process that began nearly a century ago. India's stature was great in the past, her political stature will be greater in future.

Such being the case, I ask you Mr. Chairman, whether it is not wise statesmanship to look at the problem of my community from a new angle altogether. The

Indians whom you see scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Transvaal and Natal have had in their bones, and in their blood, our magnificent culture. Their cousins across the seas will soon attain Dominion Status, and will naturally pull their full weight in developing the resources of their motherland. Is there anyone in this room who believes for a moment that the Indian community in the Union will remain indifferent to the events in India? Such questions are being put every day throughout the Union. I have not come here to attempt a solution of any specific problem from the public platform. I presume that a number of Government offices, and offices of corporations, contain rows and rows of files on every aspect of the Indian problem. I have not come here to discuss the legal aspects of such laws, or to denounce any specific law. My object is different. I want first a change of heart, a new spirit in our treatment of the Indian problem in the Union, a spirit which is manifest at the present time in Libya, where Indian and South African soldiers are fighting side by side for a sacred cause. I want that spirit to be transferred to the Transvaal so that without hair-splitting and legal quibbles, I may win the heart and mind of the great Afrikaner people in this mission, and show to the world that South Africa has kept aloft the banner of freedom for which the noblest and bravest of her sons have been bleeding in Libya for the last three years. I would appeal to the Englishmen in Natal, and the Afrikaners in Transvaal to view this problem in the light of what is happening from day to day in different parts of the world. I have referred in the opening pages to the noble work of the great Afrikaner race in developing our conception of freedom, and organising the resources of the Transvaal. There is, indeed, great deal in common between my community and the Afrikaner. There is the same love of justice, and the same desire for freedom. There is, moreover, a common devotion to South Africa, which is and must be, their motherland. The wealth of the Transvaal is not its gold mines, but the character of her people who have

the pride and glamour of a living patriotism, based not so much on the Rand or Kimberley mines as on their magnificent traditions which constitute the essence of their vitality and their valour and discipline, which are a more important part of their national life than agriculture or commerce. My community, and the Afrikaners in the Transvaal have now worked together for nearly seventy years. I am certain that the Indian problem will be viewed in a different spirit in the near future, and I am confident that in the solution of this problem, in the Transvaal, the great Afrikaner race, true to its tradition of freedom and toleration of coloured races, will take a generous, nay a magnanimous part. Amen.

SECTION III

INDO-EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION[1]

Speech delivered at the Indo-European Council, Pietermaritzburg, on Wednesday, 24th June, 1942 at 8 P.M.

[*Note*—This address was delivered by the author to a select gathering of Europeans and Indians at Pietermaritzburg. Bishop Fisher of Natal, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, presided. The author pleaded for the co-operation of the two races in Natal—the Indian and the European—and brought out the best qualities of the two. The author never ceased to believe, as he feels, that racial concord is possible only on this basis. But it must be co-operation on a basis of equality and not of servility as the proud Indian race will not accept that position. He has traced the progress of the humble Indian labourer, and suggests that there should be a memorial to the unknown Indian labourer who sacrificed his life so that Natal may live and grow.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to address you on a subject which has exercised, and will continue to exercise, the profoundest influence on the future of the Indian community. I have never had the honour and privilege of making a long stay in Pietermaritzburg, and from what little I have seen of it, I am justified in thinking that it is not merely a seat of justice but also a place of culture and refinement. I do not think I need trace the origin of the City, as I feel that it must be commonplace to you all. I may, however,

[1] I am greatly influenced by J. A. Symond's style in this address. I have always regarded him as one of the greatest ma sters of style, and his writings have been a source of inspi ration to me in my work.

say that I admire the public spirit and civic pride of the citizens of your town, and I may say the same of other cities of South Africa, which are young in years, but limitless in their ambitions, which are still developing and spreading out branches like the banayan trees of India, and possess some of the charm and grace of Italian cities of fame and renown. Every city has its own genius and every citizen has a certain spiritual pride in the growth and prosperity of his native town. As a humble connoisseur of cities, I carry with me still the aroma of the beautiful city of Florence, which I visited in 1927. Florence has been described by a recent writer as a sweet and dangerous capital of ideas, working out the finer Athenian qualities of the middle Renaissance under the proud guise of a Republic, with all the encouragements of a politic and refined tyranny in that Medicean dynasty which broke into gold with Lorenzo the Magnificent. The citizens of medieval Florence brought an incredulous curiosity, a mystery of emotion sublimised by the intellect, a new technique, and a new ideal of Art, a new trend of science, and a character that elevated even the humblest Florentine to the truest appreciation of beauty, while it imparted to them a heavenly serenity. From what I have seen of Pietermaritzburg, I feel that it is both a palace of justice and a seat of culture. Its temper captures, disables and confuses, yet invigorates all those who dwell within its walls. The historic buildings give distinction to the city, and have produced alike great jurists and renowned scholars. They are an ornament to the town and a source of pride to its citizens, while the suave and harmonious lines of hills around it are standing amazingly together, divinely and idly at ease among the everyday hurry of mundane life, and may be regarded as your noble city's soul, which is the soul of all its citizens.

It is true of course that the province of Natal did not experience in the nineteenth century the cataclysmic changes which South Africa's other provinces traversed in their long and arduous progress to maturity. After

Dick King's famous ride and triumphant journey, Natal went back to the days of serene and steady development, and ultimately found herself a garden. Natal followed the tradition of English discipline and English love of solid progress. The honest citizens were rooted fast in the soil. They had faith, they had home, and they enjoyed the love of their fellowmen. The people of Natal seem to have been comfortable in their silent vegetation, and one can picture green Natal sunning herself in her immemorial peace. In other races and other climes the wings of dreams winnow and wither the man, and the spirit of prayer quivers upon his lips. In a typical Florentine, like Savanorala, with his passionate intensity and monastic discipline, we are told by J.A. Symonds, that fasts were succeeded by trances, and trances by tempests of vehement denunciation. In the midst of profound debility when he could scarcely crawl up the pulpit steps, he would pass suddenly into the plenitude of power, sustaining his discourse by marshalling the phalanx of embattled arguments and pointed illustrations, pouring his thoughts in columns of continuous flame, mingling figures of sublimest images with reasonings of severest accuracy, at one time melting his audience in tears, at another freezing them with terror and quickening their souls with prayers and pleadings and blessings that had in them the sweetness, grace and spirit of a saint.

Natal has not produced a passionate man of Savanorala's intensity and fire, and its citizens trace their prosperity to the skill, discipline and social cohesion of the British race. Natal had the accumulated tradition not only of the culture but also of order. Disciplined into grace and attractiveness by intelligence and spiritual energy, the province has maintained its poise and balance, has continued to expand on the green fields and in fertile valleys, and it has grown upwards like an oak. While I like the Transvaal for its dynamism, and its bracing climate which sometimes makes your nerves vibrate like harpstrings, I prefer in June and July the spacious cities of Durban, and Pietermaritzburg for their age long tradition, the

transplantation not only of English trees and flowers, but also of the charming English ways and manners which their citizens know how to preserve intact, amidst the hills and crags of this fair province. Just as in the province of Quebec, you seem to be living in old France, France of days gone by with her quaint ways and picturesque customs, so in Natal, I feel the air of old England, smell the sweet air of her countryside and think sometimes that I am moving among the honest and sturdy citizens of Norfolk and Devonshire. For in this province, the stream of English thought and endeavour has never dried up, and the cargoes not only of goods, but also of culture continually fertilise the ground and give grace and charm to the lithe limbs and sparkling air of this province. In this fertile region of soft rain and rich earth, we find the ageless spell of discipline and organisation coiled round the roots of things. I am sometimes tempted to visualise the ways in which the sedate and industrious Natal citizens passed their days, when affairs of state gave them some leisure and repose. Presumably interspersed with their solid amusements and exemplary domestic life, there were many pauses of orisons in their ritual of living. It seems as if sometimes they slipped softly into an aesthetic Prime, or tired of the heat, in March or April, the prosperous Natalian undertook a spiritual pilgrimage to England, re-established contact with his uncles and cousins in the old country, repaired broken friendships, cemented a family alliance and came back with a smiling bride. There must have been a fine sensibility among old Natalians, and they presumably had a sincere devotion for a living organism like England, from which not only Natal but also other countries derived purpose and inspiration.

Meanwhile the development of Natal went on apace. Sugar plantations, tea industry, wattle industry, coal mining and town planning were taken in hand, and Natal soon became the garden of South Africa. In this process, my countrymen also took a part. It was, it is true, a humble part in the beginning, as all pioneers

who start fierce struggles in a new land are poor in wealth but rich in spirit, in foresight and grit. They came to render service in a subordinate capacity in a land that was soon emerging into the sunlight of history. They had deliberately left their country and gone to a land of whose culture they were at first wholly ignorant; yet they sought in their own humble way to give of their best to the earth into which they later on changed, when their work was done. Amidst many temptations and in spite of countless difficulties they maintained the integrity of their culture and race. The number of such pioneers is innumerable and though their names have not survived, only their work remains in the green fields, on the sugar plantations, in coal mines, in humble cottages and in fact all the nooks and corners of this beautiful land. The descendants of these humble workers who carried on amidst insuperable difficulties, have achieved substantial progress, and are now brilliant lawyers, doctors, merchants, and publicists, and are also the recognised and accredited leaders of a community that is a going concern, and is strong like young trees. The community is conscious that it has passed through the most critical phase of its national existence and it has now assumed a definite character in the public economy of Natal. General Wavell has paid a graceful tribute to men who served under him in the first Libyan offensive, when he destroyed the might of the Italian Army in 1940-41. In a lecture delivered at Cambridge, in 1939, he said "The pious Greek when he had set up altars to all the great gods by name, added one more altar, "To the unknown God". So whenever we speak and think of the great captains and set up our military altars to Hannibal, Napoleon and Marlborough, let us add, "To the unknown leader", that is to the good company commander, platoon or section leader, who carries forward his men or holds his post and often falls unknown. It is these who in the end do most to win wars". Applying the same idea we may say that when we are setting up monuments and memorials to men who have made Natal, which

is the centre of light and palace of enterprise, let us not forget the patient toil and steady perseverance of the humble Indian labourer, who contributed his quota to this progress, and by the sweat of his brow and the integrity of his character, built up her great industries and enriched her soil with his labour. When Natal erects altars to her national leaders, she should add one altar to the "Unknown Indian Labourer" whose fierce struggle with nature, a struggle which has showed no signs of diminution, has yielded such a rich harvest. He deserves this altar, because the types which his culture and environment formed in India are vital to the present day, and have persisted for nearly eighty years with the tenacity of physical growth.

The early struggles of these pioneers educated them to multifarious and vivid energy. They discarded customs and removed obstacles that blocked the channel of continuous progress, and from the time of their arrival they drank the same water and breathed the same air as other Natalians. They have now, however, completely assimilated the western conception of life, but their progress in new channels that demand fresh energy has not been so rapid. They could have adapted themselves to the change in the environment earlier, and used their magnificent endowment of intellect in freeing themselves from the shackles of prejudice and hoary customs. That they are doing it now and doing it vigorously is clear to the plainest understanding. The mutual attractions and repulsions that preside over their growth have given them specific qualities which they have not fully discarded, which are still reflected in their customs, in their language, as well as in their family life. The forces of the Indian people divided and swayed from side to side by this division, escaped these influences in the Transvaal, for there the common struggle and unity of ideals moulded the community into a unity. In Natal, Indian intellect has been brought into close contact with the free virility of the western world, and given the chance of emancipation from the thraldom of unproved

tradition. It is true that the force to judge and the desire to create were generated but it must be admitted that the people who were given their opportunity were not able to utilise it in the initial stages of their work in and around Durban. The majority of them were labourers, and the number of merchant classes and professional men was exceedingly small. The latter did undoubtedly establish a higher standard of living, and maintained their leadership for some time. But even this section had not completely absorbed western life, and many of them still cling passionately to habits which are wholly out of harmony with western standards and are still content to follow mechanically a mode of life which is static and stagnant. It may be conceded that the early Indian pioneers in Natal endured agonies of doubt and expectation, and were too absorbed in the need for bare existence to find time for a rapid readjustment to changes which must have appeared to them at that time to be incomprehensible. Again, it cannot be denied that the fruits of their struggle have become the inalienable heritage of the present generation of the Indian community. We are all warmed and thrilled with emotion at hearing the story of the early struggles and reading the epic chapters in Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography, in which he describes his early life in Durban in a language of simple dignity. I should like to state here that these remarks are not applicable to the early pioneers who did their duty nobly and passed away, firmly convinced that they had left a legacy of piety and discipline to their sons and daughters which would urge them on to emulate their example, and surpass their achievement. I am referring to the descendants, admirable and patriotic as they are and have been, but who did not exert to the same extent in other spheres, nor did discard unhygienic customs, ancient prejudices and hoary traditions. I am glad to say that their number is small and the community has imbibed the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement. From the nature of their occupations, they could not devote them-

selves to cultivation of scholarship which could reveal to them the wealth of their minds, the dignity of human thought, the value of constructive criticism and speculation, the sanctity of personality and the importance of human life, regarded as a thing apart from rigid and inflexible dogmas. There was, moreover, the absence of genuine middle class in my community that could act as an inspiration to the upper strata of our society whose number was necessarily restricted, and raise the level and elevate the lot of the miserably poor. A middle class alone can achieve the organic unity of a nation, develop both culture and character, and effectively hasten the social cohesion of the Indian community. Owing to this defect we find each section struggling into individuality and defining itself against its neighbours. Like fossils in geological strata, distinctive customs and peculiar prejudices have survived long after their old uses have been forgotten, and they continue to perplex the social worker and block the paths of the educationist.

I have painted, I am afraid, a dark picture of the social condition of my community. Do not believe for a moment that I have come to level criticism and do nothing else. Nothing would be further from the truth. I have done so, because I do not want men of my race and blood, of which I am as proud as any Indian, to cherish illusions and indulge in dreams which can only be realised through discipline, self-help and self-improvement. I am placing before my community the picture as it is and am showing you the green and fertile valleys, no less than the barren and bleak hills. I shall be false to you and to the trust which has been reposed in me if I do not give you a dispassionate analysis of our community's mental and social position in this land. That you are now in a much better position and have made substantial progress recently is clear enough. But the path to be traversed is long, and you will have to do what your forefathers did when they bent a thought-burdened forehead over their ploughs and hoes, passed along the

highways of Natal scarcely knowing that they were right-worthy and that life is a blessing. They wore themselves with cares and anxieties. Your cares must now be of a higher type, as you must now think not so much of your personal wants, as of the wants—social, political and economic—of your community in South Africa. I am a born optimist but I flatter myself with the belief that is combined with realism. I try to see the landscape spread before me with clear eyes, and I find that unless we are morally strong, and develop both self-reliance and self-discipline, we shall find it impossible to free ourselves from the prejudices ringed round us, and may have to undergo severe ordeals and prolonged trials. Only that civilisation can live which is constantly adapting itself to its environment. If it makes no effort to do so, if its more fortunate members forsake the poor and the needy, and lead a life of luxury and selfishness, it will decay and disappear from the face of the earth. Professor Arnold Toynbee enumerates twenty one civilisations that have been destroyed in the past, and now scarcely a trace of their magnificent contribution to the culture of humanity remains. A number of races that had maintained unchallenged sway in South Africa for centuries when the European settlers first landed at the Cape are as rare as the dod. The Hottentot and the Bushmen have disappeared from the country and have become a museum piece in the Union. They simply could not withstand the impact of a virile civilisation and were wiped off. Their primitive culture and savage habits prevented them from adapting themselves to changed conditions.

England in 1940 was an island fortress defying the foes of the human spirit and unconsciously seeking her own redemption. She saved the world mainly by her spiritual energy, as her material resources in 1940 were as limited as were the material resources of the Dutch when they rose against the Spaniards in the War of Independence and assumed the sovereignty of their provinces. The early Spanish conquerors of South

America were the inventors of the modern blitz. By 1600-about 200,000 Spaniards had conquered nearly thirty million Red Indians and, only fifty years after Columbus, Spaniards owned eight million unmapped square miles in South America. The magnificent civilisation of the Incas of Mexico, and other races of South America, was systematically destroyed. The Incas were demoralised, divided, and enfeebled by luxury, and were exterminated by the Spaniards. Modern civilisation has no doubt softened the manners and customs of the people, and international morality is now happily based upon solid foundations, though Germany's reversion to primal passion shows that human nature is liable to outbursts of hideous excesses. A nation that wishes to maintain its existence, and achieve social and political equality with other races must exercise eternal vigilance over its character, intellect, body and mind. It must rigorously eradicate customs which hinder development of the body, and must be physically as verile as any race. In the sphere of the mind, it must show equal progress and flexibility.

Physical culture is as important as mental advance and I am bound to say that the physique of our men leaves much to be desired. They are thin and lean and are not able to bear the strain of strenuous physical work, nor are they capable of vigorous physical exertion, as their body has been completely neglected. They are not, however, to blame entirely for this. Their low vitality and lack of stamina are due to malnutrition and starvation, which are due to poverty and lack of adequate nourishing diet. This is a problem which demands immediate attention of the community. I understand that in many elementary schools a substantial number cannot get any lunch at all, and the poor little mites come to school hungry and starved. It is the duty of all classes of the Indian community to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs. I am appalled by the poverty and malnutrition of Indian children and dread to think that the future of the community is starvation and malnutrition which keep our young feeble, puny

and diseased. I propose to call a meeting of educationists and others interested in the subject next month and ask them to suggest proposals for reform. It ought to be the duty of every Indian to see that the little children in the schools in his locality get at least a little milk or cheese or fruit at lunch. There is in fact reason to believe that unless the community takes up this matter in right earnest, not only will its quality deteriorate, but its numbers too will decline. The numbers of the Indian community have not increased substantially, as the last census indicate a reduction in its population. I have come to the conclusion that if the community really wished to be physically strong its unnecessary use of rice as a staple diet should be curtailed. Rice has little nutritive value and its consumption by the bulk of the Indian population has seriously impaired the physique of our race. I know that old habits die hard, and rice cannot be given up suddenly. But its consumption should be reduced and, after say, forty years, it may be given up altogether. Rice may be, and is, a necessity in Bengal and Madras, but in Natal, mealies is a far more nourishing diet. It has been noticed that natives who are addicted to the diet of rice are weaker than those who take only mealies. It is the duty of all enlightened Indians to propagate true ideas on nutrition and persuade every Indian to moderate his desire to live wholly upon rice. It may be true that the practice has now grown up of varying rice with wheat and maize. This should be encouraged, as the young men who are brought up on nourishing diet will be sturdy and self-reliant. I need hardly stress the need of adopting western standards of living and raising our standard of life in the Union. The doctrine has been preached since the Cape Town Agreement, and it must be admitted that it has produced salutary results. But the progress has neither been uniform nor has it been rapid. Unless you raise your standards, it will be impossible for you to claim equality in economic or political sphere. The western standards of living are rightly dominant in this land and

they are bound ultimately to be adopted all over the world. It is the duty of Indians to give up their old Indian ways of living, and I particularly appeal to young men to take the lead. Go out from the congested city, change your unhygienic and insanitary way of life, and adopt the European style and live in clean decent houses. There are numerous rich merchants who could afford to do so, yet I find no inclination on their part to make a move. They are probably unaware that they are bringing their community into disgrace and are stultifying its passionate desire for political and social freedom. No other standard except the European is possible in this land, and we must launch a tremendous drive to attain this end. Mere words are not enough. You must not only preach, but also live the doctrine you propagate, and nation-wide propaganda is essential.

The other problem which needs your serious attention is education. I have not been able to study it carefully yet, as I wish to do it thoroughly when I tour through Natal, but I am convinced that our primary schools are in an unsatisfactory condition. The pay of many teachers is five pounds per month, and it is not surprising to find that they supplement this miserable allowance by doing part-time work as taxi-drivers, clerks in shops, etc. It is most essential that the emoluments of elementary school teachers should be raised and it is no less essential that the quality of most of the Aided Indian schools be improved. I am told many of these schools are appallingly inefficient, and radical reformers have told me that all aided-schools should be taken over by the Government and conducted as Government schools. This is of course a very radical measure and I do not think the community will agree to such a drastic course, as it will rouse general discontent and will create more problems than it will solve, nor will the Union Government be prepared to shoulder such a responsibility. It is clear, however, and the opinion is generally held, that several primary aided schools lack the essentials of

equipment and are staffed by incompetent teachers. The sooner we addressed ourselves to the solution of this problem the better it would be for the future of the community. I regret I cannot discuss here the policy of the Union Government though I may add that I have addressed a letter on the subject to the authorities. With regard to secondary education, I am surprised to find that there is only one secondary school for Indians in the whole province, which can be truly called Indian, and that is Sastri College. The College has worked admirably and has done most useful service, but it is overcrowded, and cannot admit all students who wish to attend it. We must have two more secondary schools, which should be well-equipped. I understand that secondary classes have been attached to some primary schools, but they are obvioulsy inadequate, and one of these institutions should be converted into a secondary institution without further delay. We need at least three secondary schools in Natal of which we have at present only one, Sastri College. The Indian community has not yet been able to build up a genuine middle class, imbued with ideals of conduct and culture which will make it a dynamic element in the life of the country.

The last thing to perish in a community is its faith. It is difficult to sap the cultural and racial tradition which has been firmly rooted in the habits, instincts and daily lives of a community, and what remains longest is often the least rational element. The Indian community must maintain a progressive outlook on life, and must constantly adjust itself to changing conditions. In new countries like South Africa, with a young and vigorous community such as ours, when desires and faculties are evenly balanced, when perceptions are not blunted, nor the senses clogged, we must open our eyes in this age of wonder and science, and tame and subdue the forces of nature, in co-operation with the European of this land, to objects that will be wholly useful to humanity.

I have so far dealt with primary and secondary edu-

cation. At the present time, the Indian community is going through a period of rapid changes both in the social and economic sphere. It must be admitted that our spiritual energy has at times been a source of national instability in this land and has not always been conducive to our racial solidarity. I feel that the greatest need of the community at present is University education. Scholarship and culture build a sacred and inviolable city of the soul and amidst conflicting creeds and furious rivalries, unshaken by storms that rage round it, this refuge of the spirit, raised by forces of spiritual energy, grows increasingly in bulk and strength, until the later generations, fortified by its example and nourished on its principles, take their place of pride beneath its ample dome. Division and disunity disappear, and a new community emerges from the crucible like pure gold. My community should note this process and must guide its course with great circumspection through these obstacles and thereby secure a firm basis of support for our cultural advance in Natal. A University College is a vital necessity for the future of the Indian community. I am sure that so vast will be the energies emancipated by the establishment of such a College, that it will find it difficult to afford equal sustenance to numerous Indians desirous of admission. It is impossible for me to discuss in detail the outlines of a College which has not yet come into existence, nor is it desirable to formulate definite proposals at the present stage. Presumably the subject will be thrashed out by a Committee or Commission, and it will be the task of this body to discuss the principles upon which it should be based, as well as the arrangements which should be made to bring it into existence. An institution of University standing touches life upon many points. From the Indian point of view, it is life itself, as it sets up a standard which a nation or community must follow in its struggle for existence, development and ultimately complete equality with the Natal Europeans. Such a College will create an atmosphere of culture and intellectual freedom which is the life-breath of the European

races. It will take the lead in scholarship, science and art, it will effect a synthesis between Indian culture and western culture and science, and hand to the Indian community and to South Africa, the restored humanities, both eastern and western, in their integrity.

The renaissance in Italy meant new birth to liberty—the spirit of mankind recovering consciousness, and the power of self-determination, recognising the reality of the outer world and of the body through art, liberating the reason in science and conscience in religion, restoring culture to the intellect, and establishing the principle of spiritual and political freedom. The basic problem which the Indian University College will be called upon to solve will be precisely the same through which all young communities have passed. Its task will be to render knowledge accessible to all, to break down the barrier between the intelligent and the ignorant classes on the one hand, and between the poor and the rich on the other, so that the different elements of the Indian community may be fused into a unity, by destroying the distinctions, mental and physical, which nature raises between individuals. It should be our endeavour that in future no member of the Indian community should lack the opportunity of being physically and mentally the best that God has made him. The College must destroy the prejudices which have so far proved an insuperable barrier to freedom of thought and must rend the thick veil which they have drawn between the mind of the man and the outer world, and flash the light of reality upon the darkened places of their nature. We must strive thereby to make ourselves useful political and social units in South Africa, which is our privilege and destiny to live in. I should like to make it perfectly clear that the new Institution will not mean either a break with the glorious past of India, or with the religion, religious rites and customs of any section of the Indian community in South Africa. On the other hand, I am convinced that it is only through this institution that the Indian genius will reach forth across the gulf of centuries and resume the

tradition of a splendid past and recapture some of the atmosphere of our glorious spiritual heritage.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have been too general in my account of the proposed College, and have not dealt with the concrete problems with which we shall be faced. This has been deliberate on my part, as I do not wish to anticipate the recommendations of any Commission that may be appointed, or to prejudge the issues which must necessarily be thrashed out in the cold, passionless and judicious atmosphere of the committee room. I feel, however, that I ought to place before you in as concrete a manner as is possible at this stage, the salient features of the problem as I view it. It must be added here that these are purely tentative views, which are naturally liable to substantial modification on a closer examination of all the elements of a complex problem. This is and must be, in my humble opinion, the function of the Committee. It has to prepare a scheme that will command the greatest common measure of agreement among the different sections of the population. The scheme must, above all, be feasible. Subject to these reservations I now give you details of my idea of an Indian University College for my community. Before I proceed, let me say that I do not yet know definitely if a Commission is going to be appointed, and I am making this statement on the assumption that an investigation of some kind may be necessary. The new University College should, in my humble opinion, be a residential institution, in which young Indian will receive University education of the type which is associated with Oxford and Cambridge. I do not think I can go into the merits of the residential universities at this stage. There are I know a number of persons here who are opposed to residential universities on economic grounds. I may meet their objection in anticipation by stating that day scholars cannot be excluded and will, I hope and believe, be admitted. But the emphasis of the new University College will be necessarily upon residence, and this seems to me to be perfectly fair and

reasonable. The most brilliant defence of Oxford and Cambridge that has ever been given to the world was supplied by a writer of rare charm and grace, Cardinal Newman, who analysed the main characteristics of Oxford and Cambridge in the "Idea of a University Defined" nearly a century ago and pointed out the advantages which young gentlemen derive from mutual intercourse, and from close contact with renowned scholars. At the other extreme you had the hybrid form represented by the University of London, with its plethora of external degrees and all the mechanical means for conducting examinations which human ingenuity and human endeavour can devise. I am not referring here to the internal degrees of the University of London which are as good as any in England. We have as a result a plentiful crop of Correspondence Colleges and Correspondence courses. All of them were of mushroom growth and all of them have reduced cramming to a fine art. I have no hesitation in saying that the former system is infinitely superior to the latter, and I would rather not have a University College in which teaching by rote took the place of University education in its proper sense—the harmonious development of body and mind through contact with teachers and students, and inculcation of knowledge of the most advanced character.

It follows, therefore, that the new institution must emphasise residence, for it is only through this integral element of a real university that the atmosphere of culture and piety can be absorbed and assimilated. The Indians in South Africa, who have been enclosed in the circuit of petty interests and narrow occupations, are now throbbing with fresh life and are overflowing with young energy. Being inured to industry and gifted with intelligence, they are rightly demanding fresh channels for their energy in political field as well as civic duties. They have so far been competing with one another in the paths of industry, and clashing in deadly rivalry for breathing space and means of wealth. The time has now arrived when their energies should be centralised. This can

only result from a change in our mental outlook, which must be moulded by discipline, experience and self-sacrifice. It must be lived by the person who wishes to learn it, and this must be done through residence in surroundings that free young men from petty vexations as well as from the primal passions of the man in Berlin and Tokio as well as in the forest.

The University College must necessarily start with humble beginnings. It must be built up, step by step, with tender and fostering care, so that ultimately it may become the spiritual centre of our national existence. This is clear from the works on the growth of Universities in Europe, such as Rashdall and Paulsen, that a College which is adequately equipped and ably staffed, and keeps up the highest possible standards in the few subjects which it selects in the beginning of its career, is superior to one which teaches sixty different subjects in one Faculty alone, and doles out learning in a tabloid form. A University cannot be brought into existence, in a finished state, on one fine morning. It is not a mechanical, but a spiritual process, as like a human body it is an organism. It grows with time, and is nourished on the tradition, devotion and self-sacrifice of its alumni and patrons. I am told that the Natal University College started its brilliant career nearly 32 years ago with only two small stuffy rooms, and developed later on into a mighty oak. All the medieval and modern Universities have followed the same path. An administrator should always keep his aims high, but he should work as a practical man and try to build up his institution within the limits at his disposal. It would be best for the proposed College to give the highest form of teaching in the few subjects which it has selected, so that its standards may not be lower than those observed in other institutions of a similar type. On the other hand, as it is going to be a University College for Indians, the institution must make special arrangements for the instruction of Indian philosophy, languages and culture. That will be its distinctive contribution

to the academic life and thought of South Africa as it will be mainly through the University College that Indian culture will be preserved. It ought to be its aim to imbue Indians within its portals with a deep love for, and pride in, the land of their adoption, which is now, and must ever be, their motherland. Patriotism is the foundation of a University, and the new College must develop to love this beautiful land, which to me is so full of promise, energy and hope. It will aim at making them loyal sons of this land, and equipping them for playing an important part in its political and economic life. The College will also aim at fostering Indian culture and strengthening our spiritual link with India. There is nothing inconsistent in these two principles, and a loyal and patriotic South African Indian who owes allegiance to South Africa may well combine devotion to the culture and religion of his forefathers. The United States of America has successfully solved this problem and its Dutch, English and Swedish American subjects are as loyal to United States as Americans who trace their ancestry to the Pilgrim Fathers. The Greek colonists on the coast of Asia Minor kept the torch of Greek learning burning on its rugged coast, but their patriotism for their adopted land was as ardent as that of the indigenous inhabitants of Asia Minor. The descendants of Huguenots in South Africa are as patriotic as persons of Dutch descent. The Frenchmen of Quebec are as devoted to Canada as the Englishman in Ontario. As the College is designed for the Indian community, the majority of its students will be Indians, but I am prepared to provide for the reservation of certain percentage, say, ten per cent, for Natives and others who may seek admission to it. Fort Hare College has been very kind to Indian students in the past, and has admitted a certain number every year. We cannot forget this kindness and will be glad to admit Natives within the limits suggested above. I cannot go into details of a plan which, I confess, I have not yet thought out in its entirety. Finally I may say

that such a College ought to become an educational centre for Indians throughout Africa as the facilities for higher education for Indians in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganiyka are strictly limited, and Indians from all these territories find it difficult to secure University education for their sons. Some of them are, as you know, prosperous, and they naturally wish to give their sons and daughters a better start in life than they had in the beginning of their careers. It is the duty of Indians in every part of Africa to centralise their intellectual and educational work in the University College, and I feel that such an institution ought to admit Indians from other parts of Africa, and fix a certain percentage for our brethren across the border. I am afraid I have given an inordinately long account of the proposed University College. My only apology for it is that the College will become, in a very short time, the focus of our spiritual and cultural life. Our community came as workers and merchants, and they have thrived and prospered within limits assigned to them and the opportunities afforded to them in this land. Now, however, a new era, and a new order, fundamentally different from the Japanese or the Nazi New Order, is going to be established. The New Order will develop further the principles which the democracies had worked before the war. It will aim at the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit, manifested in the Atlantic Charter. The force generated by the Charter will continue and become vital and expansive in the spirit of the post-war construction. The Indian community must, therefore, take stock of its resources, spiritual, economic and intellectual, and determine upon a policy that will give it faith and will to live, and it must resolve to pull its weight in the public economy of this land.

I may be charged with criticising you unmercifully, and painting an exceedingly dark picture of a race that has struggled heroically amidst overwhelming odds. My reply to it is that I should be false to my trust if I did not

point out the means whereby our community could be raised to a position of equality with other races of this land. This is my ideal, and I hope this is your ideal, too. I may indeed be called a hopeless visionary, and it may of course be held by people in this land that we are crying for the moon. I can only reply that so far as the progress of a gifted race which is dowered with intelligence, persistence and courage is concerned, the word 'impossible' has never found a place in my dictionary. I have pointed out abuses that need removal; I have made proposals to which some of the conservative and old-fashioned among you may take strong exception. Nobody is more conscious of it than myself, and my only excuse is that I would like my community to be as progressive as any other community in South Africa. I am addressing these words to men with vision, with faith in their race, and strength in their hearts, whose eyes are not full of tired futility, who are neither defeatists nor cynics. I ask them to gird up their loins, and stand forth in the name of all that is dearest and most sacred to India, and help strongly in a task which will rouse all the latent qualities of our people. To argue with the defeatists is like chasing a man on a merry-go-round while seated on a horse behind him. Your ancestors were unsurpassed in simple strength of character by any of those celebrities to whom their respective countries make obeisance, and if you possess their solidity and massive honesty, are indifferent to good fortune and ill, which cannot be measured in terms of money, it is inevitable that there should be some among you who have their heads in the rainbow, and their feet in the bog. Differences in temperament, in outlook and tradition, cannot be avoided and a practical man must make allowance for them. I certainly do as I am convinced that the heart of the community is sound, and that it is now determined upon raising its level to that of other races in the land in a spirit alike of mutual co-operation with the Europeans and of faith in the integrity of its purpose. There is an old strain among us to fetter

up the heart in a lonely fight against odds. In this case, the greatest fight that has to be carried on is a fight against abuses which have crept into your social structure, and others which have never been wholly removed.

There is something else for which Indians have to prepare. That is to prepare ourselves for taking an active part in the rights and obligations of citizens of this land. Your country has made astonishing progress in an incredibly short time. One has only to go to India now to find out how quickly Indians have adapted themselves to the conditions of a changing world. In every sphere of human activity they have distinguished themselves. India's virile races, who are fighting on various fronts, and have braved ruthless foes in Asia and Africa, have established a tradition of military efficiency and valour which will remain an inspiration to their sons and grandsons. In the field of mental activity, we find the same eager desire and the same passionate curiosity. You find thousands of young Indians confident of the future of their land and forced by faith in their destiny, marching ahead, forging new weapons for the destruction of disease and laying the foundation of a powerful India in the immediate future. Our country is vibrating with a new faith and a new spirit, and is assured of Dominion Status immediately after the war. She will be independent in her homeland as South Africans are in theirs and will start, I hope and believe, a new career of glory in Asia. She had built up a magnificent empire in the past, and our national rulers, both of ancient and medieval India, who gave her not only peace and contentment, but unity and strength, have left us monuments, alike of art and administration, which are the wonders of the age and models for posterity. The generals, administrators, historians and poets who flourished in her palmy days, till the middle of the eighteenth century, are still the model and archtypes to their devoted followers and admirers. In the hearts and minds of millions of Indians there is the same instinct of emulation, the same desire to recreate her lost splendour, the same urge

for self-discipline and self-improvement. All these centuries of India—the centuries of her ancient splendour, and her glorious medieval empire—still live in the century of the present. We have a great ally in our past because from it we can draw inspiration, nourishment and hope, and we have a greater ally in the present, as we have quickly adjusted ourselves to the needs, both spiritual and material, of the present day and are assured of a brilliant future. It is sometimes difficult to destroy those habits of belief which once have taken hold upon the fancy and the feeling of a nation. The work of dissolution proceeds in secret, and the established order subsists. At the present time, the necessary impulse of regeneration has come from the impact of new forces which have been operating simultaneously throughout the modern world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel that I have already covered vast ground, and trespassed upon your indulgence. But I cannot leave the fascinating theme of Dominion Status without making its meaning perfectly clear to you. Dominion Status would involve full independence with the right to secede from the Empire. The right is there, but I do not believe for a moment that this bare abstract right, which had been developed by a number of jurists before the war, will ever be exercised by a single organised party in India. Whatever the opinion one may hold on particular measures taken by the Government of India at different stages, it is clear that it will be the height of folly for anyone to expect that India can cut herself off from the stream of English life and thought which has been flowing ceaselessly for more than a century and a half. Even when England concedes India's demand for Dominion Status—and it is clear that this demand must be conceded without avoidable delay immediately after the war—India will continue to rely upon the help and guidance of a number of Englishmen who have consecrated their splendid gifts of character and intellect to her service. She must have a trained army and an efficient navy, and the English officers who come from some of the best families

of England, have built up the noblest traditions of service to my land, and are as patriotic and loyal to India as any Indian. India's administrative structure is supported and sustained at its apex by a select group of able and experienced administrators, both Indian and European, who will maintain the unity, vigour and efficiency of that system for some time after India is a Dominion. Remove them tomorrow, and there will be chaos and confusion. Indians themselves will retain their services voluntarily as they know from experience that not only should administration be efficient, but there should also be confidence in its integrity. Now confidence is a plant of slow growth, and takes time. It is, however, essential to note that such Europeans will be employed by the future National Government and not by the Secretary of State for India. I have given you these examples to show that while Dominion Status is our right and due, its actual working will be necessarily subject to some administrative adjustments which are vital in a period of transition.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have discussed these points in a spirit of frankness to you, as I feel that the issue is one of great complexity. It is, however, clear that Dominion Status is bound to have repercussions on the position of Indians in this land. When India is "independent", when she can mould her policy in accordance with her national will, Indians overseas, such as in Kenya, Uganda as well as in the Union of South Africa, are bound to be affected by the change. They simply could not remain insulated and isolated, even if they wished. The stronger India is at home, the greater must be the joy of my countrymen in this land, and so much the greater must be their resolve to improve their social and economic condition so as to fall into line with improved status of India. Then it will be the duty of the Union Government to decide as to what they should do in that contingency. I content myself with pointing out that the grant of Dominion Status is bound to affect the position of Indians

in this land and it would be wise if during the interim period, when we are all joined together in a common fight against the ruthless enemy, there were gradual relaxation of some of the measures to which reference has been made frequently by the Indian community in the past. Statesmanship consists in taking the edge off a grievance, removing those that are deeply felt by any section of the population, and preparing the ground for an era of mutual good-will and confidence, by positive measures and actual concessions. Indians must be conceded without delay parliamentary and civic franchise, as it is their due. My only excuse for dealing with this topic is that I am speaking before a body of men who have been distinguished in the past for their scientific and dispassionate study of these problems. This honoured body includes in its ranks men of the highest character and attainment, and I have taken advantage of this, my first visit to your city, to give you a very candid, frank and, I hope, a dispassionate analysis of the present situation in South Africa.

The Indian community in this land has contributed substantially to the building up of this province. Most of the industries which have made Natal prosperous, such as sugar, wattle, tea and coal are due mainly to Indian enterprise and intelligence. It is true of course that it has done so in a comparatively subordinate position; it is no less true that the community was not then in a position to use its special mental and spiritual qualities in the development of this province as it did not command a position of power, authority and influence. Some of its members will continue to render service in the same humble position which their forefathers had occupied. It will be a disaster to social solidarity and public economy, if the Indians who are engaged on work on the farms for which they have developed special aptitude changed it for a real or fancied position of power or prestige simultaneously and dislocated the entire social economy of Natal. However, there are others more gifted and enterprising, whose number has been

growing in the past, and will inevitably grow more and more, in the future, who are now insisting on equality of opportunity, equality of social status, and equality of political rights. The greater the power and influence which New India gathers in her onward march to Dominion Status, the greater will be the urge and aspiration of Indians in this land for relaxation from laws and restrictions which are rightly regarded by them as a real obstacle to their political advance and civic pride. It must be admitted that some sections of the Indian community have not yet attained intellectual or social equality with the European. Compared to the time taken by other communities, the eighty years of its existence in this soil is but a moment in the formative period of a great nation. Yet many individual members of the community are rich, prosperous and full of mental force. The community is in close sympathy with the masses of the population, shares their enthusiasm, and promotes their industry. If given opportunity it will show its capacity for administration, no less than for scholarship and leadership. It is a going concern, strong as young trees, buoyed up with faith in its future, and has a reservoir of intelligence and character that has not yet been tapped. The future will, I feel convinced, give it opportunity for service in this land which it has awaited for some time. This process can be facilitated only by real co-operation between Europeans and Indians in this province. The population of the two races is almost equal, and their co-operation in the national economy is vital. As a firm believer in Indo-European co-operation, as one who is the product of Indo-European culture, I hope and believe that in the critical times which lie ahead of us, this co-operation will be forthcoming. The time is not far distant when through the doctrine of self-help and self-discipline the Indian will acquire both power and position. It should be the aim of farsighted statesmen to use the interim period effectively and explore avenues for contact and co-operation, so that the process of change may not be felt sudden and bewildering. My

faith in Indo-European co-operation remains unshaken, in spite of many examples of colour bar in this land.

I may be asked, what is the contribution of the Indian community to the making of Natal ? I would reply to this question by referring to the part which Indians have played in the supremely important part of East Africa, and in fact the entire eastern coast of Africa. The destinies of Africa and India are linked together, and for nearly five centuries the Indian trader has traded with East Africa. The Indian Ocean was crossed by hundreds of Indians from the west coast. They had not only the shrewd instincts of businessmen, but also the fire of intellectual passion, and they developed trade routes between India, Zanzibar and East Africa, and were firmly established there when Vasco da Gama passed through that part on his way to Calicut. At the present time, all along the eastern coast of Africa, you find Indian traders engaged in trade and building up flourishing business connections throughout eastern Africa. They have a dominating position in Uganda, and are a most important element in the economic life of East Africa. In fact, the development of East Africa and Uganda would have been impossible without Indian energy and enterprise. It was Indian labour that built up the railway that links up Kenya and Uganda. Uganda has been developed by Indian brains and character.

In Natal, their history was different, as India, the home of the Aryan race and culture, sent mostly Indian labourers, called coolies, to develop Natal's sugar plantations etc. Let me remind this distinguished audience of a few historical data to bring before you the early history of the Indian community. Indian labourers migrated to Mauritius and British Guiana, in 1834 and 1838 respectively. Then they emigrated to Trinidad, Jamaica and other colonies. The British Government issued a proclamation in the name of Queen Victoria in 1843 after the defeat of the Zulus and the settlement of the British in Natal. Let me quote the following from the proclamation,

"There shall not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded upon mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed, but the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike." Indians in Natal naturally regarded this proclamation as the basis of the claim to civic rights. When the Natal Europeans had tried natives and other races in their plantations, and found them wholly unsuitable for this type of work, the Durban Corporation asked the Governor of Natal to sanction the introduction of a limited number of coolies, or other labourers from the East, "in aid of the new enterprises in the coast lands, to the success of which sufficient and reliable labour is absolutely essential ....as on the success or failure of these rising enterprises depend the advancement of the Colony or its certain and rapid decline." India was officially approached by the Natal Government for the importation of "coolies" from India, but the Government of India refused, as there was abundant demand for labour in India, and greater advantages were held out to emigrants by the Mauritius and West Indian colonists. After considerable pressure had been put on the Indian Government, the Government of India agreed and the Natal Legislative Council passed Law XIV of 1859, empowering the Government to import Indian labour. The British Government accorded their approval to the Natal Bill and thus started the system of indentured labour, which was virtually slavery for a fixed period. I may quote here a statement of Lord Olivier, a former Secretary of State for India, "The foundations of the slave civilisation of both the United States and South Africa were laid by European joint stock capitalist companies, who sent out the European settlers and provided slavery for their use". Mr. W. Collins, a Natal official, was sent to India to bring our Indians to Natal as indentured labourers, and the first batch of Indian workers started from Madras for Natal by *S.S. Truro,* on October 13, 1860. The boat arrived after thirty days of voyage and the first contact of India

with South Africa began. From Gujrat, on the west coast of India, members of the mercantile community, the Muslim and Hindu, also came into Natal, and one had therefore two streams of Indians in Natal—merchants from Gujrat, who were free men, and coolies who acquired their freedom after serving their period of indenture with their European masters. From 1860 onwards the stream of Indian emigration to Natal began, and it was not till 1914 that immigration into South Africa from India was stopped by the Government of India. How did Indian workmen fare in Natal? Let me quote here testimony to their industry, persistence and intelligence from a statement of Sir Leige Hullett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal, made in July 1903. This is what he said, "The condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found on the coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians. *Durban was absolutely built up by Indian labour.*"

When one tours through the length and breadth of Natal, as I have done, and studies the work of the Indian labourer, one marvels at the result of their industry and toil. The Indian race was represented in Natal by its lowest elements, the coolies or workers, besides of course the merchants from Gujrat, yet the working class of India which came over to South Africa was both acute and strenuous in its own region of activity. Culture, in our sense of the term, did not exist and intelligence was concentrated in the specific task of clearing the forests, and organising the elements of wealth and prosperity out of materials which seemed to everyone at the time to be most promising. The descendants of these coolies, animated

by the impulse common to Indians throughout the world, have re-acquired the birthright of culture which belonged to ancient India, and developed intellectual power of a higher order. Hence it will be true to say that leaders of the Indian community in Durban today have owed but little to fortune and have depended on their own forces. In spite of numerous laws passed against the Indian community in Natal and the Transvaal, the vitality of the Indian race has not diminished.

Unfortunately, the Natal European, then as now, had not conceived a philosophy of right which should include duties as well as privileges, and which should safeguard the interests of Indians no less than those of Europeans.

I cannot trace the history of the Indian community in Natal to the present day, as this will take me too far afield, but it is sufficient to state here that the Indian community in the Union has toiled so fervently for the Union in general, and Natal in particular, shed its blood so freely, that South Africa has become part and parcel of its soul, bone and sinew. When the Natal Europeans lived in spiritual communion with their mother country, the Indian community, in spite of its abiding love for India, thinks and acts as South African. It is natural that Indians should treasure their own characteristics and their spiritual heritage, and keep their own personality. I contend that these qualities of our race will enable Natal to develop morally and materially, on a stable basis, as it will be enriched by the gifts of two complementary and not antagonistic civilisations.

Let me quote here the wise saying of the late lamented Lord Tweedsmuir, former Governor-General of Canada in 1937, at the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the Canadian Institute of International affairs, "If the Commonwealth in a crisis is to speak in one voice, it will only be because the component parts have fought out for themselves their own special problems, and made their contribution to the discussion, so that a true common factor of policy can be

reached". The governing principle of the two races in Natal must be the prosperity of their beloved province. The need of the Indian and the European is manifest in what each of them possesses, what the other lacks. The relations between the Indian and the European of mutual nurture and of exchange are organic, and for the fulfilment of their specific functions, the two races must integrate their efforts and energy. The solution cannot be found in segregation, as this is the negation of reciprocity and will breed hatred, bitterness and enmity. The Indian race will never acquiesce in the tyranny of segregation, as it is in an infinitely strong position now than it was ten or twenty years ago.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I can say for myself that I have never doubted the capacity of my countrymen to maintain themselves in key positions in politics, administration and the learned professions. All that I would most urgently urge is that the difficult path through which we are now passing must be traversed by the joint skill, energy and enterprise of the two races. The European will bring to the joint stock all the dynamism and capacity for organisation which has stamped his self-reliant authority upon everything he has undertaken. The contribution of my community would not be negligible. It will bring into the common pool all that reservoir of patient toil and trained intelligence, of great tenacity and unremitting perseverance, which it has employed for the last eighty years, whereby it has converted Natal into a garden. The product of this joint labour will be one of which anyone in South Africa may be legitimately proud.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot conclude this subject without referring to the sacred cause in which India no less than other partners of democracy have played a most important part. The war is at our door, and the fall of Tobruk has undoubtedly endangered our position in the Mediterranean. Both Hitler and his tattered lackey, Mussolini, the retired exhibitionist, are staking all in this desperate gamble, but signs are not wanting that the struc-

ture which they have erected by a combination of treachery and fraud rings hollow. Germany herself is internally disunited, and the Russians are pounding up many a German on their frontier. Stern days are in store for us all, and in these times of trial and tribulation, when the spirit of even the stoutest is tested, it behoves all of us to keep faith in our cause undimmed. India has not been sparing in her efforts, and has poured out men and materials for the crusade. I am not in the least disheartened by the fall of Tobruk, as I know that it will rouse the dormant energies of a great and tenacious people and the troops, whom I saw last May in Libya and addressed in the battlefield which are now the scene of desperate fighting, have never wavered in their belief or faltered in their path. The Indian troops I saw in the desert were virile, loose limbed lads, bubbling with gaiety and laughter, and supremely confident of success. I am sure when I talked to them that no disaster of any kind whatsoever could ever shake them from their resolve to sacrifice themselves for the sacred cause and secure a decisive victory over a hated foe. Sir Claude Auchinleck inspires the confidence of every one in the field. His is the discipline of established leadership, which has been consolidated by experience and crowned with success. The ebb and flow of a campaign must not prevent us from having a true perspective of the conflict in Egypt. Hitler has allowed his love of bloodshed and greed for conquest to acquire morbid proportions in his nature, and within the circle of his vitiated appetite has proved himself a monomaniac. He remains a classical example of the puppet of his fixed ideas, and victim of a desire that is ever securing and ever remains unsatisfied. We have as a consequence the mirage of joy that leaves the soul thirstier than it was ever before, and the paroxysms of rage which consume the body as they destroy the mind of the victim. It is, of course, the ultimate victory that counts, and our ultimate victory is assured. I am glad to find that the setback in Tobruk has not made us swerve an inch from

our resolve, and the leaders of South Africa have again inspired us with the will to conquer. I hope when the time comes the services of South African Indians in the war will not be forgotten. India's part in the present war has been clear from the outset. She is determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the democratic forces to cleanse the world of ancient evils, and ancient ills. That we shall see it through in the end, and Hitler will find his world of concepts collapsing about him, is as certain as the noonday sun. We shall have to go through the agony of suspense, and regeneration through suffering, during the critical four months that lie ahead of us. It will test our fibre to the utmost, but it will also bring out the finest quality of the Indian race. When I talked to the Indian rank and file in the torrid heat of Sollum and Halfaya Pass, where Rommel's hordes are now trampling upon all that human endeavour and faith had created in the last six hundred years, I was told almost unanimously, "Sir, we have come here to conquer or die". That was the spirit of the humblest private as it was the spirit of the highest officer.

In no other country in the world have military tradition and spiritual vigour had greater value in determining historical events, and nowhere has the influence of character on men of position been more notable. In war our acute Indian intellect, which the early Chinese and Greek travellers celebrated as the special glory of India, and which English travellers referred to something felicitous in the Indian air and climate, has been sharpened to the finest edge. Successive generations of practical statesmen and political philosophers trained the Indian intellectual to reason upon government, and to regard politics as a science. The first systematic work in statecraft, Arthasastra, was written more than two thousand years ago, and it is still regarded as a manual for the statesmen and the political philosophers. In the present war, too, Indian troops have done marvellously and have spread the fame of their fighting men throughout Africa and

Europe. All who have fought by their side have come back full of admiration for their constancy under fire, their contempt for death. They know that the safety of India against fanatical Japanese can be secured by arousing a fanatical devotion to their country. They know that the Japanese will come not to liberate her, but to stay in their beautiful land. They will do what they have done in Manchukuo, whose so-called Emperor Pu-Yi is a prisoner in his palace and is virtually locked up like a case of mumps. One of his Chinese servants bluntly declared, "He hates the Japanese just as much as I do, but he gets paid more for it". Indians are capable of passionate devotion and their magnificent annals of conquest extending to three thousand years, are a solid testimony to the integrity of this tradition. They are fighting in Libya with the same valour with which they fought the enemy in the malarial regions of Malaya and Burma, and are vindicating their right to Dominion Status by giving the surest guarantee of their capacity for it—by sacrificing themselves at the altar of duty. Indian young men, too, are aflame and aflower with their day of perfection. War is the adventure of youth, and the young men, with the rich melancholy, the romantic regret, the heavily haunted air of autumn, are intent upon conquest, upon realising themselves on the field of battle, where they are locked in a deadly grip with their ruthless foe. The war has smashed up all barriers that have so far been erected by prejudice or vested interests, and young Indian has now as much chance of winning renown and glory as any other young man in his own land. The Indian young men are remarkable for their dreamy grace, their devil-may-care air and the liquid tenderness with which their silence fades into speech. The soldiers from India who have defended the ramparts of freedom in the swampy jungles of Burma and Malaya or in the scorching desert of Libya, have nothing mean in their ambition, and share the noblest enthusiasm of the brilliant era. They have the same pure ideals, undefiled by selfish considerations, as the young men of South Africa, of England, and

of the United States of America. I quote below a beautiful poem by a young South African airman, John Gillespie Magee, a nineteen year old pilot of Cape Town, who gave his life for the cause, recently. It is one of the finest poems published during the war.

High Flight

Oh, I have slipped the surly bonds of earth,
And danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings;
Sunward I have climbed and joined the tumbling mirth,
Of sun-split clouds—and done a hundred things
You have not dreamed of—wheeled and soared and
swung High in the sunlit silence, Hov'ring there,
I've chased the shouting wind along and flung
My eager craft through footless halls of air.
Up, up, the long delirious, burning blue
I've topped the wind swept heights with easy grace,
Where never lark, or even eagle flew;
And, while with silent lifting mind I've trod,
The high untrespassed sanctity of space;
Put out my hand, and touched the face of God.

It is a poem of great power and creative thought, and the young poet who gave his life for the cause, would have become one of the greatest poets of his age had he lived. The Indian youth, too, is inspired by the same ideals, and his heroic feats in Abyssinia, Libya, Burma, Malaya, Syria and other battlefields show that the catastrophes of several successive invasions from the North-West and North-Eastern Frontier of India, followed by the petrifying influence of political and social inhibitions, have not prevented Indian intellect from flowering at the present time. It is true of course that these impediments checked her natural evolution and suspended her intellectual life before the fruit-time had succeeded to the flower-time of the Indian Renaissance. It is no less true that owing to these causes, the magnificent audacity of their impulse fell checked in midcareer.

Her achievement might be likened to an arch ascending bravely from two mighty piers, wherein the keystone was not set. Yet it is true that when all her deities were decayed or broken, when her unity was shattered into one thousand fragments in the eighteenth century by discord that was wholly internal, India continued to worship valour and heroism, as well as beauty in fine art and literary form. It took my country nearly two hundred years to emerge from a period of appalling disintegration and strife, and she has now resumed her place not only in the creation of a common mental atmosphere and the expression of the modern spirit in science and literature, but in the diffusion of all that is contained for us in culture. She has risen like Phoenix from her ashes, and is determined to play her former rôle which made her the spiritual mentor of Asia in the past. It is said by one modern writer that spiritual life is the true genius of India. This statement is only partially true. For India is not only a land of Sadhus and Saints and Faqirs, she is also the land of warriors and statesmen. She has been singularly catholic in her outlook on religious life, and one of the greatest of Indian saints, Shri Ramakrishna expressed the view of majority of India of all creeds when he declared that "as the same sugar is made into various figures, so the sweet Mother Divine is worshipped in various climes and ages under various names and forms. Different creeds are but different paths to reach the Almighty. As with one gold ornaments are made having different forms and names, so one God is worshipped in different countries and ages, and has different forms and names". Contradictions and distinctions are only formed in mediocre minds, and the truly tolerant man combines opinions which are seemingly contradictory. This spiritual impulse among the Indian people, which has been a force of tremendous importance in reshaping the destiny of nations, is now moving both the masses and classes in India, and is supplying the dynamic element in the political and social and economic life which will again make our motherland the mentor

of Asia, as the Buddhism she propagated throughout Eastern Asia made her in the morning of time the spiritual leader of humanity. South African Indians, while passionately loyal to their land, are inspired by the same impulses and the same ideals. They are also passing through a period of intense and concentrated effort, so that they, too, may play a rôle in the life and thought of South Africa which will be in conformity with the traditions of the old country. They are eager to pull their full weight and to show the world that they are in no way inferior to their forbears in India. The world spirit is moving in the same direction, and it is my earnest hope and belief that after the present war, the new brotherhood of the battlefield, which has cemented the alliance between Indian and South African soldiers, will rapidly change our pre-war conceptions, and give Indians in this land opportunities for political and civic service, and administrative responsibility.

I will conclude this address by quoting the following from a poem which brings out the tenets of Muslim Sufis admirably. In their principles the word Allah is frequently used to induce mystic consciousness. This is the praise of the eternal God which one can hear in the winds and the seas throughout Southern Asia.

"The sea is calm tonight,
The tide is full, the moon lies fair
Upon the straits—on the French Coast the light
Gleams and is gone; the Cliffs of England stand,
Glimmering and vast, out in the tranquil bay,
Come to the window, sweet in the night air,
Only for the long line of spray
Where the sea meets the moon-blanched land,
Listen you hear the grating roar
Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling
And they return, up to the high strand,
Begin, and cease, and then again begin
With tumultous cadence slow, and wring
The eternal note of sadness in.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I conclude. It is my earnest prayer that the spirit of toleration, of justice, and fair-play, which has been the dominant force in the culture and thought of humanity may be strengthened by the deliberations and discussions of the Indo-European Council of this fair and urbane city of Pietermaritzburg.

Address delivered at the opening of the Natal Regional Conference convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations held at Pietermaritzburg. July 31st, 1943.

[This lecture was delivered at the opening of the Natal Regional Conference convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations, held at Pietermaritzburg on July 31, 1943. It discusses the position of the Indian community in Natal, and refers to some of the problems with which the community is faced. The meeting was attended by the leading members of the Race Relations Institute and was a great success. Just about this time Professor Alfred HOERNLE died and his untimely death shocked all the members of the conference. Professor Hoernle was the son of Principal Hoernle, who was Principal of Calcutta Madarsah for a number of years. Hoernle was a man of out-standing ability, who sacrificed his life for the non-European races. His widow, Mrs. Hoernle, has done, and is doing, splendid social work for Indian women in Johannesburg. I have mentioned here the work of Professor Burrows for the Indian community. And those who have the privilege of working with him can appraise his services to the Indian people. He is now engaged on a comprehensive survey of Indian housing in Durban.

The address covers a wide field and deals with many problems of the Indian community in Natal. I have a firm faith in the destiny of the Indian people in South Africa and I have no doubt whatsoever that if the Indian is given an opportunity he will acquit himself creditably in political and economic activity. The tragedy of the situation is that the fine Indian intellect is repressed in all fields of organic activity and is relegated to an inferior and humiliating status by laws and conventions which have no parallel in any part of the world. India will look after her children when she is free. For the present, the Indian race must keep up its vitality and maintain its struggle for freedom.

I have slightly revised this address and made a few verbal alterations in the text.]

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply grateful to the Institute of Race Relations for the honour they have conferred upon me by asking

me to address this distinguished gathering.

The Institute started its work amidst numerous difficulties and carried on its noble work in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. I feel justified in saying that the initial difficulties which are inseparable from the formulation of a new policy have been overcome, and this body is now established on very solid foundations. The ideas and ideals of the Institute form the great achievement of this honoured body, and it has thereby united men of all races and creeds in economic and social investigations evoking sympathy and stimulating antagonisms upon questions which are vital to the future of Africa. This was necessary for the evolution of the modern ideas of progress, at a time when we were but dimly conscious of our spiritual heritage, our feeling of intellectual unity and our habit of pouring converging contributions from different channels into the stock of experience. The Institute, too, could not pass into a new phase without checks and hindrances, but its members have applied the whole of their intelligence to the one aim of giving a certain definite form to the problems of the Union, based upon sympathy and justice to all races.

The Institute has become the symbol of aspirations of millions in this land and it has upheld this position because of the selfless devotion and missionary spirit of its leaders. The work of the leaders is appreciated by numerous sections of all races, creeds and colours who have followed its activities with the deepest interest, and accorded to it their enthusiastic support. I believe I am voicing the sentiments of every one present here when I place on record our deep sense of grief on the sad demise of Professor Hoernle. I saw him only a few days before I left Johannesburg, at the end of last month, and he was, as usual, in a cheerful mood. He had just seen his doctor, who had warned him against the risk he was running and he assured me, a fortnight ago, in a letter, tha the was taking precautions, and trying to follow the severe regimen prescribed for him by his medical adviser. I am afraid,

it was too late, and he died a martyr to duty. Professor Hoernle's loss is irreparable. The Indian community has lost in him a constant friend and a selfless champion of its rights, and the Institute has lost one of its leading figures, who brought to its councils ripe experience, wide culture, genuine sympathy, and an energy which seemed limitless. He has nobly performed his mission by sowing the seeds of sympathy and racial harmony broadcast, and sacrificing his life for the cause. Our heart goes out at this hour of trial to his widow, whose beneficent work for the Indian community is no less distinguished than that of her husband. I hope and believe that she will continue her philanthropic work and maintain the fine tradition which their joint labour built up after nearly twenty-five years of devoted work.

It may legitimately be asked by a foreigner who comes to these shores whether South Africa has developed certain definite principles of social growth and mental development through the various organs with which it is endowed at present. Is there a certain norm to which her parliament, her civic bodies, and associations for culture conform ? Quickened to livelier consciousness by contact with diversity of races and colours, one is deeply impressed under the energy and virility of its early pioneers who tamed nature into subjection and established a high standard of living for the common man. While Natal is a garden, the Cape has all the classic graces of Italy, and the Transvaal is the focus of commercial activity. Every part of South Africa has its own individuality and accounts for its phenomenal progress in the present century. The deepest interest in the growth of the Union, the warmest recognition of its services to Africa as a whole, are compatible with the just conviction that there is an absence of organic unity in a land on which nature has lavished some of her choicest gifts. Buchan, who came here as a member of Milner's Kindergarten, was fascinated by the South African landscape. In a moment of frankness, he declared its chief characteristic to be "Its utter aloof-

ness from human life. It seems not to take the impress of man. Its history is as transient as the cloud shadow. A hundred Johannesburgs would not change the character of South Africa." At the same time he admitted that he had received an experience here which he had not known since his childhood "moments, even hours of intense relaxation when one seemed to be a happy part of a friendly universe." There are, of course, numerous persons who, I confess, are birds of passage in this land, who neither understand the secret nor feel the need of learning its mysteries. I confess that after nearly two years of study of some of the problems of this beautiful land, I have not been able to form distinct ideas as to its pattern of life. We witness here the new birth of the European spirit, and South Africa has borrowed her light from Europe, as the moon shines with the rays reflected from the sun. The European intellect in the Union, after a desperate struggle with nature and man, has now resumed its activity, is interrogating nature, taming her into subjection, and is therefore enjoying the pleasures of unimpeded energy. In India, we have a tree, which is called the deodar tree, the god tree. This tree of life, this god tree, has come to this land from Europe, and its foundation is Christianity. Within the new political framework, the pioneers of South Africa lived Christian lives, without denying human needs and without constant conflict between their conscience and their circumstance. Their tradition was derived from the Catholic past of Europe, while in the two provinces of South Africa, Calvinism was grafted on a soil which did not possess even the rudiments of civilisation. The Afrikaners possessed a certain gnarled magnificence which reminded of the doctrines of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, and they fashioned South Africa anew in the image of their own many sided minds. Their striving and unquiet ambitions, the restlessness of their minds, obliged them to introduce material changes in the world in which they found themselves. The Voortrekkers were essentially concrete and compact men, who felt separated

from Natal and the Cape as the film of isolated and overwhelming inward preoccupation which was the result of their constant struggle with man and nature. Though their world and Natal's world at no time intersected, they co-operated in applying mathematics and service to the establishment of a state, by linking up many factors of their experience and organising them by raising the living standards of their citizens. This is the greatest contribution of European culture to the development of South Africa. They have succeeded in applying the lessons of science to the solution of the problems of production, public health, nutrition and hygiene. We have, as a result, a European standard of living in which emphasis is rightly placed on the provision of adequate facilities for a comfortable existence. The *laiss'ez-faire* doctrines of the nineteenth century had given a false perspective of the problems of colonial government. Radical reformers in that period concentrated their interest on how peoples ought to be governed instead of discussing the ways and means of making their life happy. The theory of guardianship of Native races, who were designated as "Children of Nature", tended to turn all non-Europeans into eternal Peter Pans.

The European pioneers stamped this country with their culture and religion, and South Africa has imbibed and assimilated both the religion and culture of the West. We may now venture to reply to the stranger who puts the inevitable question, what is the pattern of South Africa's life? Its pattern of life is European, and the spiritual vigour is derived from the common fount of Christianity. These are the two sustaining pillars of South Africa's culture which lie deep in her history, and are the centres of her national vitality in modern times.

Christian principles have moulded the life and thought of South Africa for ages, and I am convinced that they will do so in future. There are millions of Hindus and Muslims all over the world who implicitly follow Christian ethics without subscribing to the Christian creed. It

is true, however, that among the dominant races of South Africa, the Christian religion has always been interwoven with its public affairs and vital institutions. The influence of the Christian religion and the Christian ideal of life upon politics in the Union has been profound. Many of the politicians of the Union who command a large following in the Union are inspired by a deep religious feeling, and the personal interrelation of politics and religion is probably more significant in the Union than in Western Europe. It is true, of course, that there are small groups or sections in which ideas are abundant and serious convictions on religion are rare. These are, however, exceptions, and we are justified in saying that the South African way of life is the type of life which took root in Europe during the age of the Christian faith. Now the characteristic expression of that faith is democracy, though it may be that it is of comparatively recent origin. It is, however, perfectly correct to assert that in modern times democracy is the form which it has assumed for several generations.

It was Christianity which taught the eternal significance of every human soul and stressed the sanctity of human personality. The rule of the law, which is the noblest contribution of the Roman intellect to the modern world, is expressed in the Christian tradition of freedom. In fact many of the virtues which have been incorporated into the substance of the life and thought of every one in South Africa, whether he is a Muslim, Hindu or Jew, are Christian in origin though they have their prototypes in other religions as well, such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. It will, however, be true to say that in South Africa thousands of Muslims who have grown up were nourished on the Christian tradition, which was, and is, their spiritual legacy and constitutes their spiritual capital. The doctrine of human equality is claimed by the Master of Balliol, Mr. A. D. Lindsay, as exclusively Christian, though other religions have emphasised certain important elements of political equality. Mr.

Lindsay declares that the "doctrine of human equality has, of course, been affirmed and acted upon by men who have repudiated the religion which gave it birth and, indeed, all religions. The belief can survive, for a time at least, what produced it. But it is a religious faith and nothing but faith will sustain it". The political structure of South Africa is Christian, as is its culture, and its Christian conception of life will enable this country to earn its survival if the basic virtues, which are common to Christian no less than to other religions, such as Hinduism and Islam, strike roots deep and wide in the political and social life of South Africa. Democracy is a spiritual testament and implies an attitude of mind, rather than a system of government or an economic structure. The last thing to perish in a nation is its faith, and in the Christian church there exists a hierarchy of able and God-fearing men, who, by the sanctity of their lives, the gravity of their doctrines, their ministration to the sick, by the relief of the poor, and maintenance of schools and hospitals, have kept alive in the ruling races of South Africa the ideal of a creed pure and undefiled before God. Many practise Christian virtues at present who had ceased to attach importance to formularies distinctive of a particular creed. The Indians who came over later on also practised them, as they had been preached for hundreds of years in their own land by Hinduism and Islam. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Indians in the Union found no difficulty in assimilating the moral teachings of Christ, and imbibing the Christian ideal which has been supreme in this land since its foundation as a state. Their religions had preached these basic virtues for hundreds of years before they arrived to Natal. It is no exaggeration to say that the fibres of the Church in the Union were intertwined with the very heartstrings of the ruling races in South Africa, and Indians became the inheritors of this spiritual tradition.

I have mentioned above that there are two sustaining pillars of South Africa, (1) Christianity, and (2) European culture. I will now deal with the latter. I cannot deal here

with various aspects of European civilisation, such as intellectual, artistic, and mechanical advances of Europe, as this will take me too far afield. I must confine myself to the social culture of the European peoples as expressed in their standards of living in Europe and the U. S. A. As is known to every one who has travelled in different parts of the world, the greatest contribution of Europe to humanity, in the modern age, is the resurrection of the human body, and the freedom of man from concentration on the insoluble mysteries of the next world. The medieval outlook on life has given way to the modern conception which does not deny future existence but urges votaries of all creeds to concentrate on the eradication of social diseases in the present world. Man has become the sovereign of nature and is no longer her slave. Present life is not necessarily a preparation for the next, and it must be made useful to the community with the help of service. The cloistral solitude of Siemon Stylites and Trappist monks, and of anchorites and ascetics, is no longer regarded as the only path to salvation. We cannot withdraw into anchorite cells, in an age of phenomenal progress in technology. The application of intelligence, of science and machinery, to diet, hygiene, sanitation, to food and clothing, housing and disease, have led to the resurrection of the human body, and the raising of standards of living throughout the world. The East is also profoundly affected by this doctrine and the liberation of reason from superstition, so that we may develop the resources of the country, and through the energies emancipated by our struggle with nature, we may be able to afford equal sustenance to all the people of the land. This has been applied all over Europe, the U.S.A., and is now applied to Russia and Asia. Western standards of living have happily been adopted in many parts of the world, and the best organised attempt has been made in the United States of America and Russia. South Africa, too, has not lagged behind and it is the glory and pride of this country that the standards of living of Europeans have not deteriorated. Public opinion on the subject is una-

nimous on this vital issue, and it is now recognised that we need social security for all, so that the common man may lead a happy and contented life in this world. All these principles are taken for granted, and the movement for social security has gained momentum all over the world. This means, of course, an enormous improvement in the present day standards so that the common man may be able to contribute to the building of a new society by participating in its social and economic uplift.

I have dealt with these two points in South Africa's national life. Let me now point out the manner in which they affect the Indian problem in Natal. It is well known that the original settlers who came over here from India were recruited mainly from very humble surroundings. They worked exceedingly hard on the sugar plantations, and the primitive conditions under which they lived would have permanently impaired their health, but for the mild climate of Natal. I should like to place on record my appreciation of the excellent work which you, Professor Burrows, and your devoted band of research scholars have done for the Indian community by conducting objective investigations into the activities of the Indian community in Natal in a scientific spirit. I should like to mention particularly a pamphlet entitled "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" which has been prepared under the auspices of this Institute under your supervision. It is a mine of information for every student of the Indian problem, and is written in an objective spirit. I hope that similar inquiries into the housing and education of the Indian community will be conducted by you and your able band of researchers.

The early immigrants lived in primitive conditions, but it is clear from the evidence which we possess that conscious efforts had been made in the past to improve their standard of living and provide for them all the amenities of a decent home, with healthy surroundings and good wages. I cannot give the details of Indian housing in Durban and elsewhere as the subject is highly controversial,

but it will be agreed by all that there has been considerable improvement in the condition of Indian workers.

Throughout their eighty-three years of residence in this land, the aim has consistently been to raise their standard and ultimately to bring them up to the level of the Europeans. We know, of course, as practical men, that equality of standards with the European is still far off, but it ought to be our endeavour to attain it in the fullness of time. To put it in other words, it has been the constant aim of the Government of India and the Union Government to suggest social and economic measures for the Indian community so that it may not lag behind any other section of the people. I may be permitted to quote the relevant portion of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927: "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunity, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the people." That the object of the agreement was to maintain Western standards of life will be clear from the joint statement of the Union Government and the Government of India. Paragraphs (1) and (2) stated: "Both Governments reaffirm the right of the Union of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life; (2) The Union Government recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so."

The policy embodied in the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement mentioned by me has been consistently followed by both the Governments since 1927, and there has

been no deviation from it on any occasion. This was reiterated by General Smuts in his speech on the Pegging Bill this year, who declared that it was the policy of the Union to implement the Cape Town Agreement. The Indian community has responded to the appeal made to it, and nobody can deny that it has made substantial progress in this respect. I have toured through most parts of Natal and many parts of Transvaal, and I was agreeably surprised to find that Indian young men are conforming to Western standards in ever increasing numbers. They have a desire to improve their social condition, to have good houses, to spend more on food and clothing, and to keep up a high standard of living. One sees it often in Durban and other places. Again it is natural that Indians should prefer to live with men of their own colour and race, and we have, as a result, more or less well-defined Indian areas throughout Natal. This is specially the case in large towns. "These have not developed," to quote the pamphlet on Indian life and labour in Natal, "as planned islands of segregation, but have grown naturally from the concentration of industrial employment or of agricultural and market gardening possibilities, or because the area was not favoured by Europeans, on account, perhaps, of topography or climate."

This is the natural line of advance for the Indian community in future, as it has been in the past. Residential segregation casts a stigma on a proud race, and it is better to let natural forces work in the solution of this problem, and allow Indians to reside in areas which are predominantly Indian areas. If satisfactory housing conditions are designed for Indians, very few Indians will penetrate into European areas. They will naturally like to live near their own kith and kin. If, on the other hand, compulsion is enforced and they are prohibited from residing in European areas, every Indian will resent it as a stigma on his race, and will oppose it. If persuasion instead of compulsion is resorted to, I have no doubt that the sound commonsense of leaders of both the important elements of the Natal population will bring about a settlement that will

be satisfactory to both the parties. If, on the other hand, an attempt is made to bring about segregation, it is bound to intensify racial feeling, and create bitterness and misunderstanding. The Indian community in India and in the Union is, and has been, strongly opposed to segregation and the views of my Government have already been published. The Government of India are, and have been, a party to a series of agreements with the Union Government which are binding upon the Union Government, and the Government of India by virtue of these agreements cannot divest themselves of their obligations to the Indian community. It is obvious that the Indian community cannot lower its standard of living nor can it go back upon the progress it has made in this as well as in other spheres in the last thirty years. It follows that proposals for Indian villages, Indian towns, Indian settlements and Indian town councils with Indian mayors etc., are inconsistent with the basic laws of progress, with the Cape Town Agreement, and with the policy which both the Union Government and Government of India have advocated for a number of years.

The only solution of the Indian problem lies in the assimilation of the Indian to Western standards of life, and Western thought. On the one hand, the Indian demands freedom from segregation and colour bar, so that he may have equal opportunity with the other elements of the population for social and political equality and, on the other hand, he wishes for the restoration of the municipal franchise which was taken away from him in 1924, and the parliamentary franchise of which he was unjustly deprived in 1896. The only possible line of advance for him lies in recovering the parliamentary and municipal franchise in Natal, and in securing the right in Transvaal. The world is changing with extraordinary momentum, and the pattern of the New Order is already taking specific shape. Humanity has risen so far to every clear call of duty, and ancient prejudices, cemented by a thousand subtle ties, have been discarded. Soviet

Russia has wholly changed the life and thought of two hundred millions, in an enormous area of eight and a half million square miles within twenty years. India is once again entering a period of rapid industrial expansion with products which will better the standard of life of her millions, intensify her demand for freedom, and establish a firm economic basis for an India that can stand on her own legs. The Indian community, too, has not lagged behind in Natal or the Transvaal. It is determined to advance along Western lines and to adopt Western ways of life and thought. While it has kept up the spiritual traditions of its race, it wishes to live in a European country in the European way. It wishes to march forward, and not to go backward. The policy it has pursued since the Cape Town Agreement, on the advice of the two Governments, has been extraordinarily successful, and it is keen on following it constantly. It has now built up a solid structure of leadership, and efficient organs to express its views and formulate its aspirations. The number of highly educated men and successful captains of industry among Indians is rapidly growing, and South African Indians are sending their boys and girls in ever increasing numbers to England. India, and two Universities in South Africa for advanced study. There will be no dearth of competent leadership in the Indian community, and its numbers in professions, such as the legal and medical profession, have increased considerably. These men, when they return to their homes, are subjected to humiliations and a colour bar, in every sphere of life, for which there is no parallel in Asia or Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I hope I shall be pardoned if I refer to some of the problems which face the Indian community. The Indian community in Natal is a youthful and dynamic community. According to the census of 1936, forty-seven per cent of the Indians in 1936 were under the age of fifteen years and only 13 per cent were above forty-five years. On the other hand,

the European population has only 27 per cent of its numbers under 15 years of age, and 26 per cent are over forty-five years. Again the Indian birth-rate has shown a constant increase, and the figures are 37 per 1,000 birth-rate as against 20 per 1,000 of Europeans. In 1936 there were 183,661 Indians in Natal, and in four years, by 1940, the number had increased to 195,000. The Cape Town Agreement of 1927 had provided for repatriation of South African Indians and about 17,000 Indians went back to their country. By 1932, however, it was clear that the possibilities of repatriation were exhausted, and though the Government of India did its best to implement its undertaking, the reluctance of Indians to return to India made it necessary to give up the scheme altogether. At the present time, more than 90 per cent of Indians in Natal are born and bred in this country and regard South Africa as their motherland. They have a genuine devotion to this country, and I am convinced that they are as loyal to it as any other element of the South African population.

I have said above that the Indian population in the Union is a youthful population. The South African Indian looks forward and not backward, and is building up his career in this country with infinite patience and industry. Besides the increase in Indian population, there have been some other notable developments in its structure. For a number of years Indians were employed mainly on sugar plantations, market gardening and unskilled work in railways and coal mines. Recently, however, the Indian is leaning more and more towards semi-skilled work, and is flocking to the factories in towns. This is due partly to the fact that semi-skilled work offers him better opportunities for advancement, and he can use his intelligence, dexterity and patience to the fullest advantage. Besides, the Native has a stronger physique and can do unskilled work more successfully than the Indian.

I do not want to encumber this paper with statistics, but I may be pardoned if I illustrate the tendencies referred to above by quoting a few figures from the excellent

pamphlet mentioned above. The proportion of Indians since 1909, who are over fifteen years of age and are engaged in agriculture, has fallen from nearly 50 per cent of the population of working age to only 18 per cent. On the sugar estates, there are only 7,500 Indians as against 40,000 Natives. Market gardening, too, is not so popular among Indians, and sons of many market gardeners have found employment in industrial concerns.

Indians played a very important part in the development of railways in Natal. They also helped in railway development in Uganda and Kenya, and one still finds in Kenya numerous Indian station-masters and other subordinate employees in the railways. As railways developed Indians found it impossible to compete with the Natives in heavy manual work. In 1910, about 6,000 Indians were employed on railways in Natal. Their number had been reduced in 1937 to 400, owing mainly to the rigorous application of white labour policy under the regime of General Hertzog.

In coal mines, too, the number of Indians has gone down. I found only a small proportion of Indians in the coal mines in Dundee last year, and their place has been taken by the Natives.

The most remarkable change has taken place in the manufacturing industry. The Indian has deserted agriculture, and sugar plantations, and has taken eagerly to work in factories and workshops. It is calculated that this employment in industrial concerns was doubled between 1915 and 1937. The pamphlet mentioned above declares that "this is a remarkable achievement in view of several obstacles to such progress." There are so many restrictions on his employment in such industries that his progress is surprising. As there is a colour bar in industry, he is excluded from the skilled trades, is prevented from undertaking European labour by fixed wage rates, and he does not possess the minimum educational qualifications which will enable him to become apprenticed to a trade. Indian

young men also find serious difficulty in other spheres and there were only 18 properly qualified indentured Indian workers under the Apprenticeship Act in 1942. He cannot enter liberal professions, except the medical and legal professions. Owing to the composition of apprenticeship committees, which are white, no Indian can become an engineer, an architect, a surveyor, or a skilled worker in a factory. All public offices from the highest to the lowest, except the most menial, are banned to him. He cannot earn a living as a scientist, a technologist or a civil servant.

Commerce and Finance

The rich Muslim and Hindu merchants of Gujrat wield considerable influence in commercial undertakings. There are, besides, descendants of Indian indentured labourers who have started many commercial undertakings. Their number is estimated at 2,000. The number of commercial establishments owned and managed by Indians in Natal is about 2,500 and there are almost the same number of Indian employees in these concerns. There are a large number of rural areas and small towns where Indian traders carry on their activities. The Indian has also distinguished himself in personal services. They are to be found as domestic servants in large numbers all over Natal, and there are about a thousand women domestic servants. They also occupy an important position in the Natal liquor and catering trade. The Indian waiter is now well known all over the Union, and is found in all the important hotels of South Africa . His pay and other earnings are fairly good, and he sometimes earns as much as £12 to £13 a month. The minimum wages for a waiter in most of the hotels seem to vary between £9 10s. to £10 a month, but this is supplemented by tips and gratuities in large hotels. In the Durban season his gratuities are considerable. I am informed that the number of Indians in these trades is about 9,500.

One of the most remarkable features of the present-

day, is the growth of the trade union movement among the Indian workers. They started with humble beginnings, and have been built up patiently by a group of earnest young men who work in them as organisers and are in constant touch with the rank and file. I have followed the progress of the movement with the keenest interest, and I feel that if this movement is wisely guided and carefully supervised, it will be instrumental in improving the economic level of the Indian workman. The leadership of these bodies is in the hands of young men who are imbued with communist principles. As the workers have not produced a competent leader, the movement is, therefore, led by brilliant young men, who will gain sufficient experience in course of time. There have, unfortunately, been cases in which strikes were declared precipitately and workers and their families suffered in consequence. The best solution of the racial problem in the trade union movement will be mixed unions, which admit Indians and Europeans to membership. Separate trade Unions are likely to deepen the racial cleavage. Unfortunately, the peculiar conditions of Natal offer little hope for the extension of mixed unions, though some of them have functioned with great success in the past. The trade union movement will be an effective instrument in the social and economic uplift of the Indian masses.

Indian Education

I cannot deal fully with the growth of Indian education at this meeting, as it will take up too much time, and must confine myself to the recital of some facts which may give us an idea of the progress made by the Indian community in different grades of education. It was calculated by an officer of the Government of India who enquired into Indian education in Natal and the Transvaal in 1928, that the Indian community had donated £50,000 for the maintenance of primary schools for the Indian community. Another estimate places the total amount donated by the Indian community at £100,000.

The latter figure includes donations for secondary schools. Primary education among Indians has expanded considerably. Between 1927 and 1936, there was unprecedented expansion in the primary stage, and the number of aided schools increased from 53 to 102, the number of pupils from 9,761 to 22,475, and the annual expenditure on Indian education from £35,982 to £86, 962. At the present time only about fifty per cent of Indians attend primary schools, and the Indian community has a great leeway to make up. The Indian parent is keen on giving his sons and daughters a better start in life than he himself had, and I have no doubt that this keenness among Indians of all classes will bear fruit. Unfortunately, Indian girls have lagged far behind the boys, and only 5,762 girls out of the estimated population of 19,000 girls between the ages of six and fourteen, attended schools. If the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1937, which was presided over by Mr. Justice Broome, are carried out, Indian education will, I feel convinced, expand considerably and the Indian community will align itself with other elements of the population in the common endeavour to liquidate illiteracy. I should like to express my appreciation of the recent move by the provincial administration to accelerate free primary education among Indians by the introduction of eight year programmes. This is a wise move, and it is appreciated by my Government. Another move in the same direction is improvement in the salary scales of primary school teachers. This will stabilise the position of teachers in Indian schools, and they will now throw themselves wholeheartedly into their work. The Indian community has only one secondary school in Durban. It has done excellent work for the community, and it will, I have no doubt, play a big part in the mental growth and intellectual advancement of the Indians in Natal. The Indian community needs, however, a secondary school in northern Natal, and another secondary institution in Durban. I am glad to hear that arrangements are now on foot for the establish-

ment of a residential secondary school in the near future.

The need for a Techincal College for Indians has long been felt and an Indian gentleman, Mr. Muhammad Sultan, offered £17,000 for the purpose. The community is grateful to the Hon. Mr. Hofmeyer, Minister of Education, who appointed a Committee last year to enquire into the scheme. The Committee approved of the scheme for a Technical College and it is hoped that, after the settlement of the vexed question of a site for the College, the College will be started without delay. A Technical College is essential for the industrial training of Indian youth, and it will, I am convinced be a most important element in the economic uplift of the Indian community. The community is becoming machine-minded and is leaving the countryside and joining the factories. It has a great reservoir of intelligence, dexterity, patience and industry, and if these qualities are applied to industrial enterprises, the growth of the community is assured.

I have not dealt so far with university education. Here, too, the community has made substantial progress. The number of Indian students in the Witwatersrand and Cape Town Universities has increased, and there are about 200 Indians receiving university education in the Universities and University Colleges of South Africa. I think there are sixty South African students in Indian Universities. English Universities, too, have several South African Indian students. The Hugo Committee appointed to enquire into facilities for higher education of Indians in Natal, considered the question of a University College for Indians in Durban and came to the conclusion that the proposal for a University College for Indians is not feasible for the present. I agree with this recommendation, as I feel that the number of Indian students who will join it will be too small to justify the expenditure incurred on its maintenance. I hope and believe that a University College for Indians will be established in Durban in due course, when the Natal University College is raised to the status of a University of Natal. The University College for Indians will then

become a constituent College of the new University, and will play its part in the intellectual life of this province.

This is not the place for an elaborate discussion of the problems of Indian education, but I may be pardoned if I refer to one or two basic issues which face the Indian community. In the sphere of primary education, it has considerable leeway to make up. It is my hope and belief that within the next ten years the entire Indian community will be literate and illiteracy will be liquidated. For this purpose, organised propaganda among members of the Indian community is essential, and this is not really so difficult, as Indians all over Natal have become conscious of the imperative need for education for their children. The education of Indian girls, too, has to be expanded, and this I confess will be a more difficult task, as Indian parents have a rooted objection to sending girls above ten years of age to mixed schools. The only remedy I can suggest is the establishment of girls' schools, and the training of girl school teachers in large numbers, so that girls' schools may be staffed by competent women teachers. Another problem is that of technical education for Indians to which I have referred.

Unemployment

Unemployment among Indians is not a serious problem at present, as out of 60,000 Indians who are employed in various trades, the average number of days lost equalled 13.3 per worker, during the year ending April 30, 1936, and the unemployment rate was 3.6 per cent as against the European rate of 3.1 per cent and the Coloured rate of 3.8 per cent. The number of unemployed Indians in 1936 was 2,456, and this figure compares favourably with the unemployment figures for other racial groups. The real serious handicap of the Indian is not unemployment, but the existence of the colour bar in industry. Nearly 17,000 Indians are members of recognised trade unions, and young Indians have established powerful trade unions, which have already begun to play their part in the national life of the

Indian community. On the other hand, certain trade unions definitely exclude Indians from membership. This is particularly the case with the building industry. The qualifications for membership are fairly high and no Indian has, so far, been able to comply with these stringent conditions. There are no Indian members in the Amalgamated Engineering Union or Commercial Distributive Workers Union. Moreover, Indians have to meet the serious competition of Natives in the grades of unskilled workers and lower grades of labourers, while in semi-skilled occupations their opportunities for reaching higher ranks are strictly limited. Many Indians have managed to enter semi-skilled and even skilled trades, solely because of the war. I am afraid thousands of Indians will be dismissed when the war in the West is over, and the most serious problem for them would be to get employment in the post-war period.

Poor Relief For Indians

No statutory relief is given to the Indian community and it must be admitted that Indians have not yet established charitable and benevolent societies for the relief of indigent Indians in sufficient numbers. The joint family system does provide some sort of insurance scheme, and the serious burden of unemployment in 1932 was borne mainly by the Indian family system. Modern youngmen are, however, asserting their independence, and the family system is disintegrating. The bonds of family have undoubtedly loosened, and the Indian youth is now anxious to set up his own home after marriage. The social effects of the break up of the joint family system on the family tradition would be far-reaching.

Post-war Readjustment

The Indian community is likely to pass through a delicate period of readjustment, immediately after the war, and the problem of unemployment may become acute, as many Indians who are now employed in semi-skilled

and skilled work may be displaced by demobilised soldiers. The transition period should, in my humble opinion, be handled with tact, as displacement of Indian labour in certain industries may create racial friction and misunderstanding. I hope, however, the good sense of all the elements of this province will evolve some happy compromise which will enable both the returned soldier and the Indian employee to have stable employment.

Housing of Indians

This is a vast subject, and I do not wish to deal with it here. It is, moreover, highly controversial, and I cannot for obvious reasons enter into controversy. I will content myself with pointing out certain factors which are entirely ignored in the discussion of this problem. In the first place, the Indian community is a youthful community, and it will grow in numbers. In the second place, during the fourteen years ending 1940, the number of Indians in municipal areas has increased from 20,000 to 80,000. In the third place, as pointed out above, the joint family system is breaking up, and young people insist on having homes of their own. In 1936, 47 per cent of Indians were under the age of fifteen. It is calculated that, with the rise in their standards, infant mortality among Indians will diminish, and it is estimated that by 1960 there are likely to be 263,000 Indians. In the fourth place, during the last seventeen years from 1921 to 1938, the Indian urban population has nearly trebled, while their population in rural areas has been reduced by half. In the fifth place, the problem of Indian housing in Durban has not yet been systematically studied on a scientific basis, and the question is unfortunately mixed up with the question of segregation, and Indian villages, Indian town councils, etc. The object of these proposals is to depress the social and economic level of the Indian race and reduce its status. In the sixth place, everyone knows that Indians naturally prefer to live with their kith and kin, whose standard of life and ways of thought are similar, and all over Natal one finds

this feeling expressed in Indian areas where they have formed themselves into groups based on common associations. I believe the same tendency is manifested in New York and other American cities, where the problems of a multi-racial community have been satisfactorily solved. In New York various groups have occupied different areas, not because of any law passed by the American Congress, but because of the natural tendency of man to gravitate towards persons of the same culture and common associations. Hence, there are in New York a large number of Jews, Italians, Coloureds and others living happily together without compulsion, by deliberate choice. The racial configuration of Natal shows the same tendency. If, on the other hand, segregation is enforced by statute or ordinance and separate village settlements or zones are established in or outside Durban, this will be a recurring cause of friction, mis-understanding and ill-feeling between the two races. The only remedy for such a state of affairs is adequate sub-economic and economic housing schemes for the Indian community in Durban and other places where the problem has become acute. For post-war policy, I feel that an Indian should be co-opted on the Post-war Reconstruction Committee. Had there been some representatives of the Indian community on the Town Councils of Natal, the housing and other problems which have reached an acute stage in some municipalities would never have reached serious proportions. The housing problem cannot be solved by applying compulsion under notorious Pegging Act. This will tend to rouse a proud and cultured race, which is in no way inferior to the European in character or ability. Nor can it be solved by the establishment of separate Indian villages, separate town councils, etc., as the growth of the community must be on western ways of life and thought, and this must be done by mutual consultation, sympathy, justice and reasonableness on both sides. I am glad to find that the Durban Corporation has decided to start a survey of Durban housing, and I have no doubt that under the supervision and guidance of Professor

Burrows, the survey of Durban will be conducted on scientific lines. Under the existing system there is always the possibility of this question being mixed with purely political issues.

Social Service

Social welfare work among Indians has been organised by a number of voluntary workers, Indian and European, who have been carrying on this work under great difficulty. The Indian in Natal is not eligible for old-age and invalid pensions which are available to Europeans and Coloured. About 4,000 poor, aged or blind Indians are paid grants up to ten shillings a month each by the Department of the Interior at an annual cost of £24,000. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive scheme of unemployment insurance for workers of any colour, and no general unemployment relief is available for Indian workmen. The number of voluntary organisations in the Union of South Africa which are doing social welfare work among Indians is limited; in 1938, it was found that 75 per cent of about 400 voluntary organisations in South Africa were confined to Europeans, and only 8 per cent looked after the non-Europeans, besides 17 per cent which did social welfare work for both sections. The Indian community needs an Indian hospital in Durban, and I intend making an appeal for a well-equipped hospital for Indians in the near future. I am confident that the response to it will be satisfactory, as the community has been anxious to have further facilities for hospital treatment.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I apologise for the extended treatment which I have given to some of the problems which face the Indian community. My chief reason for it is this. The Indian problem in Natal is not confined to the question of housing. It is a much more complex problem than that. It is really the problem of a youthful community, which is being rapidly transformed into an urban community and is leaving the countryside in ever increasing numbers for the factory and the

workshop. The result is that within about fourteen years it has quadrupled its numbers in the municipalities of Natal. Its mainstay in the past was agriculture and the sugar plantation, besides heavy manual work in the coal mines and railways. At present it is engaged in semi-skilled work in large numbers and has built up a solid basis of trade union membership. Adjustment in rapidly growing urban areas is always a difficult process, and the difficulty is not lessened by the fact that no serious attempt has been made for the last twenty years to tackle the housing problem of the community. There is, moreover, the assimilation of the Indian to western standards, and the gradual disintegration of the family system. Indian youngmen want to live in their own homes and maintain a higher standard than that to which their fathers were accustomed. Moreover, Indians in Durban have a solid base of middle class leadership. In 1936, there were some 850 professional men, of whom about 70 per cent were teachers, 12 per cent were in the police, and 12 per cent priests. This does not include a large number of rich merchants of Durban, who have been generous donors for hospitals, colleges and orphanages, besides a number of doctors, attorneys and others. Since 1936, the number of professional men in the Indian community has increased considerably. All of them are naturally anxious to improve their standard of living and move into better houses and select localities. The housing problem is the resultant of these factors. It cannot be solved by compulsory segregation, zoning or separate village settlements. It can only be solved by providing the Indian poor, and the middle class Indian with suitable localities in Durban and elsewhere. The drift towards the towns cannot be checked, and the only solution for it is a policy that is based on sympathy, trust, justice, and above all, mutual consultation on each other's needs. The time has come when Indians should be in the Town Councils of Natal, and they should have representatives in committees of enquiry into housing and post-war reconstruction, which deeply affect their life in

the province. At the present time, there is no regular channel for the expression of Indian views, and the only method so far selected is that of deputation by Indian organisations before different bodies and authorities in Natal. This does not give any opportunity for constant and continuous exchange of views, from day to day, on many issues on which the future of the Indian community depends. I have come to know all the Indian leaders in the Union for nearly two years. I can say that there are some among them who would be an ornament to any institution in the Union, and I am confident that if their advice is sought on many of the problems with which Natal is faced now, and will be faced in future, it will prove most useful to all elements of the population. The tendency of the Indian to join the factories and take up semi-skilled work has increased considerably, of late, and he is naturally anxious that avenues should be provided for him for advancement to the higher rungs of the economic ladder. Relaxation of the colour bar in industry, I am convinced, is inevitable, if the Union is to take her place among industrial countries of the world; and industrialisation of the country is impossible without modification of the colour bar in industry. The community will, I have no doubt, make rapid progress in skilled trade, if adequate facilities are provided for apprenticeship, and mixed trade unions, consisting of Indian and European employees, are formed. This seems to me the only sound line of advance for the future.

The Indian problem in Natal must be studied as a whole, and an attempt should be made to solve it in a Christian spirit. We cannot isolate one factor from numerous other factors which must be taken into account. In fact, the constituent elements of the problem interpenetrate one another, and one cannot solve, for instance, the housing problem without dealing with the question of primary education, hospitalisation, industrial training, and social work among members of the Indian community. The progress of the Indian community since the arrival of Indian immigrants in Natal in 1860 has been continuous. It has freed itself

from the shackles of prejudice and old customs which ought to have been discarded fifty years ago. Many of the customs were based on the vegetative and stagnant life of old village community which were in the process of dissolution when these men left India. Industrialisation will tear up the social feature of India as it has torn up the social life of Indians in the Union of South Africa. In education, industry and trade, political work and social welfare, it has gone forward. Most of the Indians are still living in extreme poverty and need adequate hospital facilities, decent housing and nutritious diet. Indian leaders are doing all they can and the Government of India have not spared help or advice. The community has depended so far upon its inherent strength, and is determined to remain an integral part of the civic life of Natal. It wants equal opportunity for its race, and ultimate equality, with the Europeans. It will not tolerate the status of an inferior community, as this is a stigma upon the Aryan race and culture, to which it belongs. Hence, it will oppose Indian villages, Indian townships, Indian mayors, etc., as this will be relegating a highly gifted race to the ghettos. Such reactionary proposals are not possible in 1943. To put its case, in one sentence, it wants abolition of colour bar in industry, education, public services, residence and trade, restoration of the municipal and parliamentary franchise, of which it was unjustly deprived, and representation by Indians on Town Councils and Parliaments. A comprehensive solution of the Indian problem in all its aspects is a vital necessity, and the time has arrived when it should be studied in a dispassionate manner. Segregation is not a remedy, as penetration is only a symptom of disease. The remedy must be diagnosed by acompetent body that will prescribe salutary measures, for a youthful community which is leaving the countryside for the factory, and is equipping itself for skilled and semi-skilled work. It is rapidly assimilating western standards of life, and is determined to maintain them so that the next generation may have a higher standard than the present. It has a basis of leader-

ship among organisers of trade unions, rich merchants, professional men and social and political workers. It is keen on all grades of education—primary, secondary, technical and university education—and is prepared to sacrifice its comfort so that its children may have a better chance in the struggle for existence. It is kept in touch with the current of European thought, and cordially supports the sentiments to which Mr. Wendell Wilkie has given expression in his work, "One World". "Men and women all over the world are on the march, physically, intellectually and spiritually. After centuries of ignorance and dull compliance hundreds of millions of people in Eastern Europe and Asia have opened the books. Old fears no longer frighten them. They are beginning to know that man's welfare throughout the world is interdependent. The big house on the hills surrounded by mud huts has lost its charm. Men and women in Russia and China and in the Middle East are conscious of their potential strength. They are coming to know that many of the decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands." Such changes are inevitable. In the words of Mr. Wallace, of the United States of America, "this war is a fight between a slave world and a free world, an epic milestone in the march towards an even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto known. The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America, not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan."

Everything must depend upon the manner in which these changes are introduced. I contend that in the solution of this problem, South Africa should apply the two basic principles which have been the sustaining pillars of her polity since its establishment in South Africa. In the first place, the basic Christian virtues which have inspired some of the noblest minds of South Africa may be likened

to the seed cast into the fertile soil of South Africa, which bore fruit a thousand-fold in its own kind of spiritual poetry. It supplied the spiritual oxygen to an organism which would otherwise have remained a wilderness. It is these virtues which made man the master of nature, and delivered him from the bondage of fear. The struggle of the Englishmen in Natal, as well as of the original Indian settlers in this land, was a campaign from which there was no release, a perpetual war of the soul against the flesh. It was a pilgrim's progress like Bunyan's, from the City of Destruction to the City of God. The only test of survival and success in this land for the two races is the application of the basic Christian virtues to the solution of the Indian problem. The spirit of Christianity should be transferred from the sphere of spiritual energy to the sphere of intellectual warfare against all rules which militate against the freedom of man. The other basic principle, which is simply an application of Christian virtues, is the maintenance of European standard of life. This is not inconsistent with the maintenance of the foundations of Hinduism and Islam, and the ethical followers of the two religions in Natal may combine, and have successfully combined, the European way of life and thought with moral principles which are fundamentally the same in Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Their curious working has produced a revolution in the economic structure of Europe and the United States of America, and the extension of European standards by the Soviet to her two hundred millions with an area of eight and a half million square miles, has wholly changed the pattern of social life in that land of promise and performance. The Indian community has deliberately adopted western standards of living, and is making a determined attempt to maintain that standard. It should, in my opinion, be helped in every way to attain this goal. The Indian can only go forward and will never go backward. I am confident that far sighted men in the Union have realised this truth, and are prepared to help the community in this drive. They know that the present war has annihilated material dis-

tance, and has forged indissoluble links between South Africa and the rest of the world. This country can never lead its life in isolation, and has become an integral part of the new world order which is rising upon the ruins of the old. Mr. Wendell Wilkie has described how standards of living and modes of thought have undergone a profound change in China, Soviet Russia and the Middle East. The same process is in operation in India. It is a world phenomenon, and every country is going through a mental revolution at this juncture. Those who have a clear idea of South Africa's future, and its organic relation with India, have realised this, and have expressed with great clarity and lucidity the future relationship of India with Africa. The result is a new and radiant conception of humanity, and it is expressed in the creation of a common mental atmosphere, and the desire for a higher standard of living, in the diffusion of all that is contained for us in the basic Christian virtues and European culture. The new movement for higher standards of life has enabled its votaries—and they are to be found all over the world —to insist on a radical change in the living standards, and the participation of the common man in the happiness and enjoyment of a comfortable life. The Indian people in the Union, conscious of an immense past and a persistent vitality, obliged to temporise and acquiesce in the existing rules and regulations, are taught to feel the existence of many distracting discords in what is still an incomplete phase of national existence. And I feel that all sensible men are convinced of the absolute need for racial harmony and good relationship between the two elements of the population. I am a firm believer in this doctrine, as I am convinced that the future of this province depends mainly upon the feeling of trust, confidence and goodwill between the two races. It is my earnest hope that this ideal, which is an application of the Christian ideal, may soon be realised.

The Indian race has developed the capacity for toleration which is the core of modern communities. Its

virtues spring not only from the ancient race to which it belongs, but also from conscious will, and the two races may continue to work in harmony and peace for the good of this beautiful province. I am convinced that the richer veins of European culture and Christian virtues have not been worked-out in the Union, and the tree of genius is ever green and vital in this land of promise. The early pioneers of this colony, having borne their flowers and fruits, have retired to rest. But the present generation and, I hope and believe, the next generation of Natal statesmen, will put forth lusty shoots and flourish, and will not allow the Indian community in its midst to become backwaters, left behind by the subsidence of rivers in flood, and separated from the tidal stress of cosmic forces. I believe that it will extend the hand of friendship to a community which has been building up laboriously, cell by cell, its economic and social position. A nation, unlike an individual who is subject to death, can get what it wants if it wants it long and strongly enough. As the best minds of the Indian race in South Africa cherish the old Indian ideal of a race dedicated to the task of breeding generous and courageous men, the future of the race in this land is assured. The Indian race will carry on its ceaseless struggle for equal opportunities for the Indian race in all spheres in future, as it has done in the past. Being a firm believer in racial harmony and concord, I am convinced that the future of Natal depends on the co-operation of the two races in a Christian spirit for a noble purpose. If this is achieved—and I have no doubt of it—her future will be as brilliant as her past.

SECTION IV

EDUCATION OF THE INDIANS

Speech delivered at the prize distribution ceremony of the Doornfontein Indian and Coloured Government School on 14th December, 1941.

[*Note*—This speech was delivered at the Doornfontein Indian School at Johannesburg. Revd. Sigamoney is the Principal of this institution. He has done selfless work for the Indian community for nearly thirty years, and is one of the recognised leaders of the Tamil community in the Transvaal.]

REVEREND SIGAMONEY, MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have listened with great interest to the annual report of this school, and was delighted to find that it had made a satisfactory progress. The school was started in 1930 with 69 children. I understand that Indian and Coloured children were taught together till the end of 1940, when it had on its rolls 483 students. This year, the Coloured and Indian children were separated and the Government allotted school buildings in Mooi Street to Indian children. At the present time, there are 100 girls and 172 boys in the school, and the total is 272.

From these facts, it will be clear that the school, which, in its present form began to function only this year has made an excellent start and our thanks are due to the Headmaster, the Reverend Sigamoney, for his devotion and energy. He has dedicated his life to the cause of Indian education in Johannesburg. I am still a stranger in this land but I may mention that I was delighted to make the Reverend Sigamoney's acquaintance a few days after my arrival. To those who have taken a keen



The High Commissioner addresses Indian School at Johannesburg. Indian boys and girls listening to Sir Shafa'at's address. Revd. Seigamoney, the Principal, is on extreme right

interest in the progress of our community in this land, Mr. Sigamoney's name is a household word. He combines spiritual fervour with organising ability, and the present school is an exceedingly good example of his varied attainments.

I am not in a position to say anything at present about Indian education in the Transvaal, as I have had few opportunities of discussing this question with Indian educationists. Even if I had made a deep study of the problem, I would have been precluded from making any pronouncement as High Commissioner on the internal policy of the Union. As, however, I have been a very humble worker for the cause of education in India, and have devoted some time and attention to the study of its problems, I may be permitted to lay before you my experience of educational policy in that land. It has been an axiom of educational reformers for nearly a century, that every child in the modern state is entitled to free elementary education. England had it in or about 1871, and other European countries had preceded her in the initiation of this reform. Attendance at school should not be left to the whims and fancies of parents. The State as such steps in here as elsewhere and insists on the attendance of every child at elementary schools provided at State expense. India, too, has followed this example, and as education in India is an exclusively provincial subject, provincial legislatures in my country have passed laws making elementary education free and compulsory in selected and specified areas, and I may be pardoned for saying that in my own province I initiated a resolution, which was translated into the Act of 1926, whereby compulsory and free primary education was assumed as an obligation of the State. Bombay had done it in 1923, and the Punjab had preceded Bombay. The progress of free and compulsory education in Indian provinces has not been even. Some provinces have made greater headway, while in others much leeway has yet to be made. Some have marched ahead, while others have lagged behind. On the whole,

however, we are justified in saying that there has been a great revival of interest in education at the present time, which appears to me to be the happiest augury for the future of Indian education. I shall not deal with other grades of education, as we are not at present concerned with higher secondary education. I may, however, be permitted to state that in University and secondary education, there has been a uniform progress in all provinces. In fact, the pendulum has swung to the other extreme, and we have thousands of Indian graduates who find it difficult, if not impossible, to secure suitable employment. The problem of educated unemployed in India is an exceedingly acute one, at present, and we have, I fear, gone to the other extreme in our desire—a perfectly legitimate desire—to increase the number and influence of our intelligentsia.

Having dealt with the specific problem before us, let me now deal with it in its general aspects. It was humorously remarked by Mr. Augustine Birrell that education is the easiest and most convenient subject for after-dinner speakers at any function.

We have a perfect expression of an ideal system of education in Plato's Republic. Almost every person has his own idea of education, and each group in any society inevitably develops its own philosophy of life, and its own theory of education. I do not wish to discuss different systems of education, but I may be permitted to refer to a system which has produced a profound effect on the thought of humanity. Whatever the changes in the method of our approach, the ideal which every true educationist places before himself is precisely the same. The aim of education is, and has been, not merely the production of highly efficient citizens, but also development of character. All true educationists have rightly attached due importance to the building up of character. And character necessarily postulates a spiritual atmosphere. It is not the mechanical efficiency of the intelligence so much as the intensity and volume of our spiritual make-up, which

determine the progress of the student through life. Cultivation of intelligence, without a correct development of character, may produce the most appalling results. We have classical examples of this in the highly gifted personalities of the Italian Renaissance, who were endowed with an intellect clear as crystal, and an intelligence which could penetrate, as it were, the other side of the brick wall. They were destitute of the rudiments of virtue, and openly defiant of the more cherished convictions of centuries. The Renaissance despots of Italy have furnished numerous examples of this type, which shows a yawning chasm between intellect and virtue. Also men of great driving force, and vigour, hacked their way through life with astonishing ease and a characteristic indifference to the ethics of their action. I could quote numerous examples of modern dictators, whose superb intelligence has been wholly devoid of the basic elements that illuminate the most humdrum actions of a spiritually gifted individual. I, however, refrain from going into details of present-day dictators, as I may embark on the turbid waters of controversy. What I should like to emphasise here is the need for a balanced and sane outlook on education as a whole. Our object should be to create harmony in which intelligence and virtue would be happily blended and an intelligent young man, with the hallmark of a matriculation or a B.A. Degree, will also be a virtuous man, respecting the faith, and venerating the doctrines which have preserved the integrity and stability of his nation. His character will be a permanent expression of the training which he has received, and the atmosphere which he has imbibed. Raw intelligence, without any trace of virtue or religion, would be the most serious danger to any community. Education is essentially a spiritual process as it is the impact of mind upon mind. I would, therefore, impress upon the authorities of this school the imperative need of fostering a truly spiritual atmosphere in which the child assimilates the deepest expression of humanity in its purest form. This

school will not be doing its duty, if it relies only upon numbers as an infallible test of its progress. The real test is not the number, but the quality of its alumni. The Port Royal School of France had only a limited number of students which it trained, but it left a permanent impression on the cultural growth of the country. From the remarks of Rev. Sigamoney, I was pleased to hear that this aspect of education has received special attention at the hands of the organisers. I have no doubt whatsoever that the teaching imparted here has reached a high level, and it is my earnest prayer that in the fullness of time, this institution might become a model on which other schools for Indian children in South Africa will be based.

Before I conclude, let me refer to another point, which I feel has not yet been adequately dealt with. As the school is intended now for Indian children, some lessons on Indian culture may usefully be given to these children. Indian culture is a characteristic expression of Indian intellect in the realms of art, philosophy, and religion, and its two most brilliant exponents in modern times have been Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Both these men were cast in a heroic mould, and each expressed in vigorous prose and verse the genius of the Indian people. Tagore's death a few months ago left a void which it is now difficult to fill. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is enjoying eternal repose after a heroic life of adventure and struggle. The combined works of these two men have created the thought and life of New India. India is now at the parting of ways. Old India is changing rapidly, and New India is marching with rapid strides towards her destined goal of progress and self-realisation. This is the flowering time for our country, as the young generation is keen, eager, and vigilant, and is working strenuously on all fronts—political, social and economic. It is my earnest prayer that success may take up her abode in this institution, and the students who leave its portals may be animated by ideals which have guided its founders. Amen!

An address on Education to the Negro Teachers at the Vacation Course, Adams College, Natal, July, 1942.

[*Note*—This address was delivered to the Negro teachers at the Adam Mission, about 20 miles from Durban. Senator Brookes is the Principal of this College. This was the author's first address to a Negro audience. It was a gathering of Negro teachers, who are the real leaders of the Negro race. The Negro race has been deprived of all the elements of national vitality. At best, nearly 87% of the cultivable land of South Africa has been taken away from it. It has no capital, and is not likely to have any, in future, as there is strict colour bar in industry, and the Negro cannot enter skilled and even semi-skilled trade. Its paramount chiefs are sleeping and brooding on the past, and are profuse in their address of loyalty and devotion to the subordinate officials of the Union Government. Negro intelligence is, however, slowly growing, and Negro solidarity is being gradually built up. It is an uphill task, but the leaders of the movement are not daunted by the prospect.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I speak on this occasion with considerable hesitation and trepidation, as this is the first time, that I have been privileged to attend an institution designed mainly for natives. I had heard of the excellent work which the College is doing immediately I arrived in this country, but I could not find an opportunity to visit this famous institution, and I am, therefore, glad that the Vacation Course has provided the occasion for meeting native teachers, and renewing my contact with your able Principal, Senator Brookes. I have always taken interest in native education, and though I plead ignorance of the numerous problems which face the natives of the Union, as the problems of my own community in the Union are sufficient to tax the strength of a single person however energetic he may be, you may rest assured that I shall continue to follow with interest and sympathy the growth of this College, as well as the two other institutions which have done such admirable work for your race. I refer, of course, to Fort Hare and Lovedale. These three insti-

tutions are doing pioneering work, and it is my earnest hope that backed by the idealism and commonsense of men like your Principal, your race may, in the fullness of time, produce scholars and statesmen of which any nation may be proud.

Let me now deal with the subject of this morning's lecture. I have chosen the title, education, deliberately, as I feel that this will give me sufficient scope and enable me to discuss the general aspects of our educational activity, without touching upon controversial issues, or involving me in the discussion of problems which I cannot, consistently with the responsibility of my office, discuss in this institution. Let me define the scope of this address. It is, if I may so put it, extremely wide, and I shall deal with the general principles of education in the first part. I will then discuss, as briefly as I can, the technique of educational process, and I will finally deal with some examples of New Education in European countries. I should like to make it perfectly clear that my knowledge of the subject is not up-to-date, and that owing to the accident and incident of a varied life, I have not been able to keep in touch with the latest development of educational thought. It may be that I shall be simply uttering platitudes before a distinguished gathering, and the theories I have been expounding may have been subjected to criticism and ultimately discarded by all scientific students in progressive countries. Again, some people here may find that I have placed undue emphasis upon one aspect of an important problem, and have totally neglected to give a true perspective.

Having dealt with the preliminary issue, let me now go on to the general principles of education. Here, at the outset, I am confronted by a difficulty which appears to be insuperable. Each text-book writer on the principles of education gives his own definition of education, and regards it as the only true basis of the new science. I refer particularly to the American writers on the subject. While Germany may legitimately be regarded as the home

of educational research on scientific lines in the modern sense of the term, it may be said with a certain amount of justification that the United States of America has developed the new doctrine with the greatest energy and thoroughness. In speaking of Germany, I am referring, of course, to the Germany we loved, the Germany of the nineteenth century, of Goethe and Schiller, of Herbert and of Heine. Her main thought of that era was interwoven with the texture of European thought, and profoundly influenced the life and thought of America and Europe. I am not, of course, referring to Germany of 1942 or even to post-war Germany. Her contribution to the constructive solution of many of the basic problems of human thought, since 1920, has been mainly destructive, and I find little trace of originality or even sympathy with the mental and spiritual growth of humanity, since 1920. It is, however, true to say that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Germany gave to the world an example of devotion to culture which has rarely been paralleled by any other country since that time. It seemed as if German genius, which had so far been confined within the limits of its sectional interests, burst asunder, with a feat of gigantic prowess, the chains, both mental and spiritual, which had bound it to feudalism and medievalism, and it then sought to expand healthy lungs in free spaces of open air. The German Renaissance of the nineteenth century served as an imaginative vision translated into terms of human sight and moral ideas with all the science and research at her command. I am afraid I cannot deal with this phenomenon at length, as it will take me too far afield. It is sufficient to state that the conception of education as a science had its origin in Germany, and Herbert applied his unrivalled power both as a philosopher and as an educationist to develop his theory of the educative process which held sway for a long time.

What then is the generally agreed conception of education ? It is impossible for me even to refer to the numerous writers on this subject who have dealt

with it, from the time of Plato onwards. It is, however, necessary that we should not lose sight of some of the problems which have recurred with monotonous frequency. I will try to place before you some of the basic issues of education, as discussed by some of the foremost thinkers. It will be difficult for me to refer specifically even to the principal writers on the subject, as that will take up too much time. The main problem is the one that concerns the relation of knowledge to character. Let me explain. We are inclined to think that knowledge constitutes the fundamental point in modern as distinguished from the medieval period, and that the common intellectual atmosphere which has been developed in Europe during the last three hundred years is the greatest triumph of knowledge over ignorance. The sense of human freedom, and the sanctity of human personality, are, in the opinion of this school, wholly due to the studies and discoveries which have made man master of himself and of the world around him. He is no longer intent on life beyond the grave, and is now pre-occupied with life on this earth. Culture, which is the result of knowledge, has united all races and creeds in bonds which are stronger than steel, and we have as a result, a speculative and scientific activity which is the common possession of humanity. It is, therefore, thought by one school that knowledge supplies the key to all problems of the new age. Since it is hardly possible to lift a hand without setting into motion numerous movements in the inextricable though impalpable plan of life, or break a branch in the Dreadful Forest without finding blood on one's hands, what catastrophe and paralysis for ordinary mortals sweep into novel swirls of emotion through ignorance of laws of nature, which are based on the inflexible laws of science? The champions of this school point unhesitatingly to the mighty impress of such laws upon the Order of the Universe, and decide that knowledge is the only true object of education. The protagonists of this theory do not deny the efficacy of knowledge, and admit that the progress of humanity has consisted in the destruc-

tion of superstition and prejudice which had stifled human thought and energy. They, however, feel that the philosophy of realism wholly ignores the real and indestructible correlation between the human spirit and the actual universe, and the consequent reliance of human consciousness upon its own testimony in the search for truth. To them, education consists in a synthesis between character and intelligence, so that the knowledge acquired by the light of reason may be fitted into the structure, both spiritual and intellectual, of the greater organism of which the individual constitutes only an infinitesimal proportion. The one regards intelligence and intellect as the ideal of education and takes for granted the mechanical conception of the universe. The other insists on the implications of the educational process to society, and is clear and definite. It emphasises discipline and character, the co-ordination of knowledge with the spiritual element in man, and their subordination of the basic requirements of the organism of which they are an integral part.

For the sake of clarity, I have sought to discuss these two conceptions in isolation, but to educationists as a whole, there is no real opposition between character and knowledge. Modern society is the result of the discoveries of science and art which have yielded to human enterprise after infinite patience, industry and thought. These researches have been incorporated in our daily life to such an extent that it is impossible for us to analyse even their constituent elements. We simply cannot live without them, even for an hour, as modern civilisation, unlike the Greek and Roman civilisations, is the fuller and more representative expression of science and art at the climax of its growth. This does not, however, solve the problem, with which the world is faced, and no experienced man will regard mere knowledge as the end of education. We need something else besides knowledge, and that must evidently be character which imparts to knowledge the principles of unity and discipline, and organises it into a coherent whole. In mere knowledge the strong self-con-

solidating element, concentrating all elements of knowledge by the centripetal force of organic unity, is wanting. In intellect, which, in its broadest sense, is an aspect of character, knowledge finds the cohesion denied to it in the mass. I am giving the word intellect a wider extension than is generally accorded to it. Intellect absorbs into itself the elements of knowledge, and fuses it into unity, so as to give form to the predominant thoughts and feelings of the age no less than of the community of which it is a part. Viewed from this point of view, the functions of knowledge and character are found to be so intimately connected with each other that it is, indeed, impossible to separate them. Knowledge must be the raw material upon which intellect must operate, and it must be assimilated by the community or race, until it acquires a consistency and fixity of type. Here as elsewhere, our mistake has lain in emphasising only one aspect of the problem instead of taking a comprehensive view. Without moral basis, knowledge may be converted into an instrument of evil whose appalling consequences may be felt by humanity for centuries. A whole nation may use all the knowledge of all the arts of destruction on a scale which may make it impossible for morality and religion to repair for decades. The present war is a classical example of knowledge being used for purposes which imply the destruction not merely of the country but of the body and soul of humanity. It shows that the German mind has become wholly intellectual and has completely discarded ethical considerations in the conduct of its policy. It is a classical example of a breach between intellect and ethics, and is an appalling example of Machiavellism. In the case of an individual, it may encourage a life of self-indulgence until man becomes a beast of prey and appetite, and morality may yield to victorious animalism. Hence, knowledge without regulation and co-ordination with the moral basis of society, may become a curse to humanity. Typical examples are to be found in numerous Italian despots of the Renaissance who

joined together ability of the highest order with appalling disregard for the most rudimentary conceptions of morality in a way which enervated and enfeebled Italian society for more than three centuries. We have as examples, Ezzelinod da Romano, the monster who worked out the immorality, which was systematically adopted by princes like the Visconti, and reduced to rule by theorists like Machiavelli. We are told that this man, a small, pale, wiry man, lived a foe to luxury, cold to the pathos of children, dead to the enchantment of women. His one passion was the greed of power, heightened to the lust of blood. I could quote a number of other examples from contemporary history, but I feel that I have indicated in sufficient detail the terrible results of knowledge divorced from ethics and morality.

I must, however, point out that the champions of the other theory seem to ignore the great difficulties through which man who had set out to extend the bounds of knowledge has passed. I need only refer to the martyrdom of hundreds of scientists and scholars who were crucified by the Inquisition or subjected to nameless atrocities. The knowledge which they propagated changed the ideas of humanity, but it was acquired at the cost of their precious lives. They had a vivid faith in the high destiny of mankind and an instinctive fellow-feeling with any man who had dedicated himself to this service. It is, of course, true that for the innermost essential being the heartbeat of a living faith is indispensable, and these pioneers found the kernel of such a faith, like a sudden revelation, in science. In the working out of the new faith in science which, be it noted, did not fundamentally conflict with the true spiritual growth in man, these martyrs could never cease from mental strife nor allow swords to get rusty in the scabbard. They had arrived at their creeds through agonies of doubt, and fear, and when it came to them as an inspiration from above, it fused with their spiritual beliefs to make of them crusaders and pioneers. They knew that they had to go

through the purgatory of suffering before their discoveries could become the priceless heritage of mankind, and they had to strive through the most difficult stage of their persecution for the restless creed which shines through all their work for the uplift of humanity. They had a mission, the mission for the propagation of knowledge, and gave their life to it.

I have tried to compare the merits and demerits of both these theories in detail, as I feel that if educational thought of the present day is minutely analysed it will be found that the ultimate solution of many of the present day problems depends upon the reconciliation of knowledge with morality. The aim of education is, therefore, the harmony of intelligence and morality so that both may be used for the elevation of society as a whole.

I am, of course, aware of the fact that there are a number of aims which have been propounded by educationists. In my humble opinion it is a mistake to take a narrow view of the function of education. Education has been confounded with instruction by so many persons that a vigorous protest should be made against this tendency. Again, it seems to me to be shortsighted to state, as some educationists have asserted, that the main function of education is adjustment to environment so that we may become useful units in society. This view of education wholly ignores the fact that education is not, and has never been, simply a passive process. In specialised institutions, of course, we could say that it is the function of a technical school to turn out technicians, as it is the function of a medical school to produce doctors. This is not, however, education in the most comprehensive sense of the term. Education is essentially a spiritual process, and while knowledge is, and must remain, the raw material of the educative process, it deals with, and must consequently mould, character. Hence, education which turns out stereotyped and standardised individuals, as is done in Hitlerite Germany, may produce extremely useful cogs in an efficient machinery, but it cannot really be said that they have been educated.

They have certainly been regimented but regimentation and education are wholly different things. Personality plays a predominant part in every sound system but in regimentation, personality completely disappears, as the child becomes a robot. I feel we need a positive conception of education, in which will, feeling and intellect are duly harmonised and stress is laid not merely on adjustment to environment, but also on adjustment to new ideas of progress which take time to be absorbed into environment. In other words, an educated man is not merely an efficient man as judged by the standards of his profession, his age and his country; he is also prepared to accept new ideas and adopt new ways of life, if they are necessary for the improvement of society, either in the immediate, or even, in the distant future. This doctrine may be attacked on the ground that it is not the object of the school or universities to turn out revolutionaries or metaphysicians or mystics, and it should, on the other hand, be our aim to educate men who will be useful citizens and will contribute substantially to the prosperity of the country and community. Again, it may be said that the school is the most potent instrument for the preservation of the culture and traditions of a race, as it is only through the school that heritage of a great race can be transmitted from generation to generation. Some people may even go further, and say that real education consists in teaching the children the processes through which their race has passed, so that it may appreciate the significance of each stage of its development. According to some, education consists in enabling the student to discard those habits and customs which have proved a hindrance to a people in its onward march to progress, so that it may assimilate quickly the changes which new ideas and new movements have introduced into the structure of an everchanging society.

Here again the conception of education is wholly utilitarian, and the object is to produce a uniform type which will fit in admirably into the structure of a society that is in-

tellectually remaking a nation. The education imparted in the Soviet was revolutionised in its technique and material, and round the school with its new outlook in the world, have crystallised the enthusiasm of a new society that is pulsating with energy. If we look to the qualities which gave superhuman power of insight to Shakespeare and an universal sympathy to Goethe, we shall, of course, look in vain to the system of education in Tokyo or Berlin. Nowhere else, except at Athens, has the whole population of a city been so permeated with ideas, so highly intellectual by nature, so keen in perception, so witty and so subtle, as in medieval Florence. It is said by one writer that the fine and delicate spirit of the Italians existed in quintessence among the Florentines. Medieval Milan, too, was not far behind her literary and artistic rival. Yet the education imparted in these two cities of grace and culture, courtesy and polish, was not based on the totalitarian model, but was the result of intelligence which burned brightly in a long series of historians and annalists, which gave us picture galleries in which the brilliant men of Florence live again and again to breathe and move, epics of the city's vicissitudes from her commencement, detailed tragedies and stirring events, studies of heroic characters and idylls detached from the main currents of Florentine's chequered annals. The education of the Florentine citizen was based upon the principle that the personality of the child is sacred, and the great educational reformers of that period—and the Italian humanists such as Vittorino Da Feltre etc. laid down principles of education which can still be followed with profit—emphasised the sanctity of human personality and the spirituality of intelligence.

Hence, education should not be conceived in a narrow and pedantic sense, and it would be a profound blunder if we confound it with schooling. I am inclined to agree with John Stuart Mill that education starts with our cradle and ends with the grave. This is a view of education which will make it impossible for us to devise sound canons

of education for the child and adolescent, and it is essential that we should be crystal clear and precise in our definition. If we confine the educational process to the adolescent, we see no reason to modify the definition of education we have given above. It is in the last resort reconciliation of intelligence with character, so that the highest aim of society may be achieved by the process. This aim has been given here as the highest aim of society, and it may legitimately be objected that this nebulous and vague term gives no guidance whatsoever to the practical educationists in the classroom. I see the force of this objection and admit that many of the teachers present here will not be able to evolve a definite and clear system from the above definition which will be of use to them in the classroom or the lecture theatre. I may reply that it is not the object of this address to give hints or aids for teaching in the classroom. This is not and cannot be an address on methodology of teaching. Its object is to explore the means whereby we may be able to discover general tendencies or principles of education. Teaching and education must be sharply distinguished. The former refers primarily to the intelligence, while the latter deals with man as he really is, not merely with his intelligence, but also with will and feeling.

A real sound system of education will give due weight and emphasis to all these three factors, but it is well-known that in ordinary parlance schooling and education are synonymous terms. The tragedy of school education is due to the fact that it has been reduced to a mechanical process and instead of being a vocation, it has become a profession. If we emphasise dynamism in education and do not pay regard to the stability and balance in the mental development of the child, we may produce a most unstable and neurotic child that is eternally restless in temper, and is speculative, variable and unquiet in principles and practice. He is destitute of balance and poise, and it is probable that a large part of what is doled out to him mechanically in school and the

university is washed out, and does not become an integral part of his personality. It is something tacked on, something external to him, a veneer which is rubbed off immediately he leaves the school. It is the revenge of a personality not woven into the kindly race of able, enterprising men. Breadwinning, I admit, is a difficult and even a cruel process, and poverty wears away, and ultimately disfigures, the charm and grace of life. It plunders sorrow of its dignity and stifles the heart of joy. It is a penance of nervous imitation that has no real benefit. We admit the heroic qualities of St. Francis of Assissi, and other saints, but it is only fair to point out that the ordinary mortals are not the stuff of which saints are made, and the modern world does not believe in the cloister or in penances. We must as practical men agree that there is nothing unreasonable in individuals trying to serve their country or race by joining educational institutions and gaining their livelihood by qualifying for jobs, and it would be the height of unreason on our part if we objected to the process on the sole ground that it does not impart sound system of education. We have to acknowledge the fact in every system of education, that there are different classes and different mental capacities and each grade is naturally fitted for the particular class to which it makes an irresistible appeal, based upon variations in social or economic levels. A different type of education is needed for different classes and interests and up to a certain stage, and when this stage, which may be a secondary stage, is past, we must have a highly specialised system of education for which only persons with special qualifications are eligible. I am not, however, dealing with the methods and stages of education, so much, as with the general principles, and considered solely in this light, I do not modify the definition of education which I have given in the beginning of this address. Unless we keep the higher ideal constantly in view, we are liable to be deflected from our course by considerations which are wholly materialistic in their origin and application. It would probably be better if we divided educationists,

Sir John Adams does in his *Evolution of Educational Theory*, into superintendents of education and engineers. The engineers are the practical teachers, while the superintendents are those who organise the system of education, and formulate its principles. Some such distinction seems to me to be vital, if the progress of education as a science is to continue with unimpeded energy. Otherwise confusion is liable to be created by the conscious or unconscious mixing up of the true ends of education.

I can only glance at other definitions of education, though it must be clear that if I started discussing them now, I will exhaust your patience and will not be able to do justice to the problem. Herbert Spencer's conception of education was evolutionary, and he deduced to their logical conclusion the Darwinian conceptions as applied to education. His end was utilitarian, and as he traces everything to evolution, including morality and religion, education becomes a process in which the student plays a passive role, and never acquires the rudiments of moral order, as he deduces morality from the biological law of struggle with Nature. The greatest modern educationist who has infused new life into the study of education is Professor John Dewey, who applied his metaphysical principles to the solution of the educational problems. Dewey, however, makes efficiency his watchword, and the student is not expected to rise above the level of his age. On the whole, it may be said that what Sir John Adams has done for educational thought in England, Dewey has achieved for the United States of America. Both survey the educational process from a lofty vantage point fortifying their philosophical theories by practical knowledge of their craft, and purifying their judgment of contemporary theories and practice with their philosophy. Their mind is that of a philosopher who generalises, and of an educationist who seizes salient characteristics, not that of an annalist who aims at scrupulous fidelity in his account of facts, or of a practical teacher, who despises the spiritual foundation of education simply

because he has neither the energy to study the foundations of his craft, nor the ability to form a clear conception of the nature and aim of education. If we compare the work of these founders with that of others who preceded or followed them, we are conscious of the fact that in these men the mental qualities which we admire in Comenius, Pestalozzi and Herbert are combined in different proportions, are tempered with the new philosophy and scholarship of the post-Darwinian period and are permeated with quite another quality. Unfortunately, owing to totalitarianism, education is managed and controlled by dictators, and in the interval of about a century between Herbert and Dewey, freedom of personality has been lost. It is only the desire for freedom that survives yet, in spite of the gruelling experience through which teachers have passed in Germany and Italy and Japan during the last ten years, and is still a passion. Even in this class, however, the intense convictions of the Herbertian period in Germany have been exchanged for a stoic-epicurean acceptance of the facts of a perverted philosophy of life which in men like Goebbels and Himmler is absolutely appalling.

Having dealt with the general principles of education, let me now deal with the technique of the craft. I must confess, in the beginning, that I am not competent to deal with this problem before a body of distinguished teachers, but I feel that a few remarks couched in, I hope, an independent and impartial spirit, may be uttered in a vein of frankness. I need hardly add that I am doing this with great diffidence as I may be simply uttering commonplaces before you. The technique of education has received elaborate attention in modern times, and education has been the subject of specialised research for a number of years. I do not think I am wrong in assuming that education as a special subject has been incorporated in the university curricula of Germany for nearly a century. England lagged behind, but, she has made up for it in recent times, and the Schools of Education which have grown up in

London, Cambridge and Oxford are no whit behind similar institutions in the United States of America. I am not competent to assess the work of such institutions, but as a humble student of the technique of education in the past, who devoted some time and attention to this subject in the beginning of his career, I may be permitted to give, as briefly as possible, my conception of the function of the teacher. I am using here the term education in a restricted sense, as I wish to discuss the problems of the teachers in the classroom. I must distinguish between the teacher and the educationist. I know that I am exposing myself to criticism in doing so, as it is natural and legitimate for every teacher to regard himself as an educationist. I feel, however, that some such distinction is necessary for clarity and precision.

What then are the problems which face the teacher in the classroom? The real problem for a teacher in every country is the education of a child in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. It is the inculcation of patriotism in the mind of a child at a most impressionable age, so that he may become, in due course, an efficient unit of the society in which he is born. Here as elsewhere in the practical world, there is a gradation of loyalties, and we naturally start with love for our own village, our relations with our clans or tribes, and when we have reached this stage, we extend our sympathy to the town, and ultimately to the country of which we are an indispensable unit. The school has in all stages and climes been the most powerful instrument for the preservation of distinctive culture and tradition of a community, and it has been the determining factor in the inculcation of patriotism among its students. Its function is therefore twofold. On the one hand, it fosters and preserves the cultural and spiritual tradition of the constituent units of the people or nation; on the other hand, it welds the different sections into unity of feeling and tradition which we call patriotism. The American school is expressly designed to develop common ideals of citizenship and a common patriotism

inspired by devotion to the land in which a person is born, and is animated by a noble resolve to sacrifice himself for his country. At the same time the special genius of the race or community is never eliminated, as it is found that the patriotism of the student is the rallying point for his enthusiasm, a vehicle for expression, and nothing more effective could be found than the love of motherland expressed successively in love for his village, town and country. In the United States of America, no less than in other countries, sections of the population wear from the first and preserve a physiognomy that justifies us in thinking and speaking of them as an incarnate entity. The mutual attractions and repulsions that have presided over the growth, have given them specific qualities which they will never lose, which are reflected in their customs, in their language, in their traditions, or what I may call their mental architecture, as well as in the institutions of their race. We think of them as persons, and regard them as endowed with distinctive character and the distinctive racial units, though politically they have their common motherland. We have therefore to deal with the genius, not of the race, but of a whole family of cognate and dissimilar geniuses, conscious of the distinctive features of their national life and thought, which issue in markedly divergent characteristics. In this conglomeration of races and creeds not one race is insignificant. Every race and every country has its genius, moulding all interlopers to its own likeness and trying to subdue them to their proper place, in a few generations. Julius Caeser in his account of Belgium of his days has referred to the two main tribes that inhabited it in his time. To the present day, the two great races, the Flemings and the Walloons, occupy mainly the areas which they inhabited in the time of the great conqueror. If all the races were subjected to a soulless uniformity, and the expression of their racial characteristics were suppressed in the brutal manner in which the Czarist Russia took a peculiar delight, the varying skies and seas would instantly shatter the mould of monotonous

likeness. The distinctive contours of their native hills and the matchless moods of their sacred rivers impose upon their children a passionate difference which suddenly re-clothes human existence with various forms of more or less defined personality. It is not necessary that in this process reason should be awake, as it is gradual and instinctive process of becoming, and these ideas emerge slowly from a state of utter rawness and crystallise in customs and traditions, and ultimately, in the culture of the race. I do not think I need labour the point further, as I feel that it is clear to all who have followed the splendid history of the American elementary school during the last hundred years. The building up of a great American nation out of the races and creeds which appeared to be torn asunder by national and racial animosities, was an extremely difficult process. Yet the American school has succeeded in inculcating among the youth a sense of civic pride and love for their country which is now the strongest passion in the life of the citizen in the United States of America. His forbears may have come from Poland or Sweden or Sicily, yet in the second generation, he is transformed into a patriotic American. At a time when Europe was engulfed in racial conflict, when the gospel of nationality threatened to destroy the pattern of our spiritual and political life, United States of America was organising the various elements of its population, and through the common school system, it succeeded in collecting, centralising, and diffusing intelligence with remarkable success. She set the fashion whereby the other great nations should learn and live.

The problem of the South African teacher is substantially the same. He has to organise the different elements of population into a nation, and infuse into them the civic virtues which alone are a safeguard against indifference and apathy. In such a population, patriotism must necessarily be a plant of slow growth, and the teacher has to tend this plant with sedulous care, as it is the only safeguard against racial arrogance and pride. The supreme task of the Bantu teacher is one which has invariably been dis-

charged by teachers all over the world. It is to make your students good and patriotic citizens of South Africa, who glory in the achievements of their country, and share in its sorrows and joys. This does not necessarily involve disappearance of your racial and national qualities. If an institution destroys the foundations of identity, if it leads to the removal of all that is best in your racial stock, if it suppresses your language, traditions and customs, it stands condemned. But this has never been the policy of sound educationists in this land, and your school will, therefore, have the commanding dualism which is, and must be, its special contribution to the solution of South Africa's delicate and complex problems. While it will preserve all the sound and virile instincts and customs of different races, it will at the same time react across the gulf of ages, and develop common ideals of patriotism and a civic pride which will face overwhelming odds in its struggle for self-realisation. No country in the world is really homogenous. It is always the result of fusion of races and creeds; sometimes it is and must be, from the nature of the case, simply a combination of inassimilable elements which may ultimately work in spiritual harmony on basic problems which vitally concern a young and growing country like South Africa. We have the same problem in China, India and Russia. The process of welding the numerous races, which have existed in separate parcels for centuries, has gone on with epic majesty and has led ultimately to the growth of a United Nation. I feel, therefore, that the South African school must set about its task in the same spirit of faith and confidence in human perceptibility and progress.

Of the subjects which are taught in your school, let me take history as an example. History was not regarded as a subject of university study until comparatively recent times, and the classics dominated the curricula of old universities. It is only during the last eighty years that history has been placed on a footing of equality with

classical subjects. It is unnecessary for me to trace the progress of history teaching in England. Sir Charles Oman has done this admirably, so far as history at Oxford University is concerned, in his recent book on the subject. All that I need say is that history, in my opinion, is the foundation of patriotism in all countries, and works on the subject are based on the experience of the countries which have achieved organic unity, such as England and France. There are two dangers which we must guard against. In the first place, interpretation of historical material may be so coloured by racial arrogance and pride that we mislead our students if we import our ideologies into the study of the past. I will give you an example to illustrate the point. The Marxian interpretation of facts of history is wholly materialistic and the other elements that are indispensable in our conception of human personality are rigorously excluded. If we start with this narrow and misleading conception and apply it throughout the period of receded history, we shall be faced by insuperable difficulties. We have, unfortunately, other interpretations of history which are as great a hindrance. One adumbrated in Hegel's Philosophy of History, is simply an application of his philosophical theories, and the philosopher applies his steam-roller with remorseless logic to every epoch of human history. This is another example of a fundamental philosophical doctrine being applied to the appallingly complex problems of society and government, and the method is wholly unsound. It is a negation of historical method, which consists essentially in a thorough examination of all the material available on a particular subject. It is not the task of a historian to start with a theory, and apply this theory with rigorous consistency and fixity to the varied problems of human endeavour and human energy. He can achieve this result only after years of patient toil and studious research, and even then the historian's conclusions must be tentative and provisional, as it is hardly likely that he has exhausted the material available at the time he studied the subject. When the material is first

brought to light, historical works which were deemed to be authoritative at the time they were published are rightly discarded, and the process of research in the unexplored fields goes on ceaselessly. No period has been so prolific of historians as the present, and one has only to glance at the classical works of Dr. Gooch and numerous other historians to feel convinced of the important contribution of this school to the interpretation of the past. History is the enemy of dogmatism and is chary of theories and catchwords. Its function is not so much judgment of men and institutions, as the precise and impartial narration of events, and it is a travesty of sound scholarship to apply economic or philosophical theories in a historical work and deduce far reaching conclusions by this arbitrary device. Your task as teachers is therefore extremely important. You have to teach the facts of history as they actually occur, and you should avoid reading into those facts your favourite economic or metaphysical notions. If you do this, you are not teaching history at all, but are carrying on propaganda work for such theories in the garb of history. You should tell your students exactly what happened and tell them, of course, with the greatest clarity and precision. This is essential; but if the history lesson is converted into a discourse on particular economic, religious or philosophical doctrines, not only is the student misled, but history itself is perverted and degraded.

The second danger which should be guarded against is the tendency to misrepresent facts of history, and glorify the achievements of a particular race or people. This is the greatest danger against which one must guard. There are, of course, hundreds of teachers, who abhor the sanctity of pure research and academic cloisters to which their anaemic brethren, who are docile and peace-loving, are prone. The active propagandist allies himself with an aggressive and rabid "cultural" orgnisation outside the school, and fortified by this support he plans a campaign of misrepresentation with a head full of martial dreams. History is not only a record of events, but also

a source of inspiration, and it is natural that many persons should be tempted to inspire in the minds of the young traditions of their race and community which will maintain it in its struggle through life. A nation struggling to be free, or one that is attempting heroically to revive its lost glory, must perforce resort to deeds of its ancestors, so that the impressionable minds of the youth may be nourished on chivalric annals. The tendency to idealise the past appears at one moment as a solvent through philosophical speculation, at another as a corrosive in the sceptical and critical activity it stimulates and acts with destructive energy. The present mainly offers to a depressed race like yours a distracting tumult of antagonistic passions, harmonised by no great hope. The future to inexperienced men is dim, although the haze, through which the vision comes to them, seems golden. Hence the sentiments and hopes of men take refuge in the dream of a past. There is in human nature sympathy with the past, and the love of culture is purified by imagination. The people naturally sigh for the good old times when truth was spoken, and steel lay hidden in the earth, and ships sailed on the sea and old age led the way to death unterrified by coming doom. A national Arcadia is soon discovered where all that is best in the race is found in combination with a perfect government. The landscape of a government may lend itself to such notions, and in a country like Africa, human life and nature interpenetrate, as nowhere else in the world. It is as if some sudden panel is withdrawn from sight, as from the sight of the shepherds on the halcyon morning of nativity. By these means, history has exercised profound influence on the revival of a people, and one has only to read the classical autobiography of the great Masaryk, the founder of Czechoslovakian State, to realise the supremely important work which the national historian of the Czechs, Palacky, played in the revival of Czech nationalism. Masaryk refers to this work again and again, and shows clearly the enduring influence which he exercised in reviving the hopes of the Czech patriots.

When the Poles were asked in 1918 to build up their state, they naturally went back to their golden era under John Sobieski for inspiration in their pious task. The Irish looked back to the times of their national kings to justify their claim for a separate nationhood in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I, therefore, do not deny the force and potency of this sentiment in recreating the past of a race which may appear golden in comparison with the trials and tribulations of the present. It has been a source of inspiration to races that are trying heroically to be free. They draw nourishment and sustenance from contemplation of what they actually accomplished in days gone by and are thereby buoyed up with hope and faith in the future.

It must, however, be admitted that this is not scientific history but the manipulation of history to adapt it to the requirements of the race. It is useful to the statesman, but it should be used with caution by the teacher. The function of the teacher is sacred. It is his supreme duty to teach what he believes to be true, to show how a particular event has determined the one that has logically emerged out of it, and to establish thereby the law of causation, which is, and must for ever remain, his main consideration in the recital of past deeds and achievements. Fantastic interpretations, reinforced by patriotic motives, which endow a race or community with qualities which it never possessed, and credit it with achievement in which it was singularly deficient, merely add an element of the bizarre and incredible to the imaginary annals of a race or a people. Such a method simply recoils upon its authors, and the mind of man refuses to absorb fictions which are really founded upon false values. It should be the function of a teacher to narrate the facts of history truthfully and not to garble the important events to suit his fancy or to cater for narrow, sectional or racial prejudice. In a country like South Africa, or in fact in any other with a heterogenous population, the need for impartial and dispassionate account of important events is imperative,

so that a genuine South African patriotism, broadbased upon truth and justice, and reinforced by a common faith of all her myriad races in the destiny of their land, may be developed.

Before I conclude, let me refer to another element in modern educational theory. The example of Russian organisation must be an inspiration to every country. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I am fundamentally opposed to Russian ideology, nor am I enamoured of the methods the Soviet has adopted in the past, or is adopting at the present, to carry out its economic doctrines. Do not be misled by the roseate picture which is sometimes presented to you by impulsive propagandists. It is an incomplete picture, as it studiously avoids discussion of many aspects of the Soviet system. Eugene Lyons, a journalist, who wrote Assignment in Utopia, some years ago, went to the other extreme, and denounced almost everything he saw in Russia of his day. I am not enamoured of the economic or political doctrines of the Soviet, though it must be admitted that in some spheres it has worked wonders. In the sphere of education, however, it has introduced principles which are bound to have a profound effect on educational thought. The first thing to be noticed is that youth is at the helm of power in Russia. The managers of many key enterprises, such as the Moscow Dynamo Works, are under thirty years of age. An overwhelming majority of those who undertook the Arctic explorations were under twenty five years of age. Again the percentage of the Soviet population under twenty nine is 63. In Britain the percentage is 50, while in India it is higher. The school age extends from eight to fifteen years, and after completing his or her education in the elementary school, the boy or girl may either enter the ten year school and proceed to the university or the technical college, or he may learn the rudiments of the profession which he has chosen. If he wants to be a technician, he enters the industry. He leaves the works when he is 18, and after a five year course at a higher technical

college, he becomes a qualified engineer at the age of 24. In his college he becomes politically conscious, and, at the age of 18, he obtains the right to vote. The Dean of Canterbury, in his work, 'The Socialist Sixth of the World', says that of the 1,143 Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 284 are between the ages of eighteen and thirty. The increase in the number of the students in technical colleges and universities has been phenomenal. It is important to note that in school and higher grades of education, the student received in addition to his meals, instruments and text-books, a monthly allowance which made him financially independent. Up till about two years, education in all institutions was free. Only recently fees have been imposed in universities and technical colleges.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have devoted disproportionate time to the discussion of this subject, but I have done so as I feel that it is of paramount interest and importance to the future of this land. I can visualise a mighty South Africa arising after the turmoil of the present war is over, in which there will be opportunities for every element of her population. This will naturally mean the building up, cell by cell, of a South African patriotism, consolidated by her sacrifice for a sacred cause, and united by bonds of common interest and common struggle. In this process the teachers of South Africa are bound to play a vital part, as they can prepare the receptive mind of the youth for the new gospel of a common patriotism, and create a new world of thought, which will give fixity and character to civic ideas which, I am afraid, are still hazy and sometimes at cross purposes. Having dealt with this problem, let me now indicate very briefly a few others which, in my humble opinion, are still in an indeterminate state. They are concerned almost entirely with minutæ of the teacher's craft, and may be deemed as out-of-date. I am, however, old fashioned enough to believe that some of these issues are still awaiting settlement. I refer to them with the greatest diffidence, as nobody is more conscious of his

limitations than myself. First, let me refer to the development of what is called "Experimental Pedagogy". I confess that I am by no means certain whether it is possible to subject human motives and human thoughts to tests which can be mechanically applied. I admit that intelligence tests have been applied on such a large scale with success in the last war and in this war, that they are now a permanent furniture of the teacher's craft. The use of intelligence tests for the examination of recruits for the American Army justify us in thinking that they are now accepted as valid throughout the educational world. I am, however, not sure whether any other device similar to this has been discovered for probing into the inner springs of human conduct. I admit that great strides have been made in recent times, and I feel that reference must be made here to the brilliant work of Cyril Burt, Dr. Ballard and others who have kept up the name and fame of the research section of the London City Council. The London Day Training College, too, seems to be keeping up its reputation, as the source of inspiration for research in all branches of education, but it is not quite clear whether Experimental Pedagogy has made greater progress in recent times.

Methodology is another sphere in which the science of education has made phenomenal progress. We all know, of course, Bagleys' voluminous works on the Craftmanship in Teaching, while the Teachers' College, Columbia University, has produced during the last thirty years work of a quality which few institutions have surpassed. It is true to say that Teachers' College, Columbia University, has rendered inestimable service to educationists in every branch of the subject, and its leading scholars enjoy a world-wide reputation. It is now the world's centre of educational research and experimentation and from it have come men imbued with an idealism which has survived disappointment and frustration. The American Universities are justly regarded as the conscience of the nation, as they have purified public life of much of its

grossness, and maintained a stability of purpose which is a refreshing contrast to the municipal and parliamentary life of that great country. In England, one has only to mention the name of Leach, Adamson, Foster-Watson and a host of others to show that the history of education has received serious attention at the hands of scholars.

Again, the old controversies which had taken up so much time of pioneers have died out, as a number of theories have been happily liquidated, and the dogma of faculty of psychology is as extinct as the dodo. The classics have been deposed from their position which they had occupied for centuries, and new tendencies in political thought are reflected in a radical change in the technique of education. There has unfortunately been a violent restriction in the powers and functions of the teacher, and in totalitarian systems, all educational institutions have been dominated by dictators, who have tried to mould the plastic mind of the young in harmony with their destructive ideas. Schools and Universities have become the tools of dictators, and the teacher is a passive instrument in the hands of Himmler and Goebbels. While in Democratic countries leadership is simultaneously capable of inspiring and of responding to public opinion, totalitarian doctrines have given some countries a new instrument of supreme policy well fitted to communicate fresh impetus to war effort and thereby destroy cultural institutions. Few of us realise how the weights in scales have altered in these countries, and few still know the profound effect which the appalling doctrine of totalitarianism has produced on the life and thought of youth. The foundation of their success is the education of their youth which is deliberately designed to make them mere automata who are placed wholly at the disposal of dictators. Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' refers again and again to the education of youth, and the importance of history in the development of national feeling.

I have given these examples to show that democracy alone offers refuge of spirit of the nations in feats

of unexampled greatness. Freedom is the essence of democratic education, and freedom implies freedom for the teacher no less than for the taught. A teacher must have freedom to teach what he believes to be true; and lecture room is rightly deemed to be his castle. The student too has his rights. His personality is sacred, and it is the supreme duty of a teacher to respect this, and so to arrange his teaching as to develop it to the fullest extent. The educationist who fails to recognise this must be regarded as a failure, as it is only through the free and easy intercourse of mind that growth is possible in the child.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have dealt with some of the problems of education at inordinate length. My only apology for it is that I am convinced we are on the eve of momentous changes after the war. The pattern of the new world after the war is already taking specific shape. The Axis powers have brought into the war a force of terrific intensity, but of relatively limited endurance dependent on temporary foundations. The purpose of New Education will be to show to the world the great reservoir of energy and character which this country possesses, and to organise out of the material available after the war a conception of life which will be coherent and clear, in which each element will be allotted a task so that ultimately we might have a land united by a common patriotism and a common faith in the greatness of this land. Let us make it clear that it is not our purpose to produce young men who have been bred like race-horses to behave in accordance with the stud-life. On the contrary, it should be our endeavour to produce citizens who will be a credit to their race, and a source of pride to their country.

Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Gold Street Government Indian School at Johannesburg. December 6th, 1942.

[*Note*—This address was delivered by the author in December, 1942. It discusses various aspects of education, and will be found interesting by many people in India.]

MR. PRINCIPAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The school was one of the first institutions in the Union which I was called upon to address upon my arrival in this country, last year. I can recall vividly the meeting which I was privileged to attend, and I can also recapture the atmosphere which, I must confess, left an indelible impression on my memory. I have spent a year since then, and I flatter myself that I have been able to gain experience of problems with which the Indian community is faced. After a tour through the chief places in Natal, I have returned to this city for a brief stay, to go back to Durban and, from there to Cape Town for the Parliamentary session.

The last year has been for me a period of apprenticeship, of preparation for the sacred task entrusted to me and of experimentation in making myself useful to my community and to the Union. I can assure you that I have spared no efforts to be of some slight use to my community, and though I have not succeeded in making myself as useful as I wished to be, I have tried to do what I could, according to my limited capacity. I have also had the advantage of visiting several Indian schools in Natal and the Transvaal, and talking to hundreds of students and members of the staff. The first-hand experience which I have been able to gain has been helpful to me in the study of the problem of Indian education, and I feel that I am justified in discussing some of the basic and educational problems which face the community. I do not pretend to have made a profound study of these problems, and it would be presumptuous on my part to state that I have found a solu-

tion of all of them in such a short time. Practical problems of administration cannot be solved with mathematical precision within the short span of one year. There are so many interests involved in the process, so many forces working at cross-purposes, so much energy misapplied or not applied at all, that patience and tact, knowledge and experience, are necessary, and nobody is more conscious of the imperative need for these qualities than myself. I will, however, try to convey to you, as briefly as possible, my impression of the educational requirements of the Indian community in the Transvaal.

Before I develop this theme, let me congratulate you, Mr. Principal, on the excellent progress which your school has made within a comparatively short time. I have had the privilege and pleasure of visiting your institution recently, going through the class-rooms, talking to the students and staff and witnessing a wonderful display of physical exercises which impressed me deeply. I was struck by the *esprit de corps* which animated the students and staff alike, no less than by the interest, and the personal interest, which the Principal and the staff took in every student. The Principal seems to know the name of every student of this institution, and he would no doubt have presented a genealogical tree of every boy and girl, if I had probed my inquiries further. The school was started in 1930, and was shifted to its present building last year. You will agree with me, ladies and gentlemen, when I say that the progress made by the institution, in an exceedingly short period, has been astonishingly rapid, and credit for this satisfactory progress must be shared by the Principal and members of the staff, no less than by the School Committee which has taken a keen and sustained interest in its development. The school is fortunate in having the Reverend Sigamoney as its Principal. I have had the privilege and pleasure of knowing Mr. Sigamoney for a year. I can say from personal experience that your Principal is a man of out-standing ability and character, who has never sacrificed his principles for expe-

diency, and has waged a ceaseless fight against vested interests and obstinate prejudices. A man of rare insight and great strength of character, he has taken his place in the hearts and minds of the Indian community by his ability and vigour, and his administration of this institution has been uniformly successful. A great leader of his people, he combines intellectual ability and experience of a high order, and his influence on the young has been highly beneficial. As a leader of his people his work is well known; as an educationist of standing, he has trained generations of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, and has sent out to the world young men equipped with knowledge, who are occupying responsible positions in the public economy of this country. It is my earnest hope that the institution, founded under such happy auspices, may grow from strength to strength and may ultimately become a secondary school. The school has all the self-assurance of youth, and I have no doubt whatsoever that in the new South Africa which is being forged in the crucible of suffering in Libya, my Indian boys and girls, whom I see here, will play a worthy part.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, Indian education in the Union has had its days of growth and periods of depression. While education in Natal still remains in an unsatisfactory state, while fifty per cent of our Indian children go without education, and fifty per cent of those at school are ill-nourished, and lack nutritious diet, the prospects in the Transvaal are brighter. I have said elsewhere that the Indian community in the Transvaal is receiving better education, though this does not imply that its condition in other respects is better. In the Transvaal locations, you find Indians of culture and refinement, of good breeding and fine manners, vegetating and stagnant, with the mark of inferiority stamped upon them, possessing little initiative in public affairs and no political rights. In the nooks and corners of the Transvaal, there are men who have devoted their lives to the work of store-keeper, the only calling which was

open to them, a calling in which they have specialised, with condensed sagacity, and made good. They are rich in the worldly goods which are highly prized by the people, but they are richer in the spirit which conquers obstacles. They are excellent organisers, and have forged their way to the front through their personal qualities, without any adventitious qualities. They had neither the advantage of princely birth, nor the patronage of the great, and worked at a time when the atmosphere was overcast with clouds. They never sat down and wept every time it rained or the clouds came down. Had they done so, there would have been no life in them or in the race to which they belonged, and they would certainly have deserved no pity when fate found them out. I may paraphrase a maxim of our childhood, and say that if there were no clouds we should not enjoy the sun, while a novelist recently said that she always wore her clouds inside out to show the silver lining. Shakespeare expresses this thought in his inimitable way when he says "When clouds appear wise men put on their cloaks". Clouds, whether political or economic, cannot affect those born of our race, for they are made of storms and tempests with sunlight breaking in; and Freedom is possible only to those who are eternally vigilant.

> The clouds that gather round the setting sun
> Do take a sober colouring from an eye,
> That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.

Vicissitudes of fortune, the peculiar political climate of the land, the changes which the idiosyncracy of persons had imported into the treatment of my people have taught our community the necessity, so well divined and recognised by the Greek statesmen of maintaining a fixed character at any cost in their business dealings, no less than in their politics, which aspired to importance and permanence. They did not become the sport of chance, but were possessed of an organic vitality, which kept their spirit alive and maintained their ancient spirit for liberty. The

jealousy of their rivals, the cupidity of leaders, the partisanship of municipalities or sectional interests might have ultimately produced moral disintegration and permanently enfeebled the community, but for their national equanimity and shrewdness. In this sense, the triumph of Indians in the narrow sphere to which they were condemned to rotate was the product of constructive skill, and great sagacity was needed for maintaining themselves in the precarious foothold which their tenacity and stubbornness had won for the community. I feel that it is but meet and proper that while my community is subjected to unfair criticisms and is relegated to special quarters of towns, we should note also the method and manner whereby it has been able to establish itself in business in competition with those of its neighbours. It studied the environment and applied the whole of its intelligence to the one aim of giving a certain defined form and specific quality to its principal work in this land. They had recognised the importance of maintaining the traditional character of their business inviolate, and adhered with singular tenacity to the moral codes of their religion. Their religious and spiritual tradition favoured this stability, and they grew up under the protection of their spiritual doctrines, which interpreted and formulated the inherent law that animated the community as a whole. Hence, it may be said that the small compact blocks of fifty to sixty individuals, dotted in numerous small towns throughout the Transvaal, maintained a vigorous life of their own. They were religiously directed organisms, self-sufficient in many significant details, with no dependence on their European neighbours for cultural or religious nourishment, and no desire for European sanction for their spiritual tasks. They could not forget their origin, and they could never ignore their cultural needs; they had their own problems, and had wrung certain rights with difficulty from existing institutions which had controlled them in the past, and still remained ascendant in the political and economic world. It follows that the self-reliant autonomy of these

Indian settlements in the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Cape, which owed spiritual and cultural allegiance only to their leaders in India and their inherent Nomos, had no parallel among the European races of the Union. The latter were conscious of dependence and ultimately of influence in the government, no less than the administration of their country, and regarded themselves as the natural creators of the Union of South Africa. It follows that in the spheres which are regarded as of supreme importance in the mental life of a country and its people, the Indian merchant and the Indian worker remained inassimilable elements in South African life. Long before the stamp of South African citizenship had been put on the Indian community, the cultural and spiritual traditions which had been transplanted here by our countrymen, had taken such firm root that its subsequent history is the record of its struggle to secure social and ultimately political equality, while maintaining its distinctive traditions intact.

They did not achieve social freedom or political rights, and while the community had made astonishing progress, while its mental activity, and the economic prosperity of its leading elements had given it a recognition which is well deserved, the prejudice against which it has had to fight stubbornly for nearly seventy years seems to be still strong, though it has undoubtedly weakened of late. I do not wish to trace here the stages through which the Indian community has passed, nor shall I discuss the laws which have been passed against it from 1885 onwards. They are laws that deal with many aspects of human activity; laws which require the construction of locations outside the town, laws which deal with penetration of Indians into European areas, laws which deprived men of my race in Natal of parliamentary franchise in 1896 and municipal franchise in 1924, laws which deal with the serving of liquor and a host of other laws, rules, regulations and conventions. The community underwent the struggle with patience and dignity, submitting to these laws with the strongest

possible protests, but finding an anodyne in the spiritual resistance which a proud race, with memories of glory, had developed in its contest with the ruling powers. The great commercial acumen and intelligence, which are its pride, burned brightly in the stories of their stubborn struggles, which are instinct with the spirit of criticism and vital with experience. We see unrolled before us the early accounts of their rise and prosperity that tell us of some of the great men who carved out their career in Natal or the Transvaal. There are so many of them, and so varied. We get detailed tragedies and highly finished episodes, studies of separate characters and idylls detached from the main current of Indian story. They are epics of the community's vicissitudes from its earliest commencement. At Dannhauser I was shown the route which was followed by thousands of Indians who responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi, and started *satyagraha* against the poll tax. They trekked to Newcastle—thousands of them, men, women and children, ragged, famished and ill, but with brave hearts and an unconquerable spirit. From Newcastle they crossed the border of Natal, and defied the immigration law by longing to reach Volkrust. While this was going on in the Union, many were busy on sugar plantations, and spent their lives along the highways of Natal and the Transvaal. They scarcely knew that life was a blessing as they had to struggle with nature and man, and, being employed in occupations which gave them a bare subsistence, had little energy left to develop their artistic instincts or pursue intellectual activity.

In your spiritual life and your tradition, there exists an ideal of intellectual and moral life which will sustain you in your struggle for existence. You will feel confident in your own energies when you learn what your forefathers had achieved, and you will find that the whole history of your country is one continuous chain of evolution in which human life is the coming into a conscious vital realisation of our oneness with the Infinite Life and the opening of ourselves fully to this divine inflow. There-

by we recognise our identity, and bring ourselves into harmony with the same great laws and forces, and so open ourselves to the same inspirations as have all prophets, seers, saviours in the world's history. Hence carry within youself the spirit of health, both physical and spiritual. Let me quote here one poem which is apposite:—

> "Know then, whatever cheerful and serene
> Supports the mind, supports the body, too.
> Hence the most vital movement mortals feel
> Is hope, the balm and lifeblood of the soul."

Shakespeare said long ago that "it is the mind that makes the body rich".

I have given this advice to young men and women whom I am addressing today, as I know that many of you will leave this hallowed institution, which will remain dear to you all your lives, with the firm resolve to make your mark in the world, and gain the throne of distinction. Mere knowledge will not give you power. There is something else than knowledge, and that is character, which is the result of moral and spiritual discipline. Knowledge without morality will produce Hitlers, and not useful and loyal sons of South Africa. That ought to be your aim. While keeping up your spiritual contact and cultural affinities with your motherland, you must become loyal sons of South Africa, and render allegiance to her with all the warmth of your heart and all the energy of your virile youth. South Africa is calling upon you for service, for South Africa needs your intelligence and the intelligence of your race. She has needed it for seventy years. In future she will need your specialised ability and great gifts of character for extending her economic activity, and in this process is bound to lend you a helping hand. Do not be downcast by the colour bar and other laws which in your opinion seem to block the path of continuous progress. Compare your condition with your grandfathers, who landed in Natal in 1861, and worked till death gave them eternal rest. They have disappeared

from this earth, but their spirit is working in you, and their blood is flowing in your veins. It was a spirit encased in a body, but after its dissolution, it was transmitted to your father and yourself. One could visualise in the palmy days of our motherland young artisans who used to come from different parts of India to pay their court to their sovereign, and painted the portraits of men and women in which they kneaded their dreams into their beautiful flesh, and moulded their soft sensuous shape, and siren look, not only with their brush, but with their dream-charged soul, they created something novel and wonderful which arose out of conflict and of harmony, between them. There is intense aesthetic tenderness in the pictures of those days.

I have conveyed to you, I am afraid, at some length something of the atmosphere of my country in days gone by. I have done so because I feel that while these laws were passed my country was leaping like a greyhound on her trail over the barriers of centuries, and consolidating her scattered and divided energies. The process of internal solidarity and unity was in full swing, and I, not only as a spectator of this drama, but also as a humble actor in it, had my share in this work. I can recall vividly the early struggles and the strange vicissitudes through which we passed in our pioneering enterprise. I can give you a graphic picture of the wonderful progress which our land has made. I need hardly refer to the intellectual qualities of philosophical analysis and acute observation for which our historians are noted. During the period of her mental unrest and political disintegration, she was either too corrupt for real liberty, or too turbulent for the tranquil acceptance of a benevolent despotism. Yet the memory of India's past was the inspiration of the leaders of New India. They had the radiant gifts of nature which attach men, and communicated something of their own energy and faith to a people who were just emerging into light, and with the majesty of a silent power beyond our understanding, and the stillness from which nothing comes save a still

small voice which says, It is I; Be not afraid. The universal spirit that inhabits the earth was moving New India to a new destiny. I am tempted to quote here the well known lines of Wordsworth.

> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thought; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused.
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
> A motion and a spirit, that impels,
> All thinking things.

I would impress upon you, young men and women, to remember that you have the culture and civilisation of a country which has been the spiritual mentor of one half of Asia at a time when the world was sunk in barbarism, when Greece and Rome alone kept up the torch burning and the nations of Europe and America were still floundering in the bog of ignorance. What your forefathers did in the fifth century B.C., no less than under the great Muslim rulers, when India was a nest of singing birds, when poets, philosophers, statesmen and generals abounded, could certainly be repeated in the present age. The Renaissance through which India and China are passing is no mere change, no new conception of art or science, no restoration of standards of our classical past. It is a natural movement, not to be explained by any special feature or tendency in any one branch of knowledge, of art or politics. It is the expression of intellectual energy, the blossoming of intellect, which enables mankind to make use of all the mechanical, scientific and intellectual discoveries of the twentieth century. The force generated by the freedom of the intellect from the shackles of prejudice and the inertia of customs is both vital and expansive, and is manifested in the spirit of the modern world. The new life is our own, and is moving with epic grandeur to an end which we can visualise. We have in New India the waning

and waxing shapes which are inextricably mingled. The old ideas jostle with the new; the new forms, which are at first shadowy and flimsy, crystallise and prevail against the old forms, which have proved feeble and useless in the struggle for existence; some of the old forms and the old customs persist and blend with the new ideas. Again the old scene recedes into the background, and it seems as if it has melted into the new. The process of evolution goes on and has not yet been completed. What is especially worthy of note is that the new life, the life of the twentieth century, is progressive. In other words, it has infinite capacity for adaptation and assimilation, and it would be folly to stand still, and keep up the mental condition of our period of disintegration when we prostrated ourselves before the Baconian idols of the theatre and market place, before dogma, authority and custom, when we were either bound down by the brute weight of a purely material existence or were strait-jacketed in infirmity of purpose. The premonitory symptoms are there for every person to see. The audience I am addressing today has the plastic mind and flexible intellect of youth. To such a mind, the beauty of this world, unappalled by the impending shadow of death, unterrified by hell, and fortified by the goodliness of youth and strength and love and life, are a vital necessity. Human existence to the youth is a joy to be accepted with thanksgiving, and culture is rightly deemed as the everlasting solace and the finest education of the people of India.

To you the despair of thwarted effort is happily unknown, and your physical and mental energies are not only unimpaired, but are awaiting development. Hence when you open your eyes on a world of wonder, and explore the fallow fields, do not be carried away by the magic of momentary pleasure. Open new channels for the stream of freedom, and see the first springtide of the modern world. Think of Browning's lines:

A Footfall There
Suffices to upturn to the warm air,
Half germinating spices mere decay
Produces richer life, and day by day
New pollen on the lily petal grows,
And still more labyrinthine buds the rose.

In the Middle Ages man's spirit was imprisoned in a cowl, and he was incapable of seeing the beauty of the world. He was like a traveller through picturesque Kashmir Valley, who is so intent on his thoughts, that he notices neither the azure of the waters of lovely lakes, nor the luxuriance of the vines, nor the splendour of the mountain peaks with their robes of sun and snow. I am afraid the ancestors of many of you passed their lives amidst the worries and anxiety of daily existence. As they were all the time thinking of maintaining their precarious hold on the country with all the ingenuity and intelligence of which they were capable, India herself was undergoing a mighty revolution in ideas, which was ultimately to take concrete form in a passionate desire for freedom. I do not wish to discuss this subject here in detail, as it will take me too far afield, but it is necessary for the young men and women who are here to note the stages of our country's mental growth and political freedom. Amid the universal stagnation of public spirit, from the depth of intellectual sloth and mental servitude, when the reality of liberty was lost, and people thought that India was dying, when the folly of her old leaders and the condition of the country had rendered political reconstruction impossible for nearly seventy five years, the genius of my country displayed itself with more than its old vigour in a succession of most brilliant orators and reformers who infused new life into the decayed limbs of the country. The mental qualities which we admire in the men of ancient and medieval India, reappear, combined, it is true, in different proportions, and in varying degrees, tempered with the new spirit and the new philosophy of the

Indian Renaissance and permeated with a modern outlook on life. In the interval of two centuries—centuries of disintegration and enfeeblement—when the pattern of India's spiritual, political and economic life was fundamentally changed—creative energy and mental force had dried up. It was only the desire for freedom that had survived in India. That desire had, however, become a passion. During this period, too, while vigour of body and mind had decayed, while original thought was a dream, and the rectitude of instinct and the fiery convictions of the palmy days of India's splendour had been exchanged for an "epicurean acceptance of the facts of a stagnant and effete civilisation, in their inmost soul", the noblest sons of India burned with the zeal for political freedom.

In these days of India's maturity, the names of these men shine like brilliant stars on clear moonlight night. They were fighting for those principles of democracy for which the United Nations are fighting today. They wished their country to be free, so that it could live its own life and work out its own salvation, under no man's heel, subject to no brute power, a good neighbour to righteous folk, but a terrible foe to ruthless foes like Japan and Germany. We may indeed quote here the wise saying of Abraham Lincoln in the darkest days of the American Civil War.

> "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history.
> We will be remembered in spite of ourselves.
> We shall nobly save or meanly lose, the last,
> best hope of earth."

To paraphrase a well-known poem of Robert Buchanan:-

> They caught the comfort of golden years;
> They saw the soul is safe for evermore.

India conjured up a vision of a country embowered in trees and wrapt in the golden silence of the night. Down her flowed the sad music of humanity for fifty centuries, and conquerors had settled down and were absorbed and

assimilated. They dreamed their dreams and vanished, yet they are part of the Indian people and the Indian soil. India enters into the procession of immortal countries for which humanity raises up a tribe of devotees. Then comes her period of decay. Her artistic splendour left her, and she fell like Italy, at the end of her Renaissance, or like Athens, when Augustus found her in academic decay. In her palmy days, she had countless painters and artists who depicted scenes of her perennial vigour, created new types of human beauty and precipitated new æsthetic emotions in their veiled and beautiful studios.

Indians in South Africa too had their own music, when they arrived here, a music not only for the body but also for the soul. It became their refuge from their deep inner discord, and the contradictions which they experienced on their arrival in Natal; and it was in music that some of these men realised themselves. Their perplexities and their troubles, their lack of comfort and inordinately long hours of work, their inward lack of ease, were all resolved by music, and they forgot for a time their material sufferings, and found solace in the prophylactic powers of this Art. In their character, in the character of the Indian race as a whole, the sense of order mingles with the surrender to imagination. Mathematics is married to magic, and both combine into a music which is the glory of your homeland.

I forecast a great future in this land. I know, of course, the difficulties it has to surmount in its onward march to progress. I have sufficient experience of this country to know that it will take our people some time before some of the most obnoxious laws are repealed. As I walk in the crowded world of Johannesburg, or Pretoria, Durban or Cape Town, the images of the busy world recede in my memory and call to my mind's eye a community emerging from this condition thoroughly equipped with knowledge and inspired by faith, disciplined by the experience through which my race has passed, and enjoying the rights and submitting to the discipline of useful and selfless citi-

zenship. That day is, I repeat, far off, and it would require both internal discipline and external help. With regard to the first, while I have been describing my community in a way which may be deemed to be slightly exaggerated, let me say that the community has still a great deal of leeway to make up. Its richer members are now, I am glad to say, awakened to the need for help to their poorer brethren, and some educational projects have been, and are going to be, started in Natal as well as in the Transvaal which will give a great impetus to education in our community. There are still some rich men in the Transvaal who are not yet conscious of their responsibilities and are indifferent to its needs. My appeal is not, however, confined to the rich. It is addressed to every Indian, rich and poor. I feel that it is the duty of every Indian, whatever his station in life, to contribute to the support of our educational institutions, according to his position and status. There ought to be no young Indian out of school. I would impress upon all of you to maintain a high social standard and conform to requirements of the social life and customs which are observed by your European brethren. The improvement in this respect has been substantial, but I repeat that we ought not to rest on our oars. See what Russia has accomplished in twenty years, how she has turned a country, living and thinking in laws of feudalism, into a highly industrialised state. She has resurrected her body and mind, though unfortunately, not the spirit of man, and has cemented the numerous races and creeds into an organically united people. While I do not subscribe to the Russian ideology, I feel that the example which Russia has given in the sphere of organisation, is remarkable. The Indian community must bestir itself, for only thus will it qualify for full citizenship and an honourable place in the council of nations. I have said these words as I felt that an impression might be created that I was not giving a correct and objective account of my community.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I must now con-

clude. I am afraid, I have already taken up too much of your time. I am supremely confident of the future of my community, as I know that it has the material out of which great nations are made. Its structure of leadership and its general progress eminently qualify it for the exercise of political rights, and the rights and duties of citizenship. It is my earnest prayer that having gone through the night of suffering and tribulation, it will soon see the immortal dawn, and it will thus give the best pledge of its capacity for progress, and its enduring greatness. Amen!

Speech delivered at a luncheon party in honour of General Pienaar by the Transvaal Indian Congress at the Langham Hotel, Johannesburg, on December 7th, 1942.

[*Note*—The Indian community gave expression to its feeling of confidence in General Pienaar, the Administrator of the Transvaal, at a luncheon party. The author spoke on behalf of the Indian community and referred to the Afrikaner spirit, and the wit of General Pienaar.]

GENERAL PIENAAR, MEMBERS OF THE TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

We meet here to-day on an auspicious occasion. The leaders of the Indian community in the Transvaal have deemed it their duty to give expression to their feeling of trust and confidence in the Administrator of the Transvaal, and I have been asked by members of my community to say a few words on this occasion. I have said above that I thought the occasion was auspicious. I should like to add that not only is it auspicious, it is also unique. I do not think any representative body of my community has so far found it necessary to hold a similar function in honour of any Administrator in any province of the Union. For the first time in the history of my community, it has deemed it necessary to acquaint the Administrator with its needs, and to show to him the great regard and affection in which he is held.

The province of the Transvaal has given to the Union of South Africa some very brilliant administrators. It has given also men who are gifted alike with outstanding character and dazzling intellectual qualities. It has been the nursery of a succession of able men, whose massive commonsense and genius for administration have left an abiding effect on the life and thought of the people. The wide representation of legitimate regional interests and the rare balance of industry and agriculture, which few countries have had the territory and the resources to achieve, go far towards explaining the sober and resolute progress which the Transvaal has made in industry on the



Party to General Pinnear, Administrator of the Transvaal, at Johannesburg, December 7th, 1942

one hand and agriculture on the other. This harmony would have been impossible without the immense traditional hold upon the nation of men with courage and vision, whose ideas have made their way into the political and social life of their countrymen. It was these men who faced the problems of a new land with firm convictions and a steadfast gaze unfilmed by illusion. One of these men is the guest of honour at this function. He comes amongst us with a brilliant record in parliament, on the battlefield, and in administration of which anyone in the Union of South Africa may be legitimately proud. Descended from a family distinguished for its culture and public spirit, and devoted alike to Mars and to parliament, General Pienaar imbibed the rigorous and pious upbringing of the family and proceeded, in an atmosphere of old-world dignity and culture, and on the basis of a strong character and brilliant intellect, to years of devoted work for the public, both in parliament and in his present office. Equipped with a wonderful capacity for work, and easy swiftness of assimilation, General Pienaar rose rapidly in parliament, and eventually to a position incomparably superior in quality and influence to that of many of his contemporaries. His administration in the Transvaal has been marked by solid achievement, and this great province is justly proud of the way in which its Administrator has looked after its health, when it dwelt for a time under the flickering shadow of industrial depression and agricultural distress, when education was treated as the Cinderella of many a Government department, and when public health was not regarded as a necessity, and the national temperature was depressed. Our chief guest could give us a glimpse into the mysteries of state-craft, and show how he was able to create institutions which are now the symbol of Transvaal's greatness, and develop himself through his work. Presumably in his progress from nature to battle, from battle to parliament, from parliament to administration, from thought to action, and back again, as Administrator, along these same paths, our guest concerned himself with as many things as some

of the greatest Afrikaners of this land, though, unlike some of them, he is not, and has never been, content with a nodding glance, but pursued many things and reached the goal. It is indeed, a characteristic feature of the virile life of this province, that many a leader has to breast the stream of adventure and struggle past rapids and currents, gentle inlets and rocky cataracts, forever parting the waters with the self-assurance of youth, forever conquering and making headway. Who has read the saga of the Voortrekkers chronicled in a spirit of piety and devotion by the great Afrikaner historian Theal without inspiration and faith in human freedom and the spiritual element in man. We are told by sailors who sail in the Indian Ocean that they are able to tell their approach to certain islands in that sea by the sweet fragrance of the sandalwood that is wafted far out upon the deep. Do not those rugged men, stern as their mountains, and determined to tame both nature and man into subjection, continually give out influences similar to those that they are playing upon our lives? We do this in the same way that each flower emits its own peculiar smell. It was the mystic Plotinus who said, "The mind that wishes to behold God must itself become God." When those great brooders, saturated with the Old Testament spirit, stood in the midst of closed ranks, for nearly half a century hammering and casting, with a number of colleagues equally distinguished for their fiery energy, their Republic, and afterwards giving life to whatever their promethean hammer touched; when they built up the fabric of the Orange Free State and made it into a garden, is it surprising that their descendants of the present generation should show the qualities which made their ancestors truly great? They reconciled freedom and grace, and harmonised discipline with independence, with their Calvinistic gravity. Even now one cannot wholly encompass the richness of these bronze figures, who seem to have been sent like winged messengers. Having succeeded in penetrating into these regions, and establishing the foundations of administration, they united them-

selves into fruitful associations for the establishment and defence of the reign of law and stability first amongst themselves, and, thereafter, to extend its scope to far distant regions. Without name or influence to help them, with no money and little wealth, they made their way to the front rank and established their leadership in every sphere by intrinsic worth alone. It is impossible to conceive what we should have been without them. They were filled to nourish within themselves those deep and mystic forces which had been the resultants of their experience and struggle. Fortified by a simple, but intense religious conviction, they went about their work with the indwelling Divine Life as the source and therefore as the essence of their lives, and brought their minds into harmony with the Divine will and purpose. When in the early eighties the Transvaal began to rise upon the genius of Kruger and the valour of her soldiers from the disjoined congeries of fragmentary states, few men could prophesy the greatness which was in store for the young province. I suppose there are still men living who remember old Pretoria, with the little reckless airs of freedom wandering down from her intimate hills, which neither misfortune nor defeat could destroy. I presume that to a true citizen of Pretoria Water Kloof rises suddenly before him with the vivid pang of nostalgia and the genuine citizen obstinately remains a Pretorian, and the lilylike image of his city is his canon of perfection in the barbarous magnificence of Johannesburg, which suddenly shot into gold and acquired a factitious importance.

General Pienaar, ladies and gentlemen, I hope I shall be pardoned for this digression into a fascinating theme. My only excuse for it is that the Transvaal is to me full of life and colour, of people who have the energy and assurance of youth, and I feel it is only meet that we should pay a tribute to those men who made this province great. They toiled and sacrificed so that their race and their children may live in comfort and security. I am sure that many of General Pienaar's ancestors were the architects of this

province in olden times, as he has been its architect in the present generation. Hence my reference to the early founders is by no means irrelevant. It is, indeed, upon the solid foundations of these men that the structure of the Transvaal's prosperity rests. Without their infinity of sacrifice and suffering, it would have been impossible for any town to rise and the province might have remained without government or industry.

Having dealt with the rise of this province let me now deal very briefly with some of its problems. My community, too, has traversed long distances, and undergone many vicissitudes in its struggle for existence. It has borne with exemplary patience the peculiar conditions under which it was obliged to live; it felt keenly that the rights and privileges were denied to it, and it was subjected to disabilities at a time when the people were wholly ignorant of its culture and civilisation, when their own country was inarticulate and divided. The pattern of life which the genius of our greatest leaders had woven together into a work of art had been destroyed, and India lay inert, stagnant and helpless. She heaved like a huge ocean in the grip of a tumultuous cyclone. While other countries marched on and achieved marvellous progress, she was left behind by the subsidence of rivers in flood, separated from the tidal stress of the revolutionary changes which changed the mind and life of humanity. Is it surprising that your ancestors should have thought but lightly of a people whose culture required deep study, whose homeland was not free, whose ways of life did not harmonise, in those days, with the religious conceptions and political energies of your people? The contradictory conceptions formed by your people and my community of the problem in the Transvaal, which was at the root, did militate against social intercourse and the grant of citizenship. Happily those days are passing rapidly. My race in the Transvaal has made an astonishing progress in every sphere. It has a solid structure of leadership in politics and commerce, which ought to be a sound founda-

tion for citizenship. It is inspired by a devotion to South Africa and an unsullied patriotism, of which every South African, whatever his colour and creed, should be justly proud. It glories in its South African nationality and is proud of its achievements in the shpere of mental activity. It has an organisation with a brilliant man as its Secretary, which has succeeded in training my people in discipline and public service. All that my community wants is freedom, political work and the right of citizenship. Such a demand is not unreasonable though I admit that it would be difficult to discuss this problem in the throes of a desperate struggle. My community recognises this fact clearly, and is prepared to wait until the War is over. It feels keenly that, while its homeland, with 400 million persons, should have the flower-time of freedom immediately after the War, it should remain without political or economic rights, cooped up within the narrow limits assigned to its members, and deprived of the possibility of expansion.

I have refrained from discussing some of the problems which affect my community, as this is not a proper occasion for it. But I feel that I must refer very briefly to them before I sit down. The first and foremost problem is housing. Indians are confined in Johannesburg to Feetham areas, which have proved totally inadequate for their needs. They are crammed in these places to such an extent that the problem of housing has become exceedingly acute. I hope it will be possible for you to suggest a housing scheme for my community which will relieve congestion and reduce the terrible toll of mortality which unhygienic surroundings are levying upon people in these areas. The Natives and the Coloureds have their own housing schemes. The Indians have none. I hope a scheme will soon be devised for them. Another point connected with this problem is the way in which people of different races are mixed up in Asiatic Bazaars. The position in Boksburg, Benoni, and Germiston is intolerable, and I hope it will be possible for you to exercise

your influence and purge these places of undesirable elements. Legally, I understand, non-Indian elements have no right to stay in these places. Actually I find, however, that they have been residing in all these towns in considerable numbers for a long time.

You have visited to-day four educational institutions, and will see in the evening another institute at Water Dal. From what you have seen, I am sure, you will agree with me in thinking that the Indian community is keen on educational advance, and spares no efforts to do so. Your Educational Department is distinguished for its sympathy and efficiency, and my community is grateful to the officers of the Department for their policy towards the Indian community.

It is my earnest hope that you will be able to introduce compulsory education for Indian boys in the Transvaal; this was recommended by the Transvaal Commission of 1937. Girls' education, too, needs your immediate care, as it must be confessed that the progress of education among our girls has been exceedingly slow. I feel that we must have, in due course, without avoidable delay, compulsory education for Indian girls. In the meanwhile, I hope it will be possible for the Department to start building the Indian Girls School at Johannesburg.

I now conclude. The interest which the chief guest has shown in the Indian community is a happy augury for the future, as I feel that a new era is dawning upon the Indian community. It is now wide-awake, and is determined to lag behind other races no longer. In this process, I have no doubt that General Pienaar will help the Indian community by his sympathy, advice and practical help.

It is my earnest hope that my community may be privileged to receive the Administrator frequently, so that its leader may establish direct contact with him. The future of this land depends upon the co-operation and support of all the elements of its population. The time has now come when all of us should pull together, and show to the world that we are deter-



General Pinnear, Administrator of the Transvaal, speaking at a luncheon party given in his honour, at Johannesburg, in 1942

mined to die for South Africa, and create through our joint endeavours, a new land, in which Indians will occupy a position of political and social equality.

SECTION V

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Reply to the welcome address by the Natal Indian Association delivered in Natal on the 4th December, 1941.

[*Note*—This is a reply to the welcome address presented to the author in the City Hall, Durban, on December 12, 1941. The arrangements had been made by the Natal Indian Association, which had been founded in 1939 and contained representatives of the Colonial Born Settlers' Association and the Natal Indian Congress. It was thought that Indian unity had been cemented in 1939, and the Government of India recognised the Association as the only organ of the Indian community in the Province. A section headed by Mr. A. I. Kajee refused to join the Association and another "Natal Indian Congress" came into being, three months after. The split in the Indian community continued till August 29, 1943, when both these bodies were dissolved, and the Natal Indian Congress, founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, was revived. This body has succeeded in building up Indian unity and solidarity.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me by holding this function, and giving me an opportunity of meeting representatives of the Indian community in your historic city. Natal must have a warm corner in the heart of every Indian in South Africa, for it was in Natal that Mahatma Gandhi began his career, and the connection between this country and Bharat Mata was strengthened still further by the constant intercourse which the influential Indian leaders of South Africa have maintained with our country. I can picture to myself the early beginnings, and the vicissitudes through which our community passed

in its keen desire to serve South Africa. Hence, though I come as a stranger amidst you, I claim that I am one of you, as I had formed some idea of the place you occupy in the public economy of this province by exchange of ideas with some of the leading men of Natal who happened to be in India at the time. I had intended to pay my respects to Mahatma Gandhi and had made arrangements to go to Wardha, but the time of the sailing of my ship was suddenly changed and I was compelled, much against my will, to forego the pleasure of meeting him and other Indian leaders, of all creeds and parties. I had, however, the privilege of receiving letters from Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Sastri, and other noted leading Indians, which were a source of great encouragement to me in my mission to this land.

I am deeply grateful to the Natal Indian Association for the honour they have done me in presenting their address of welcome. It will be my endeavour to consolidate the gains and strengthen the connections which have been made during the last fourteen years in this country through the energy and ability of a long line of predecessors, and I pray to God that he may make the tenure of my office in this land a success.

I take this opportunity of thanking the Association for the support which it has rendered to the Government of India and to my office in the discharge of an extremely delicate and difficult task. The High Commissioner must inevitably depend for the success of his work on the confidence and trust which you repose in him, on the contact which you maintain with him, and on the help which he can, and must, render to the Indian community as organised in its representative organisation, and on the promptness and despatch with which he can deal with your legitimate grievances. We are here to serve you, and our motto is, and has invariably been, service to Indians by every means in our power, consistently with our responsibility to the Government of India. Though the title and even some of the duties of my office have been

slightly changed this year, it has made no difference in the basic conception of my duty to you. Though I am primarily representative of the Government of India, I do not cease to be your fellow-worker and colleague, engaged with you, in the difficult task of ameliorating your social, economic and political conditions by means which must necessarily be in conformity with the established conventions and through the normal administrative machinery.

I do not think I shall be justified in discussing the abstruse constitutional issues which are agitating India at the present time. This is neither the time nor the occasion for such discussions. All that need be said now is that I have never during the course of 15 years of public life found a single occasion on which the Government of India have neglected to perform their essential duty of safeguarding the legitimate interests of Indians beyond the seas. If there is one Department of the Government of India which can be called national in the truest sense of the term, it is the Overseas Department. I, therefore, claim that as High Commissioner I shall be serving your interests and safeguarding your rights most truly by acting as representative of the Government of India. I need hardly add that being a constitutionalist by tradition, and conviction, our policy must be based wholly upon constitutional methods. It will be my foremost duty to serve all of you, irrespective of your creed or party, and help you, to the best of my limited capacity, in removing your legitimate grievances in a constitutional manner, and in conformity with my duty to the Government of India.

I am glad to notice that the Association has made considerable progress during the brief period of its existence, and the members may rest assured that the policy of my predecessor towards their organisation remains unchanged. I am, of course, aware of the fact that there are elements in the population which have not yet decided to work with your body and there is another body which has not yet co-operated. Complete unity has not yet been

achieved. It will be my earnest endeavour to achieve such unity in the tenure of my office, and I look eagerly forward to the day when all sections of our community will be blended into one. Our motto in this land must be unity and solidarity. We must keep vividly before us the ideal which has inspired our noblest leaders, and strive to the best of our ability to maintain and achieve the organic unity of our community. I realise that in a country like India with a population of 400 millions, and its enormous distances, there are bound to be minor differences on points of detail. These differences are, however, confined to India, and cannot and ought not to be imported into South Africa or any other land outside. To Indians working in Durban, Mombasa, Dar-es-Salaam, the Cape or in Kampala, I will say keep Indians united, and regard yourselves as Indians. It is as Indians and Indians only that you are treated by the Government and people of this land, and it is as Indians that you will be able to bring yourselves up to social and economic levels of the white races in Africa. You are only a handful in this land, and your interest, tradition, culture and, above all, the instinct of self-preservation render your unity and solidarity imperative. It will be my earnest endeavour to work for this ideal and I count upon your Association, as I count upon other elements in the land, to help me in my difficult task by maintaining a united front, and keeping the Indian community united.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been barely a week in South Africa, and I am not presumptuous enough to think that I have been able to understand either the problems of the country, or the problems which affect my community. I have come here to learn, to exchange ideas with your tried leaders, to seek your advice and guidance in the discharge of my overwhelming responsibility, and to gain first-hand knowledge of the conditions in which you live, and the issues with which you are faced. If I am able to achieve these

during this, my first visit, I shall deem myself singularly fortunate.

In the discharge of my task, I shall constantly draw upon the storehouse of your experience and that of others, and the success of my endeavour and policy will depend to a large extent upon the support, encouragement and advice I receive from Indians of all classes. I feel also that we should draw upon the fund of good-will and sympathy which the European element in South Africa possesses. I have faith in the possibility of co-operation between Indians and Europeans in this land, and this faith will sustain me in my contact both with the Indian and European elements of the population. It is a truism that confidence begets confidence. I am sure that confidence on our part will be repaid by confidence on the part of our European friends, and the day may come—and I pray that it may come sooner than many expect—when these two elements of the population, which are vital to the welfare and prosperity of this noble land, will co-operate whole-heartedly with feelings of mutual respect for each other's traditions.

It is not my purpose to deal with any controversial issue at this stage. I may, and probably will, be obliged to refer to some of our disabilities in the discharge of my office, and I have no desire now to rake up issues, which, real and intense as they are, cannot be discussed on this occasion. All that I need say now is that India has made an astonishing progress during the last twenty years. While she is legitimately proud of her contribution to world culture, she is no longer content to remain quiescent. She no longer remains apathetic or indifferent to the march of world forces, and her sons have now achieved a position in the governance of their own land which is by no means negligible. India's Prime Ministers have been practically in sole charge of provinces with populations ranging from sixty millions, as in the case of Bengal, to thirty millions. They are in practice responsible to their purely elective legislatures and to no other body, and they

have thousands of able and efficient men, both Indians and Europeans, working under them. The example of Indo-European co-operation, furnished by this war, has had the happiest results, and the two races have worked as brothers for a noble cause—the uplift of India as a whole. South Africa should study how Indians have risen to the stature of brilliant statesmen and administrators in an incredibly short time. They would have signally failed but for the faith in India's future which Indians and Englishmen have shown in the present decade. In the centre, too, we have a majority in the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy, and Dominion Status, which has been affirmed by English statesmen from the time of Lord Halifax to the present day, is no longer a figment of the imagination, but will be a reality, let us hope, after the War.

I have recited these facts to show that Indians are now practically in control in all provinces, and will soon have enormous power in the Central Government. I feel that South Africa should note these facts, for, after all, Indians in South Africa are the flesh of our flesh and the bones of our bones, and we can never look with supine indifference to the condition of our countrymen in South Africa. Even in East Africa—such as Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—our condition is far more satisfactory. I am, therefore, not in the least surprised to find a unanimous desire on the part of my countrymen in South Africa for a change in their condition. This desire has my deepest sympathy, and you can always count upon my support for the redress of your legitimate grievances expressed in the normal constitutional manner. I feel no less keenly than yourselves the disabilities from which you suffer, and I am convinced, moreover, that you need new channels of activity in civic, political and social spheres. If I am able to render help to you in your endeavour, I shall deem myself singularly fortunate. Our country is passing through a difficult period at the present time and is marching rapidly towards responsible govern-

ment in the centre. It is my belief that she will soon reach her full stature and occupy a position of equality with the other Dominions in the fullness of time. I would, therefore, impress upon everyone to keep in touch with the Bharat Mata, to do nothing in South Africa that will lower her in the eyes of other races and peoples. We are the inheritors of a glorious civilisation and a highly developed culture and can raise ourselves in the social and economic scale by the persistence of our endeavour, and the moderation and sweet reasonableness of our policy.

I would like to say a few words on the present War. I am firmly convinced that the present War is being waged for the vindication of human freedom, and freedom means the integrity of the individual, the freedom of the mind, and, above all, humanity of the heart. Now Germany, by her new order, has not created anything in Europe. She has only destroyed positive values, and human personality has been reduced to a machine. India, too, is helping the Commonwealth, at this juncture, and her sons are now fighting side by side with the gallant sons of South Africa in a common fight against tyranny and oppression. Indian soldiers have played a brilliant part on all fronts, and have upheld the noble traditions of our race. We are all thrilled with pride when we hear of the gallant deeds of our countrymen in North Africa, Abyssinia and other fronts, and all of us are raised in spirit when we hear accounts of their magnificent feats of arms. In the campaign against the Germans in Libya, which was started last week, they are performing deeds of valour of which any nation may be proud. Hitler has made perfectly clear in his 'Mein Kampf' the fate he has reserved for our people. He specifically mentions our people with a brutal frankness which ought to open the eyes of all of our countrymen. I have no doubt, whatsoever, that he will mete out the ruthless treatment to Indians which the Germans meted out to the unfortunate inhabitants of German South West Africa before World War number one.

I am afraid I have dwelt too long on many of the issues with which I shall be called upon to deal in the course of my career in South Africa. I have done so because Natal has always had a peculiar fascination for me from the time I started my public career in India. Her original Indian settlers were men of humble origin, but strong faith, who left an impress of their personality upon the land of their adoption. My tenure of office will be brief and I have never believed in raising hopes which cannot be fulfilled. If, however, I am successful in alleviating the lot of my countrymen in this land, and enabling them to achieve a definite stage in our social and political status, I shall feel myself singularly fortunate. It is my earnest prayer that with the help and co-operation of your Association, as well as of the other elements of the Indian population, I may be able to raise the status of my countrymen to a position that is commensurate with their solid contribution to the building up of this land.

Reply to the welcome address by the Cape Branch of the South African Indian Congress, in the City Hall, Cape Town, on Tuesday, the 27th January, 1942.

[*Note*—This comprehensive speech to the Cape Indian Congress deals with the problems which faced the Indian community in the beginning of the author's administration. In it he outlined the functions of the High Commissioner dealt with the position of Indians at the Cape, referred to the progress India had made in art, literature, etc. etc. The address was delivered in the City Hall after an At Home which was attended by about 500 persons. The audience included Indians, Coloured and Europeans.].

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me to-night by according me welcome to the Cape on behalf of the representatives of the Indian community and of other elements in the life of this fair city. A welcome of this kind must be doubly welcome to one who comes in your midst without his family and, at first, without the advantage of friendship with any section of the population. I feel that the kind words used in your address are more an expression of your generosity to me than due appraisement of my merits; none is more conscious of the limitations of his experience and outlook than myself, and I can assure you quite sincerely that I feel sometimes quite unequal to the burden of such a responsibility without the inspiration and encouragement of your support and co-operation. Your generous, cordial welcome to-night will sustain me in my arduous task, and enable me to carry out my duties with the conviction that at every stage of my endeavour I can count on your support and help in the discharge of my duties.

I have now spent two months in this delightful land, and I find myself completely at home among all sections of the population. I cannot express adequately my gratitude to the Indian community in Natal, the Transvaal, and, last but not least, the Cape Province for the kindness

with which they have received me. Their warmth of welcome, the courtesy they have shown me, and the consideration extended to me on all occasions and in all places, have braced me for a task which is undoubtedly one of great difficulty and delicacy, and inspired me to carry on the work of my office in a spirit of hope and trust, hope for the future of my community in this land, and faith in the justice of our cause, the integrity of our purpose, and the stability of our policy. I came to South Africa a complete stranger to the customs, laws, peoples and habits of this land. In a very short time, however, all sections have made me feel as one of themselves, and I can truly say that I have come to regard them with the same affection with which I regard other countries which it has been my privilege to visit. I admire the scenic grandeur of your magnificent countryside. I am struck with amazement by the great strides which South African industry and commerce have made in an exceedingly short time; and I am overwhelmed with the hospitality which is, if I may say so, the peculiar attribute of this land.

I have had the privilege and pleasure of visiting some of your most famous cities. I was in Durban for almost a week and a half, and admired its magnificent harbour, which is the pride of Africa, the prosperity of its citizens, and the splendour of its monuments. Johannesburg is a beehive of industry, with a dynamism and energy which are without a parallel in any part of South Africa. Its citizens have developed a civic pride and fostered affection for their town which would do honour to any town in the world. Pretoria is the Washington of South Africa, and reminds one irresistibly of the simplicity, grace and symmetry of New Delhi. The designer of the Secretariat of Pretoria was also the architect of New Delhi, and he infused something of the spirit, enterprise and energy of a young and virile country like South Africa into another city which contained the ancient culture and old world charm of an historic town of the old Mughals, who, be it noted, ever demanded a palace or a pyramid even for

their dust in a new city, which was to symbolise New India. The common architect of these two places—the Secretariat of Pretoria, and the Secretariat of New Delhi—maintained a harmony of happy faith, a spirit of fervour and hope for the new era which he was launching in Africa and India.

How shall I speak of Cape Town, the city which entwines round the heart of every visitor to this delightful province? Your beautiful city has been described by the travellers who went to India in bygone days, in a vein of poetry and eloquence. Every traveller to India from England spent at least a day here on his way to my country and marvelled at the tropical luxuriance of its flora, when Cape Town lived to herself alone. Her golden integrity was assured by the finest mountain chain ever woven by nature. From some points of view, yours is the most beautiful city on earth that can astonish and overwhelm the power of sight.

I am afraid you will regard the sentiments I have expressed above as the language of hyperbole, more worthy of a poet, with a highly developed imagination than of a man of affairs who has come to spend some months among you with the express purpose of studying the problems which affect his community, and attempting to solve them. I can only plead, in excuse, my enthusiasm for a town which has been the theme of many a hunter and traveller, and has cast its spell on all who have had the privilege of sheltering within its walls. I can say quite frankly that if there is one place which has given me unalloyed pleasure, and reminds me of some of the historic towns of the world, it is Cape Town. The Mayor and members of the Town Council have a perfect reason for their pride in their native town, and I congratulate them on the way in which they are administering their sacred trust. This brief summary of the chief cities of South Africa will convince you that I have not been idle, and have been busy trying to study the manners, life, customs and habits of the citizens of this land of promise and plenty.

After a residence of nearly two months in this land, I can claim to be almost a South African in sentiment and habits, and the charm and culture of your young country has qualities which no other land possesses. I have tried to imprison the concentrated and exquisite spirit of your country so that no difference should exist between you and me, and while I perform the functions of an ambassador in interpreting the mood and thought of my ancient land to the people of this land, I discharge the no less important and sacred duty of interpreting the mode and thought of this land to my own people and to my Government. It may be that I have taken too broad a view of my own functions and I may find that it is difficult to carry it out in practice; on the other hand, I derive consolation from the fact that sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the country to which one is accredited is an indispensable condition of success in the sacred discharge of one's mission. In any case, I can assure you of one thing—it is this. I have come here full of admiration for the work accomplished by a long line of able men of whom any country might be legitimately proud, and if I am asked—as I have been asked in the past, and am bound to be asked in the future—to work for and represent the case of my community before the powers that be, this should not be regarded as modifying in the slightest degree what I have said above with regard to the leaders of this land.

I have indicated in Johannesburg as well as in Durban the scope of my duties as High Commissioner. Whatever interpretation might have been placed on the nature of my office in the past, my conception of my functions has been clear from the outset, and there ought to be no misunderstanding on this point. My relations are with the Government of the Union and on all points which I regard as important, I naturally must deal on behalf of my Government with that of South Africa. Within the framework of this provision, I am prepared not only to give advice, but also to take up any basic issue or administrative measure

which my Government may regard as a fit subject for representation to this Government. I am afraid my speech at Pretoria was not correctly reported, and I was represented as saying that I could only give advice. This is not a true picture of the situation, and, as I gave a brief account of my duties at Durban, I do not think it is worth while repeating it here. Suffice to say that I stick to my Durban speech, nothing has occurred in the interval or is likely to occur in the near future which can change the policy I outlined there.

The Government of India have been most anxious in the past to do what they can to improve the lot of the Indian community and to suggest measures whereby its moral and material condition could be brought up to the level of European races. Ceaseless efforts have been made since 1927 to effect this, and no one who has followed the growth of this Agency can help being struck with the progress that has been achieved during the last fourteen years. The Cape Town Agreement of 1927 has remained, and will remain for a long time to come, the foundation of European and Indian rapprochement in this land, and the Government of India, no less than the Indian people, have tried to work that agreement in the spirit in which it was conceived by its authors. We are fortunate in the fact that we have at the helm in this country a popular man of extraordinary ability, and deep sympathy with the aspirations of other races, whose brilliant qualities have made him truly the colossus among the South Africans of his age. It is my earnest hope and prayer that the Indian question will be viewed with the same freedom from party spirit with which it was regarded in the past, and that the basic issues which are still awaiting settlement will continue to be discussed in the atmosphere of 1927.

I have mentioned above the atmosphere of 1927. This necessarily refers to South Africa, and not to India. The India of 1942 is fundamentally different from that of 1927. It is necessary to emphasise this again, as I find there

is a tendency among certain elements to import the conceptions of 20 or 25 years ago into the discussion of the problems of to-day. A young country has a right, I suppose, to show her bright promise with insolent, half-conscious power. It may soon reach the midsummer of its life, and after passing with grace into maturity, may assume the sovereignty of its powers. It can hardly be said that South Africa has reached maturity. On the contrary, I am justified in thinking that her swift evolution to manhood has not yet taken place. India's case is, however, quite different. Having obtained a state of culture nearly 2,500 years ago, which is still the marvel of the most learned men of the period, she lost touch with the mainspring of endeavour and creative energy, and accepted the Muslim conquest with placid acquiescence and absorbed Muslim culture with the same avidity and penetration. She had to readjust her thoughts and her life to the impact of western culture, and after almost ninety years of apprenticeship to the new science and the new art, she has risen again to her feet, after a torpid interval of some centuries, and is now on the march, leaping over obstacles with gigantic strides, and absorbing the spirit of the age with that gift of penetration, almost of intuition, which invariably preserved her personality among the nations of the world. She is now trying to make up for the time lost by her in the travail of national unity and national growth. After working Dyarchy and finding it unsatisfactory, she worked the new constitution of 1935 in all provinces of British India. This was a revolution in provincial government, and Indians for the first time for centuries came to the helm of power throughout British India. In the Indian States, they have given brilliant examples of statesmanship, and the model Indian States such as Baroda, Mysore, Hyderabad etc., have led the way in initiating reforms, and training Indians in the status of high statesmanship. The Indian Prime Ministers of these States have shown how Indian talent, given opportunity, can be developed to maturity. In the provinces of Bri-

tish India itself, throughout the length and breadth of the land, Indians were in virtually complete possession of the Government, and they showed an ability of a high order together with a spirit of accommodation and compromise in the handling of delicate administrative details which augured well for the future of the country. The position now is that Dominion Status with safeguards has been conceded in principle by the British Government, and there is every reason to believe that India will be accorded the status and powers of a Dominion on virtually the same basis as any other Dominion in the British Empire. While Indians are engaged in the study of problems of provincial administration, they have not been oblivious of the need for control over the Centre. In fact, political agitation in India has centred round the principle of Central Responsibility. There is a unanimous wish to acquire control over defence services, to give a tremendous impetus to the industrialisation of India and to launch an all-India drive for social security. The time is not distant when India will have practically a national government in the Centre, and Ministers in charge of all the departments will be Indians. Even now, there are six Indians out of eleven in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the majority, therefore, is Indian. With the advent of Dominion Status, the process of Indianisation will be speeded up, and the administration as a whole will be Indianised. In the States, the administration has been in Indian hands for centuries, and the States have naturally been powerfully influenced by the rapid progress made by British India. Viewed mainly from the political plane, the progress made by India is enormous. Indian nationalism has served as the rallying point for Indians of all classes, and round it have crystallised the enthusiasms of an heroic age, the passionate memories of a people looking back to bygone greatness and the glowing fancies of poets intent on visions of the future. Indians are gifted with that reverent sense of beauty, which has fired the imagination of its artists, and justified the proud hearts

of its students. It has been said by a well-known writer that that exquisite flower of sentiment we call good taste, that harmony of intellect we call judgment, lies not within grasp of power of riches.

Indian intellect has not remained barren during this period of preparation. Young Indians absorbed the philosophy and science of the West but did not remain imitators. They developed the sciences and arts which they had learnt, and Indian savants now occupy an honoured place in the hierarchy of learning. The contributions of Indians in the sciences have earned international fame, and their creative work in botany, physics, chemistry, medicine in all its aspects, as well as engineering, is too well-known to need mention here. In the arts, they have shown a singular capacity. The growth of Indian languages has been one of the healthiest signs of the times, and their compositions in the vernacular show an exquisite limpidity and ease of diction that reveal the inborn gift of art. In the hands of such writers, language is plastic, taking form like softest wax, so that no effort of composition, no labour of the file can be discerned. Their poetry shows the refined sensuousness of a nature keenly alive to plastic beauty and gifted with inexhaustible facility of language. That passionate insight into the soul and essence of an emotion which rarely fails the poet in his verse expresses successively the depths of tender emotion, the caprices of an overpowering passion and the rythmic sentiment that winds in myriad movements of the dance. The modern vernacular literature of India, as represented by Dr. Tagore and Sir Muhammad Iqbal, has the charm of musical language and subtlety of musical movement in which thought and feeling are alike refined to a limpidity that suits the flow of melody in song. Vernacular literature of India had fallen on evil days before the great moderns arose to purify it of its grosser elements, and raise it to the level of the highly developed literature of the West. It was written to please—to please patrons

who were flattered—with fantastic genealogical trees and false mythologies, with the virtues which they never possessed, and with the crude palliation of shame apparent to their contemporaries and to posterity. The moderns inculcated the knowledge of life that throbbed in the India of olden days, the knowledge that made old India young again. Though learned in the highest degree, and gifted with an erudition that would do honour to the most renowned academies of the world, they were able to carry this erudition without bending beneath its weight, and were skilful enough to use it without pedantry. The leaders of the new movement in literature were students alike of books and human nature, and took part in all the national movements of their age. In the case of each of them, we are justified in saying that the man was not inferior to the thinker, and was great alike in action and thought. They were willing to sacrifice form, beauty, rhythm, the arts of culture and learned leisure, the fame which they had slowly and steadily built up, and the friendships which their genius had created among all sections, to stern matters of fact, stringent discipline, and the call of duty.

I have given this account of the profound changes in the structure of Indian thought at, I am afraid, inordinate length. I have done so because I feel that the Indian Renaissance of to-day, which is manifesting itself in several directions, and has been expressed in industrialisation on an unprecedented scale, in a political revolution whose implications have not yet been fully grasped, and in a far-reaching social change which has profoundly modified the relations between different classes and races, will lead India to the highest place in the community of Asiatic nations, in the immediate future.

The present War has given a tremendous impetus to this change. While India has not yet wholly co-operated with the heroic attempt of the British Empire to destroy Hitlerism in the world, and certain elements are holding aloof, an influential element has supported the present

War unconditionally from the time it started, and Indian resources of men and material have been mobilised on a scale which would have been incredible in 1938. Indian industry has had a good opportunity for development, and Indian young men, animated by the spirit of their forefathers and determined to emulate their example, have flocked to the colours in ever increasing numbers. India's answer to Hitler's challenge was prompt and decisive. She accepted the challenge on September 3rd, 1939, and millions in India and throughout the British Empire are bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of Nazism in Tokio and Berlin. It is needless for me to traverse the ground and review the progress of events since it started. Sufficient to say that Indian manhood has responded with alacrity to the imperative need for defence, and the irruption of Japan has made clear to Indians of all classes the necessity for a national resistance to the direct threat to their culture, their freedom and their spiritual heritage. Victory, as Foch said, is decided in the soul, and the soul of the allies has reached its immutable resolve. National socialism, whether of the German or Japanese variety, could not have gained a hold on a healthy body; it is a disease, and as long as it lasts, the new civilisation cannot be born, and the new freedom, to which India aspires with passionate intensity, cannot be achieved.

Few people are aware of the political and economic consequences of India's participation in the War. In the first place, the difficult problem of Indianisation of the army which has been the focus of an acute controversy, for years, is being automatically solved. Thousands of Indians have joined the army as His Majesty's Commissioned Officers in all combatant services—the Air Force, Army and Navy. They are now laying the truest foundation for Dominion Status of their country, and are showing to the world that they have the essentials not merely of parliamentary, but also of military leadership. In the next place, a national army is a

great leveller of creeds, castes, colours and races, and the new national armies that have been organised since the War began are national in the truest sense of the term. Military life has dissolved futile distinctions of caste, and discipline has levelled down all barriers of birth and wealth. Again, India has built up numerous factories in most of her cities, and the industrial area of the country is humming with activity and energy. The true centres of vitality in the India of to-day are the munition factories, the great industrial undertakings which are to be found in the principal Indian towns, and the great Tata Steel Works at Jamshedpur, which are a marvel of Indian enterprise and creative energy. The economic consequences of the industrialisation of India after the War will, I have no doubt, be far reaching. A number of new industries are being hammered on the anvil. India is now rapidly expanding her commerce by products which will improve the standard of life for millions, intensify the demand for freedom, and establish a durable economic basis for an India that will be able to stand on its legs after the War. The political repercussions of this phenomenal increase on the workers who are now working in factories will be far-reaching, while the cumulative experience of supervisers and technicians who are now engaged in specialised training is bound to have its political aspects after the War. As one writer has put it, "No country can see its products, both raw materials and manufactured goods—guns and clothes, metals and rifles, leather and boots—in such demand for the war without demanding that with the coming of peace it shall use the tools to make plough-shares and sewing machines". India is engaged in the battle of production along with other partners, and she is the focus of the supply requirements of all parts of the British Empire in Asia.

I have given you only a brief account of what India has done in the War. I would strongly impress upon members of my community in South Africa to show that they are no whit behind their brethren in India in their capacity for sacri-

fice and their desire to help the Empire at this juncture. It is, in my humble opinion, essential that they should donate handsome sums to the Governor-General's War Fund. They should go further and join the Indian section of the Malay Corps in ever-increasing numbers. I know my countrymen in this land, and I have now had an opportunity of meeting all sections in Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape, and I can say on their behalf, with confidence and assurance, that the Indian community in all parts of South Africa is as eager to pull its full weight in this struggle as their brethren in their homeland. They are prepared not only to contribute handsomely to the War Funds, but also to offer their lives for the cause of democracy by joining the army. I do not think I shall be justified in discussing the rate of recruitment to the Malay Corps, and the reasons for the slow progress made in filling in the quota of our community. Such a question cannot be discussed here, but I can assure you that it is engaging my most earnest attention and I will, I feel sure, be able to show that our contribution in men and money, does not fall short of the proportions attained by other sections in South Africa. For the present, it will be sufficient if I indicate that my community is most anxious to help and is willing to sacrifice itself for the common cause of civilisation. The record of our community in this land is one of which any one might be legitimately proud, and we are determined to maintain the traditions which have been preserved by every section in this country intact.

I have covered a fairly extensive ground in my reply to the welcome address, and the treatment must have seemed to you to be sketchy and fragmentary. I can only plead in extenuation that your address could hardly ignore the most important problems with which your mind and the mind of India as a whole is necessarily occupied. In my reply, I have, I am afraid, given expression to the emotions of a visionary and have sometimes followed the vagaries of dreamers. I have done so because I have always felt that while we must not lose sight of the hard, tangible

fact, wrought into precise uncompromising argument, expressed in unmistakably plain language, we should always pay due regard to the aspirations and ideals of the age. As statesmen, we must live in close sympathy with the age, never rising above it, but accurately representing its main tendencies; as thinkers and idealists, we must be penetrated by those great movements of thought which alone can modify the present structure of our society. If our object were nothing else but indifference and self-adjustment to the exigencies of the moment, then reform of your present condition, and attempts at self-improvement and self-discipline are futile and barren; if, on the other hand, you are animated by a feeling of pride in the achievements of your countrymen beyond the seas; if you are buoyed up with hope, and inspired by the efforts made by Indians of all classes on all fronts for progress in the political and economic spheres, then I suggest you can no longer maintain a purely analytical positive and critical attitude. We need something more than mere realism in the reshaping of our political and social life. We need the dim stir of a social conscience which forks out into the stream of social reform and self-improvement. I have tried to put our needs in a language that will not be regarded as unnecessarily direct and severe. You will, however, pardon me if I develop both these aspects at slightly greater length. Nobody is more conscious of the delicacy and difficulty of his task than myself. None has grasped more vividly the limitations of his office, and the imperative need for not treading upon other people's corns. I have, however, taken courage in both hands, and now offer very brief, but I assure you, perfectly genuine, sincere advice on your internal condition.

Your forbears came to this province along with a number of other Indians who diverged to Natal and the Transvaal. You came not only with your working capital and worldly possession, but also with a cargo of culture on which you and your forefathers had been nourished in the homeland. It was not merely social

culture, but also culture of mind, which had drilled into you the primordial qualities of grip, perseverance and self-reliance. The three streams ran in three different directions and three provinces for more than half a century. Your fellow-workers in the other two provinces had thrived and prospered and some of them have achieved a position of eminence in the sphere on which they had wisely concentrated. There are quite a number of rich and influential Indians in Natal and the Transvaal, who have established their position on a secure basis, and are rich, influential, and public-spirited. They have shown by their example what persistence and industry can accomplish in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is true that their life has been one of incessant struggle and ceaseless opposition; it is no less true that men with weaker nerves and hearts would have given up the struggle as hopeless. Yet they have gone on working and have borne the vicissitudes of fortune in a spirit of hope and trust. The Indians in this province number only 10,000 souls; they are not subject to the disabilities to which our community is exposed in the Transvaal and Natal; yet, Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal have triumphed over their obstacles and have acquired both wealth and influence. You, on the other hand, had practically all the advantages which had been denied to your compatriots elsewhere. Yet, I am grieved to find that the number of men of substance and of culture is very small. There are some of you who would do honour to any nation or race in South Africa. What I complain of is that their number is so very small. Why have we not made greater progress in the Cape than in other provinces? Is it because we were not called upon to struggle, in the way in which Indians were obliged to do elsewhere? Is it because the ambitions of life in the Cape, and the absence of some of the restrictions to which we are subject elsewhere, have weakened the fibre of our people? Have we lost the original impetus and energy which brought us here, and have now relaxed in our efforts? Are we now resting on

our oars, victorious in the narrow limited field which circumscribes us? Do we think that the laurels we have secured are the greatest to which we can legitimately aspire? It is difficult for me to attempt a reply to these questions. You naturally are better qualified to do so. But I cannot help thinking that the Indian community in the Cape is wrapped up in a mood of self-complacency and self-laudation which are positively dangerous to its future economic and political growth. I find few Indians in this province who can be regarded as leaders in their respective spheres. I am afraid the higher education of our community is woefully deficient and the number of Indians in the University of Cape Town must be very limited. I find no millionaire among Indians at the Cape, while in the sphere of secondary education I fear that only an exceedingly small proportion of our boys proceed beyond the sixth standard. It is obvious that if they do not cross this borderline and pass the matriculation examination, they can neither be admitted to a liberal profession, nor can they find it easy to be apprenticed to a trade. The number of Indian apprentices is exceedingly small.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me to find that some of us have the franchise for the Town Council, and for other bodies. It is my earnest hope that the franchise will be retained by you and utilised for the improvement of our community. I am, however, afraid that the mere possession of franchise has put you into a false feeling of security and you seem to think that it is a substitute for persistent and tireless activity in the social and educational spheres. Unless you foster higher education, encourage trade and industry, give scholarships to your promising young men, maintain a higher standard of living and take an active part in the civic and economic life of the country, the possession of a franchise will not make a substantial difference. The franchise is simply a means to an end, and the end is not the right to vote at an election but to raise the level of

your community in all directions. Please do not think for a moment that I depreciate either the importance of the franchise, or the value of the services which you and your forbears have rendered to this province. I do not exaggerate when I say that your ancestors were some of the chief architects of this beautiful province, and you have a perfect right to be proud of its inestimable value, and you should regard it as an instrument whereby you can achieve great things for your community. All that I would like to emphasise here is that we should not remain in a mood of self-complacency and self-satisfaction, but should regard our present position in the Cape, which, I admit, is considerable, as a preliminary to the realisation of greater work and nobler achievements. Again, though the franchise which you enjoy is precious, everything depends upon the manner in which this right is exercised, and the objects for which it is used.

I have so far dealt with our domestic problems, which affect us internally as a community, and increase or reduce the pace of an advance. Let me now refer to the problems you have referred to in the address. You have referred to the desire of my community for freedom from the discriminatory laws to which it is subject in other provinces, and have traversed the ground which has already been covered by members of my community in Natal and the Transvaal. I realise that some of the issues which you have mentioned have affected my community deeply for a number of years; and naturally you sympathise with the desire to improve their social and political condition, and to raise them to a level which would compare favourably with that of any other community. I will naturally do what I can for them. I have come all the way to this land wholly with this end in view. If I had thought for a moment that the lot of my countrymen in this land is not susceptible to improvement in the immediate future; if I had felt that no reform of any kind whatsoever is possible or probable, and that my community must remain fixed for ever in its present position, I would most certainly never

have thought of coming here. In fact, no Indian with a grain of self-respect and a definite position in his own land, would ever think of coming here on such conditions. On the contrary, I have come here imbued with the determination to do what I can, consistently with my position as a representative of the Government of India, to improve your position and status. As you know, the Government of India in the Overseas Department have pursued a national policy in dealing with Indians in South Africa. If there is one subject on which Indians of all shades and opinion are unanimous, which they regard as the touchstone of their national honour and dignity abroad, it is the treatment of their kinsmen in foreign parts. They are highly sensitive on this point, and the Government of India have invariably followed a national policy in their handling of such issues. Here, though I am the spokesman of the Government of India, do not go away with the impression that I represent an irresponsible bureaucracy impervious to the needs and wishes of Indian leaders and parties in the Central Assembly on this issue, and unresponsive to the chords of Indian sentiment. On the contrary, the Government of India have invariably given a lead on this issue in the past, and for the last 16 years, it has worked in perfect conformity with the aspirations of my countrymen. As my leader, the great Sir Fazli Husain, explained nearly 8 years ago, in dealing with issues concerning Indians overseas, the Government of India will implement the resolutions passed by the Central Assembly on questions which affect Indians overseas, and translate their intention into action. There has been no modification in this policy, and the Government of India has invariably given a brilliant lead on such issues, and has received almost unanimous support in all its actions. I have thought it necessary to elucidate the position at length, as otherwise an entirely wrong conception of our functions may be formed. While I am prepared not only to give advice to members of my community, but also to help the Indian community on basic issues by representation to the Union Govern-

ment, I cannot discuss in public controversial issues. It will be inconsistent with my position as High Commissioner to come on the public platform and take part in a controversy which may produce criticism of Government measures. This is a limitation which is inherent in my office, and you will agree with me in thinking that this is a limitation on the methods which should be applied in our dealings with the Government.

In view of the general observations made above, I deeply regret I cannot discuss specifically the points adumbrated by you in your welcome address. All that I need say here is that I have come here to render to you the utmost help of which I am capable, subject to the exigencies of my position, and I have already applied myself to the study of these problems, and formed contact with the Ministers. I will most certainly study these issues with the interest and attention which they deserve and will do what is appropriate and suitable. I need hardly assure you that the condition of my community in South Africa is forever in my thoughts, and I am indeed proud that I should have an opportunity of serving here as a humble instrument for the amelioration of my countrymen. I am proud of my Indian blood, and everyone of my countrymen present here ought to be proud of his heritage. The spirit of India which quickens through the body and mind, constricted in some parts of our country, has lived on in South Africa, and thousands of our countrymen who first came here to carry out the longing of their spirit, and seek adventures in strange lands, and the stock that sprang from these pioneers, have all moved constantly towards the ideal of equality which has grown in stature and clarity with each generation. The life of a nation is the fullness of measure of its will to live, and the Indian community in South Africa must strengthen and perpetuate the integrity of this principle.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have already taken up too much of your time, but I feel that I must make it clear that a solution of the Indian problem is possible only with the

co-operation of Europeans and Indians in the process. I am convinced that the Indian community is destined to play a great part in the development of this magnificent land. It has contributed substantially to the growth of Natal, and the expansion of agriculture and its subsidiary industries is due to a large extent to the frugality, thrift and persistence of the Indian worker on these plantations. The settlement of the Indian problem is by no means impossible, and I have infinite faith in the good sense, reasonableness and capacity for compromise and give and take of members of the European communities. The war has knit the bonds closer than ever, and Indian soldiers on all fronts are offering a pledge of the indestructible unity of the Empire, and of the principles of human equality and human dignity which are its sustaining pillars. This is the time for the healing of old wounds, and the inauguration of a new era in the relationship of the two races in South Africa, a time when every conceivable faith in the pith and capacity of the Empire is confirmed by successive crises of the war. It is but meet and proper that the spirit of reconciliation should take up her abode in this land of promise, and should build up a golden bridge which will ensure the stability and peace of this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. The problems with which you are faced are momentous. Many have tried their hands; some have succeeded, to a small extent. Let us make another attempt at solution, an attempt based on faith in the justice of our cause which derives its strength from the integrity of our principles and of our race. This is my earnest prayer that our efforts be crowned with success, and the two great races show a common spirit of trust and confidence.

Inaugural Address delivered at the South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg, on 26th June, 1943.

[*Note*—The Inaugural Address was delivered on June 26, 1943, to the South African Indian Congress. This is an authoritative organisation of the Indian community in South Africa and is recognised by the Government of India. The meeting of the Congress had not been convened for several years. The Pegging Bill roused the Indian race throughout the Union, and at the meeting of the Congress the following address was delivered. Amongst those who attended the Congress were Mr. Masson, Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs, and Mr. Ballinger, M.P., who had opposed the Pegging Bill in the Union Assembly. The Address expressed the feelings and aspirations of the Indian community and it lodged a forceful and dignified protest against a measure which has seriously affected the relations between Indians and Europeans in Natal. This iniquitous measure is still on the statute book, as the notorious Natal Provincial Ordinances have been declared, *ultra vires*, and the Pretoria Pact has been liquidated.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I welcome the session of the South African Congress to Johannesburg, and hope that its deliberations will result in useful measures for the benefit of the Indian community in the Union of South Africa.

The Congress is recognised by the Government of India as an authoritative organ of the Indian community in the Union, and I have no hesitation in describing it as a representative body which has expressed the policy of the community in the past, and will, I hope and believe, do so with the same success in future.

Owing to unavoidable circumstances, it has not been possible for the Congress to hold its session as often as it would have liked to do, and the last occasion on which it met was in 1935. There is a gap of eight years in its active public life, and this interval has witnessed many changes in the structure of the Indian community.

It is not my object here to trace the progress of my community in the Union, as this will take me too far afield.

It will be sufficient if I indicate to you the key position it has occupied in Natal for the last fifty years. I will not burden you with a recital of facts and figures, but I feel that I must quote a statement made by an ex-Premier of Natal, Sir Leige Hulett:—

> "The condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found on the coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians.....Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population."

From this statement it will be clear that the Indian in Natal has been a most important element in the building up of Natal's prosperity. I will go further and assert that but for the intelligence and enterprise of the Indian people in Natal the province would never have become the prosperous, thriving colony which it is to-day. If there is one solid achievement, to which our race can look back with a source of infinite pride and satisfaction, it is the present state of that province. It is true that when the Indian came to this land, he did not come burdened with this world's possessions. He came with inherited intelligence of his race, as well as tenacity and industry. Comparisons are always invidious, but I may venture to say that the agricultural development of Natal could be profitably compared with that of any other three provinces of the Union. Let any impartial observer compare the progress achieved in the development of the agricultural resources of each province, and then decide himself whether Natal does not take the supreme place. This pri-

macy is due wholly to Indian enterprise and tenacity.

Meanwhile, the Indian community has grown like a young tree, and has enormously improved its economic and intellectual position. Economically, it has built up a solid basis of leadership in industry and trade, and is in no way inferior in ability or organisation to any other element of the population. Intellectually, it has a basis of leadership which seems to me to be the most promising sign for the future. The Indian youth all over the Union is pulsating with energy, and is naturally determined to have an equal opportunity in the race for existence. The number of South African Indians who are reading in Universities in India, England and South Africa has shown an unprecedented increase, and we have every year brilliant young Indians from English and Indian Universities who return to their homes in South Africa with degrees and qualifications of which any race may be legitimately proud. In the Transvaal, too, as well as at the Cape, the Indian community is playing a most important part in the economic life of those two provinces. There, too, though their number is small, young Indians have taken to University study with great keenness and the proportion of intelligentsia has grown considerably of late. In trade, too, members of the community have done exceptionally well, and we have no reason to doubt the future of the Indian community in the Union. It has achieved this without any adventitious circumstances, without the help of subsidies or quotas, in spite of an enormous number of laws that have been passed against it, beginning with a law passed in 1885 and ending with another law passed this year. This does not include a swarm of rules and regulations against colour on every conceivable topic that has been piled up in lavish profusion by numerous municipal bodies in Natal and the Transvaal.

Yet the community has survived all these laws and regulations, and is still making an astonishing progress in every sphere of activity. It has discarded its old ways

of life and is in tune with the spirit of the age. I recognise that the Indian community has great leeway to make up. Its social life needs constant injections of energy and progress and it has retained too many of the old customs and the old ways which it brought from its old homeland. It should have given up its old outlook on life in general, and usages, customs and habits of parts of India in particular. The old generation has proved great sticklers for ideas and habits which are no longer useful in preserving the character of our people. There are still oases of quietude, places where old folks take no interest in matters of immediate concern. This is perfectly true, and it is your duty to impress upon the Indian people the need for a progressive social life, which will, because it must, incorporate into its substance the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement and make our community as progressive an element in the national life of South Africa as any other racial element in this land. Let us make an organised effort for this purpose. The proportion of such people is, however, exceedingly small, while among the young men and women of our community it is infinitely less. Having toured through the length and breadth of Natal, and parts of the Transvaal, I am convinced that our young men have been caught up by swift, engulfing currents of new ideas and they are regulating their lives to the new tempo with an elasticity which would have astonished their forbears. The apparent ease with which they have taken to the new ways of life shows that the heart of the community is sound, and that the future of the community depends on two things (1) on its own unimpeded energy and strength of character, (2) on its harmonious co-operation with the other racial elements in making South Africa a powerful country.

I have given above a sketch of the position which the Indian community occupies in this land. It has achieved an amount of material success of which it may be legitimately proud. It came from a country which had occupied a key position in ancient no less than in com-

paratively modern times, and though it could not be regarded as the custodian of Indian culture, its forbears had imbibed the traditions of an ancient race, which, after working zealously for noble causes, had gone to sleep and remained asleep though living for nearly two centuries. When the original settlers left India, they left her in a condition of stagnation and apathy, when political aspirations did not find adequate expression, and her social and economic life had not been vitalised by the modern movements of science and culture. Eighty-three years have passed between their first arrival in Natal and their growth into a powerful, coherent community, with its desire to maintain the purity of its race and culture, and to help this land with the resources of their intelligence and character. There has been a transformation in the scope and aims of Indians in India and South Africa during this period. It was by stern discipline, by rigid attention to details, by ceaseless toil, and by the fixed determination of a strong will that the Indian community in the Union has been able to maintain its position. We know, of course, that its precarious existence in many parts of the Union and the disabilities to which it was subjected made even some of its strongest supporters lose heart, at times. While they progressed in the Union, their mother country began to move with gigantic strides. A nation, like an individual, has its ups and downs. It may go down in the scale of values for decades, as India did, and it may appear as if the race had disappeared from the map of the world for ever, but the process of renaissance is constantly in operation, and it soon rebuilds its moral and political structure, recaptures its spirit of achievement and resumes its contact with its splendid past. India's contribution to world culture is now so well known that it is hardly necessary for me to amplify it here. Both in the Middle Ages and in the third century B.C. she established her empire abroad, of spirit and enlightenment of which every Indian has a legitimate right to be proud. It was India's spiritual

fervour which led to the conversion of China, Japan and the enormous Pacific area. The greatest missionary work the world has ever seen was done by our great Emperor Asoka, 271-231 B.C., when he sent missionaries of Buddhism throughout the world. He gave spiritual and political unity to India at a time when the whole world, except Greece and Rome and parts of Asia, were sunk in ignorance. Again, under our Mughal emperors, India gave a lead in arms, letters and administration which was unchallenged in Asia. India was the first to give a new and radiant conception of humanity, and this created a common spiritual and mental atmosphere with the Indian ideal of learning as a guiding and illuminating principle in view.

We are now able to contemplate the life of the Indian community in its continuity, to trace the operation of political forces through successive generations, to contrast the action of leaders of the community with the evolution of laws against it over which Indians could exercise no control whatsoever, and to bring into perspective the salient features of the two laws which have been passed against the Indian community since this Congress met in 1935—viz., the so-called Interim Act passed in 1939, renewed in 1941, and merged in the Pegging Act of April last.

I have traced above in the briefest possible manner the progress which Indians have made in the Union, as well as in India itself. While India is forging ahead on all fronts, political, economic and social, and is establishing a claim to gratitude of mankind by the extent, variety and magnitude of its sacrifices for a sacred cause, and while the Indian community in the Union itself is justifying its claim to political and social emancipation by its capacity for enterprise in all fields of activity which are open to it, it has been subjected to a series of humiliating laws which have deprived it of social freedom and political rights. With its rapid advancement in mental capacity and moral purpose, and its fixed determination to conform to western ways of life and thought, it would have been natural

to suppose that the parliamentary franchise of which it had been deprived in 1896, and the municipal franchise which had been taken away from it in 1924, would be restored to it, so that it may play its due part in building up the prosperity of the land of its adoption. Unfortunately, the reverse is the case, and the community is deprived of representation in local bodies and public services, in Parliament as well as in the Universities, denied admission even to hotels, cinemas, theatres, places of culture no less than of amusement, and subjected to a colour bar for which neither modern nor ancient history affords any precedent whatsoever. It seems that the greater the progress which the Indian community makes in basic spheres of national energy, the greater are the restrictions imposed upon its inevitable growth. I do not think it will serve any useful purpose if I gave catalogues of the laws, rules and regulations which have built up a truly formidable code against the Indian community. I need only point to the Interim Act of 1939 which was renewed on the ostensible ground that the Broome Commission had not yet published its report. It imposed a serious hardship upon the Indian community in the Transvaal and produced most unsatisfactory hygienic conditions in the country districts. The Broome Commission of 1941 showed that there was no cause for alarm, but even then, it was renewed for another three years.

The second Act to which I referred is the Pegging Act, passed this year. I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with this measure as its sections as well as the circumstances which led to its legislation must be familiar to all of you. There was absolutely no justification for such a measure at all. The Indian community is naturally keen on living with persons of its own race and blood, and there would have been no encroachment in European areas had adequate arrangements been made for the housing of the middle class Indians. Unfortunately, nothing has been done for the last 20 years, though promises have been made on numerous occa-

sions in the past. Nor did the amount of penetration justify a measure which has been condemned by responsible opinion all over the world. I am not satisfied with the way in which education of Indian children has been looked after. We have missed no opportunity to bring to the notice of the proper authorities, but the replies have been highly unsatisfactory. I need not go into the unfortunate controversy over the Botanic Gardens site for the proposed Indian Technical College. Everyone knows it.

The community had a right to expect ameliorative measures by appropriate authorities to improve its social and educational condition and to restore to it the civic and parliamentary rights of which it had been deprived by a series of unjust laws. The Pegging Act has, however, dealt a serious blow to these thoughts. It is a stigma against a race which is, and has been, the cradle of the Aryan race and Aryan culture from the morning of time, and it has roused the conscience of the whole civilised world. India has never been more united on any other issue during the last 25 years, and it has also attracted the attention of the allies who are fighting a ruthless foe for the sanctity of human rights and the preservation of the spiritual principle in man. It has also played into the hand of our enemies, and both Zeesen and Tokio utilised it for days in their propaganda against democracies. It is no secret that the Government of India sent its strong representation against it, and they made certain proposals which, if accepted, would have made the Bill totally unnecessary. Most unfortunately not only were all the proposals rejected, but the Bill was passed through all its stages so precipitately that there was little time for calm consideration or mature deliberation. I have only one other comment to make about the passage of the Bill and that is that it was passsed through a House which did not include a single representative of the highly cultured and gifted community whose rights it infringed. At least the sentiment of chivalry and fair-play ought to

have prompted the bodies responsible for it to give the Indian community a chance to reply to the charges levelled against it from all sides of the House. No! A voteless, defenceless community was indicted for actions for which, at the most, only a handful of Indians were responsible. Edmund Burke said long ago that you cannot indict a whole community, but this is exactly what has been done by this Act. The Indian case was ably put by the Native Representatives, Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Molteno, and Mr. Hemming. I wish to place on record the gratitude of the Indian community for their selfless work on this historic occasion. We are grateful to a number of able journalists who opposed this measure, and maintained the highest tradition of liberalism in the Union of South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have recited these facts to give you a perspective of the main problem which faces the Indian community in the Union to-day. By this one act, Natal, which had hitherto maintained in theory, though not, unfortunately in practice, the pretence of English Liberal tradition, has come out openly for segregation, and is now basing its policy flagrantly on discrimination. Natal has done this, after securing the maximum good from the brains and brawn of the Indian race in its midst, and deriving maximum profits from its sugar, tea and other industries. There is unfortunately evidence that in the economic sphere too, certain European industrialists are trying to extend the colour bar. The need to safeguard the position of the Indian community in the spheres of skilled and semi-skilled employment in which it has excelled cannot be too strongly stressed. It seems a tragedy that the province which is, par excellence, the home of Imperialism and has been defended by the valour, devotion and sacrifice of thousands of Indian soldiers in North Africa, should take a lead in building up these frontiers which the new world of progress cannot, and will not, tolerate for long. It is impossible for any province,

however patriotic it may be, to apply the principle of limited liability. Such a province cannot secure immunity from invasion through the efforts and valour of Indian soldiers a few thousand miles away, and at the same time segregate men of the same race and colour who have created the prosperity of that province. The Indians who live in Natal, and those who are fighting in the North, are of the same race and are proud of their brethren here, as their brethren in the Union are legitimately proud of their cousins in Tunisia. The Indian community cannot be kept in two separate parcels, the parcel reserved for service, and recognition by the Empire, and the parcel reserved for segregation and colour bar. Gentlemen, the position of the Government of India has been consistent. It has strongly opposed the present measure, and has published its communique on the subject. It will oppose with determination all attempts at segregation, and it reserves to itself the right to choose such measures as it may deem appropriate to the occasion. In expressing the views and intimate aspirations of the Indian people, it lodged an emphatic protest against a repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune piece of legislation.

Your Congress has met on this occasion to discuss this as well as other important issues, with which your community is faced. I have discussed the effects of this law. In my opinion the sooner this law is removed from the statute book the better it will be for the freedom of the Indian community, and good relations between the two countries. I feel convinced that the Pegging Act does not represent the mature and deliberate view of the most responsible element of the population and that if there had been time to submit all the facts to the good sense of the people of the Union in a dispassionate atmosphere, a solution satisfactory to all could have been reached. I do not feel despondent about the future of the Indian community. There is a solid basis of good relationship between the two races all over the Union, and neither the

specialised vanity of politicians, nor the clashing reactions of passionate extremes, can prevent the growing appreciation and increasing confidence between the responsible elements of the Indian community and the European community. My faith in the co-operation of Indians and Europeans, particularly in Natal, is firm as a rock, and I can visualise a time when Natal will give a brilliant example of racial harmony. Meanwhile, the Indian community is moving through life with the imposing certitude of a race to which doubt of its mission in this land is impossible. Again, the natural energies of our people are discharging themselves with satisfaction into the channel of constructive work. No amount of colour bars, Pegging Act, rules and regulations can stop the progress of the race that has struggled heroically through 83 years of organic activity. A brilliant writer, Mr. Hichens, an authority on East Africa, tells us that the Indian community has been settled in East Africa for one thousand years, and the East coast of my country has carried on intimate commercial intercourse with the east coast of the continent for hundreds of years. The Indian trader and the Indian farmer will work in co-operation with the other races in developing the resources of the Union, and will strengthen the racial solidarity between the Indian and the European in Natal. Nature determined long ago that the two countries should help each other by economic intercourse. This factor is often forgotten by the politician who only looks to the accession of voting strength at the next general election, but it can be ignored neither by the masses nor the trading classes of the two countries. India is going to be not merely a great power, but a highly industrialised country, in future, and while she will send her textiles, her gunny bags and her groundnuts to this land, she will buy South African wool, asbestos, wattle bark, Cape wines and other products. The paths trodden by the footsteps of ages have been broken up, old creeds and old customs and prejudices are passing away, and the faith and the life of centuries have dissolved

like a dream. In the fabric of habit and prejudice which they had so laboriously built up themselves, mankind are to remain no longer. South Africa cannot longer lead its life in mournful isolation. It has been linked up with the world by the momentous events of the world war, and these ties will be greatly strengthened by the internationalised air services and other means of transport. The complex racial problems of this country, which, so far as your community is concerned, have been shelved by passing a series of discriminatory laws against Indians, cannot be permanently solved in such a manner. Indians in the Union have a genuine devotion to the land of their birth, and I am convinced that if they were given an option to go to India they will refuse unanimously. Their loyalty to South Africa is undoubted, yet so long as they are denied the rights of citizenship, and are deprived of franchise, it will be the duty of the Government of India to see that their existing rights are not affected in any way. The policy of the Government of India on this issue has been clear from the outset, and it cannot divest itself of its responsibility to the community.

Gentlemen, you will be naturally called upon to discuss many questions which vitally affect your community, and I cannot give you advice on specific issues. In my opinion the time has come when the community should discuss the question of franchise. The Indian community has hitherto been concerned with the question of social justice, and the Cape Town Agreement has been rightly regarded as the charter of our community in this sphere. The time has now come when the issues with which the question has so far been mixed up should be separated. We must distinguish the issue of social justice from the vital question of political rights. The Indian community has never ceased to insist on the recovery of rights of which it has been unjustly deprived —viz., parliamentary franchise, which was taken away in 1896. I believe that the community should be restored these rights which are essential for its existence in this

land. Moreover, it should be given representation in town councils of Natal, and wherever there is a large population in the town councils of the Transvaal.

Let me make it perfectly clear that the Indian community does not desire either domination or supremacy in Natal, or elsewhere; it acts on the policy of live and let live. All that it insists on is equality of opportunity, and abolition of colour bar, which is inconsistent with the sanctity of personality.

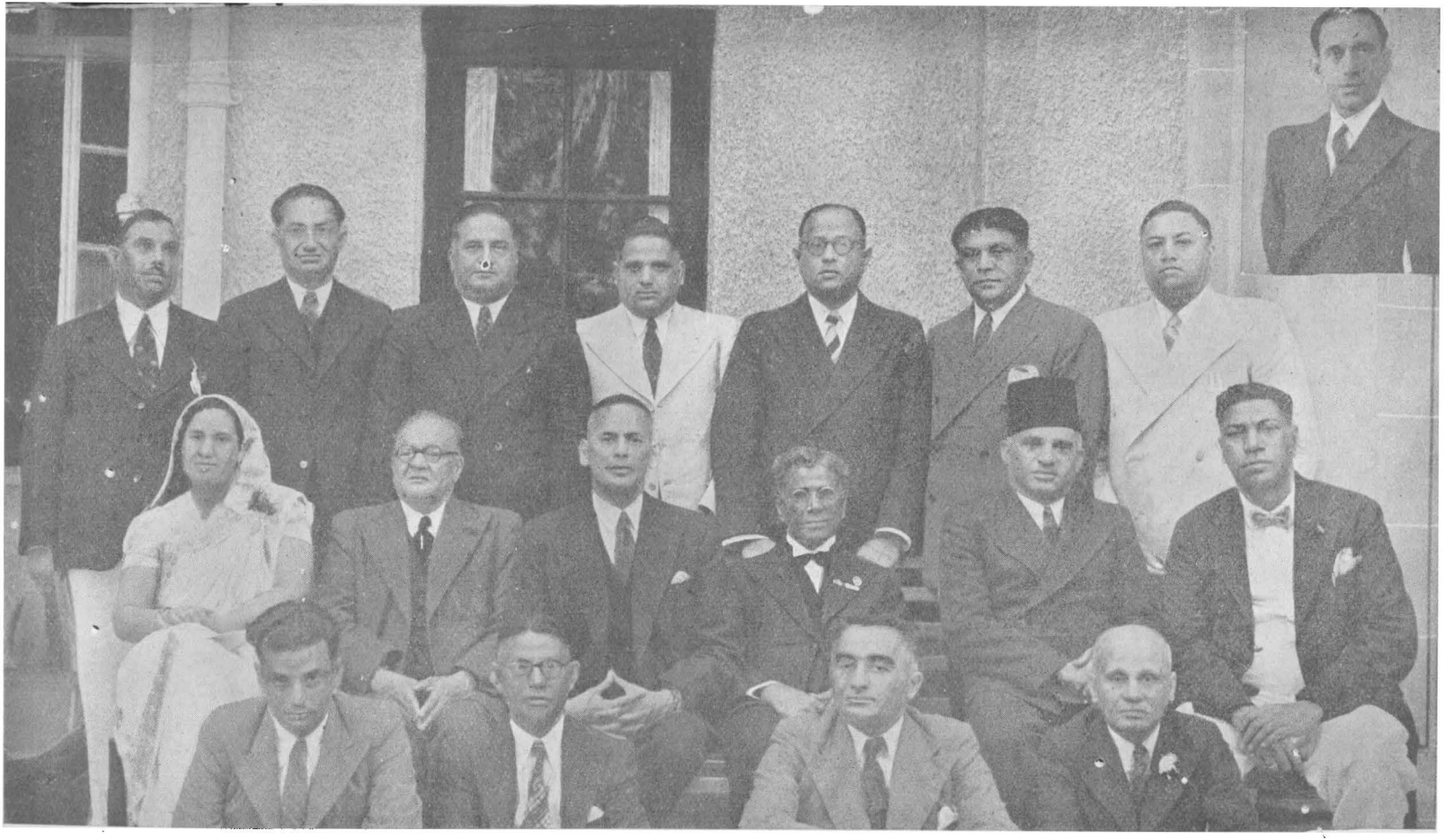
Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope and trust that your deliberations will result in a substantial benefit to my community. The Pegging Act has not shattered my faith in the destiny of my race in this land. My faith in the future of the Indian community is firm as a rock, and I do not doubt its victory. I see a light gleaming behind the clouds and broadening upon our path. It is the light of Progress, and the Indian community will keep this light bright.

Reply to the Address presented by the Natal Indian Congress, Durban, on 14th July, 1943, at the City Hall, Durban.

[*Note*—This is a reply to the address given by the "Natal Indian Congress" at an At Home given by the Congress. The Government of India had not recognised the Congress as a representative organ of the Indian community, though the Congress had been pressing for it for several years. As some administrative difficulties had arisen owing to the existence of two bodies—one recognised and the other unrecognised,—a de facto recognition was conceded to the Congress in this address. The de facto recognition was useless for all practical purposes, and the movement for the unity of the Indian community gained momentum after the failure of the Congress to secure de jure recognition. Had such a recognition been accorded to it the Indian community would have remained permanently divided. The At Home given on this occasion is also known as "de facto At Home" by Indians in Natal.]

MR. MAYOR, MR. A. I. KAJEE, COUNCILLOR AHMAD ISMAIL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I feel greatly honoured by the address which the Natal Indian Congress has been kind enough to present to-day. The Congress has been kind enough to refer to what it calls my services in connection with the Pegging Act. I am not aware of any striking achievement on my part in connection with that Bill, and I can say quite truthfully that I find nothing that deserves the fulsome eulogy and exaggerated praise [illegible] the Congress has been good enough to lavish upon me. On the contrary, I am overwhelmed by a feeling of frustration and disappointment. I do not think it will serve any purpose if I refer on this occasion to a controversy which has been frequently discussed in the press [illegible] on the platform. All that I need say here is that judging by the reports I have received from official and non-official sources, the whole of India has been roused by it, and it is my earnest hope that men of goodwill on both sides, here in the Union as well as in New Delhi, may build a golden bridge which will enable the two peoples to live in amity



Natal Indian Congress Deputation to Cape Town, 4th April, 1943. Indian leaders of Natal, who represented one section of the Indian community in Natal. The deputation came to Cape Town in connection with the Pegging Bill

and work in co-operation. The future of this beautiful province depends on the harmony and co-operation of the two races. Natal constitutes the central watershed of the Union, where in the stillness of a damp summer afternoon, the traveller through this land—and thousands have passed through this beautiful city since the war started—may listen to the murmur of two streams—the one hurrying down to meet the Thames, the other to the Ganges. Born within hearing of each other's voices, and nourished by the selfsame clouds that rest upon the cliffs of the lovely Natal hills, they seem to a superficial observer destined to an ever widening separation. The first stream marks the rising of that great river of spiritual energy which is flowing southward towards the Ganges and the Tapti to restore the culture of the ancient world. The other stream, borne upon its mighty flood, is flowing towards the Thames and has made the heritage of human nature by the modern spirit of mechanisation and human freedom.

The peace and tranquillity of Natal depends upon the intermingling of these two streams. Unless the two elements meet, each race will develop its own characteristic quality and it will be impossible to bring about synthesis and mutual co-operation. The European may move further away from the magnificent tradition of English liberalism, from the teachings of John Bright and Gladstone, of John Stuart Mill and, above all, of Edmund Burke, into the shadows of narrow racialism, regimentation and mechanisation, in defiance of the precept and spirit of the masterminds of the English race, and in conflict with the abiding interests of the Free Commonwealth of Nations. On the other hand, the Indian may take refuge from his present unenviable lot in Natal in a voyage of spiritual adventure, which may give him power to soar above the vicissitudes of circumstances. He may begin to think that struggle is futile and barren, and may give it up altogether to secure inner freedom. The danger in either case is serious enough. I have never wavered in

my belief that the future of Natal depends upon racial harmony and concord and my experience of the last one year and a half has confirmed this. It is only through co-operation and understanding of each other's point of view that we can build up the prosperity of this land, and recent events have not shattered my beliefs. On the other hand, they have confirmed and strengthened my faith in the doctrine of Indo-European co-operation. Let us hope that the recent events are only a passing phase, and the Atlantic Charter will be transmuted into freedom of spirit and of mind for both races in Natal. I feel certain that racial controversies at the present day are ephemeral and will leave no permanent effects. Life is a campaign from which there is no release, a perpetual war of soul against flesh, of the matter against the spirit. It is a pilgrim's progress, like Bunyan's, from the City of Destruction to St. Augustine's City of God. In this life, we have to kindle a sane vitality in a complex society like this, and we must know that the disharmonies of life, the mosaic of creeds and beliefs, of colour bars and inhibitions, which are fantastic and are basically inconsistent with Christian austerities, will wither and decay, and human spirit and personality will ultimately triumph. The Indian community has not lost faith in its mission, and the old Indian tradition endures. Let it keep up and nourish its ancient tradition and maintain the grace and simplicity of its family life. It must proceed organically, like a process of nature. In a life of incessant struggles there are no melodramatic short cuts, no grandiose *coups dêtat*. It should not fish with a gold hook, the loss of which would outweigh any catch. We must acknowledge that Indians in Natal have been revived by contact with a younger vitality, when through our supine neglect we had lost the elements of organisation and the capacity for cohesion. They have now been restored and educated anew under the discipline of a progressive race. This fertilising and regenerating process has been of the utmost value to the peoples of Asia. Lord Acton once said that it is in

the cauldron of the State that fusion takes place by which the vigour, the knowledge, and capacity of the future of mankind are communicated to other races.

I am delighted to have this opportunity of meeting members of the Natal Indian Congress in their official capacity. Some of you will remember what I said on December 9, 1941, in this Hall, when I received the address of the Natal Indian Association. I said that my government recognises the Association as an authoritative organ of Indian opinion in Natal. I added, however, that there were elements in Natal which were not represented in the Association, and expressed the hope that it will be possible to achieve Indian unity. I have made many attempts to bring about this result, and I feel that we are nearer unity now than we were in 1941. There are no ideological differences which divide our community, and it has stood like a rock on all matters of national concern. I reiterate what I said on December 9, 1941. I see no reason to change the policy which I formulated then. The Government of India continue to recognise the Natal Indian Association, and they are grateful to that body for its help and co-operation. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to bring other elements of the Indian population together and the Indian community has not yet been able to build up a common organisation, which could speak on behalf of the whole community. The Natal Indian Congress represents an element which has not yet been represented in any existing organisation. It is not my purpose here to discuss the question whether the present body is a new one created since the foundation of the Association, or whether it is an old organisation with a long record of work behind it. No useful purpose will be served by raking up controversies which have been consigned to the limbo of oblivion, and are happily forgotten. All that we are concerned with, is that there is a definite organisation by the name of the Natal Indian Congress which has a number of influential and public spirited members on its executive, and the Government of India have,

therefore, accorded *de facto* recognition to the Natal Indian Congress. It is our earnest hope that the Association and the Congress will soon be merged into one organisation, before the year is past, so that the Indian community may enjoy internal repose and national solidarity. Recognition by the Government of India is subject to the proviso that attempts are immediately made by both parties to fuse the two bodies into one. From what I know of the leading members of the two organisations, the atmosphere for reunion is excellent, as both are tired of mutual bickerings and all are anxious to forget and forgive controversies which were barren and futile and produced nothing but bitterness. I would impress upon you the need for mutual consultations with a view to a merger in the immediate future. My advice to the Indian community as a whole would be to build up powerful and influential committees out of the excellent material which the Congress and the Association contain. Each committee could concentrate on specific issues and organise plans for the social uplift of the community. I would like to see a strong and powerful committee for Housing recruited from the experienced members of both the bodies; another committee on Education and a third one on Social Service. If their constructive talent is organised systematically, and the energies of the community are concentrated upon concrete issues, every one will forget quarrels between the two bodies which resolve themselves ultimately into personal quarrels, and all will gladly contribute to a dynamic programme for the community.

This is not an occasion on which I can discuss questions of special interest to the Indian community. I have dealt with them elsewhere, and have discussed them for the last one year and a half. All that I need say here is that my belief in the doctrine of racial harmony and co-operation remains unshaken, and I am no less convinced that the Indian community has a great future in this land, in spite of the disabilities to which it has been subjected. The progress of the community is bound up with the question of its unity, and if the two bodies merge into

one, there is no reason why it should not make a remarkable progress in an exceedingly short time. Let us hope that the light which gleams from it will go on illuminating our path, and guiding the Indian people to its destiny.

The Indian community is passing through a crisis in its chequered career in the Union. On the one hand, it is determined to assimilate new ideas and new modes of thought, to encourage the idiom of local life, and maintain the purity of the Indian stock. It requires social security, just laws, and decent freedom. It is reaching out for a larger life, a life of equal opportunity, in which it could breathe the fresh air of social justice and freedom. On the other hand, there are the peculiar circumstances and complexities of South Africa. While the Indian community is perfectly justified in demanding fresh avenues for its energy and action and has often pointed out that it is external to the civil life of South Africa, and impotent to control the development of this young country, the new pattern of life which is being woven now may be exceedingly intricate. Nobody knows what position is going to be assigned to the community in post-war reconstruction. I would earnestly beseech all Indians who are here to take into account the extraordinary circumstances which are met in this land, and maintain the best social relations with the Europeans. It is most essential that social relations between the two races should be maintained on the basis of cordiality and confidence. Whatever their differences may be on many laws that have been passed in the past, they ought not to interfere with the cordial relations which are absolutely essential for the prosperity of this province. Leaders of Indian thought have given no encouragement to persons who wished to produce racial discord in the past. I am confident that they will be equally careful in future. The community has many important problems which face it to-day. I will deal only with its social problems. I offer no opinion. I feel convinced that the establishment of separate Indian villages, Indian town councils is not going to solve

the Indian problem. The real solution lies along lines which have been successfully tried in western countries. Instead of depressing the economic level by establishing a mechanical uniformity and equality, of depression and low standards, you should attain at raising the standard of life and reducing the appalling rate of infant mortality. Human mind has been exceedingly busy during the last twenty-five years devising ways and means of improving the lot of the common man.

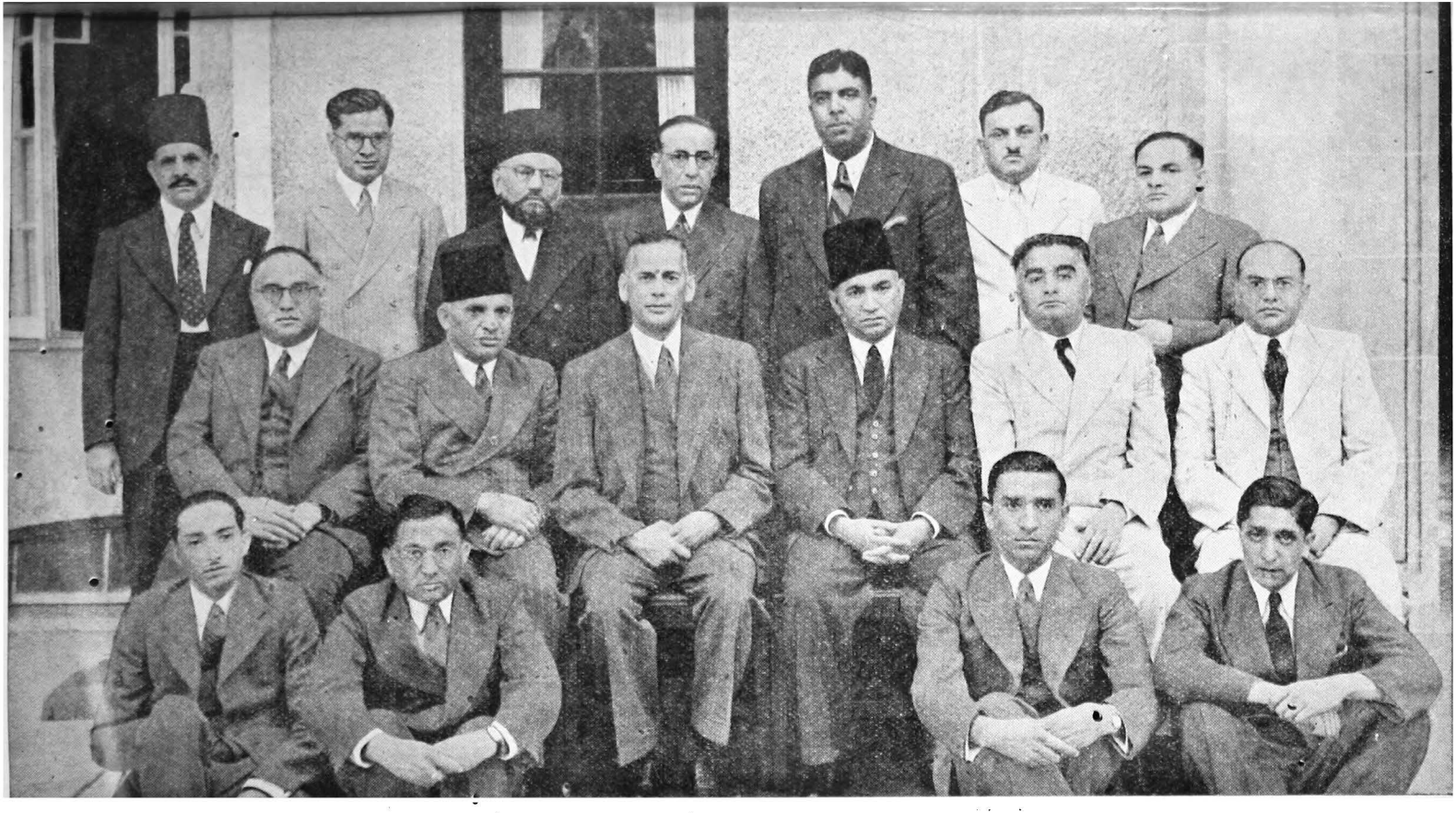
It is now an accepted fact that poverty and disease and illiteracy go together. Poverty produces disease, and is also the cause of illiteracy. Mr. Wendell Wilkie, who has just published a brilliant analysis of economic conditions in Persia, China, Turkey and other countries through which he travelled, has told us that we are now faced with the problem of raising the standard of millions of people throughout the East. The only real solution of our problem is social security, which will enable us to raise standards of living, in all these countries. If the Indian community is able to raise its own standard of life, it stands secure in a world of stress and storm. It can only do this if it has free primary education, hospitalisation, decent wages, and good housing. Your aim should, therefore, be not to depress your rising standard of living, but to increase it in proportion to your economic strength. In other words, your salvation lies in implementing the Cape Town Agreement in letter and spirit and not in going back to standards in which your fathers lived. The greatest boon which your fathers gave was this that it enabled you to live a higher standard than they were able to do. It should be your aim now to give your children even higher standard and a better start in life than you got when you started your struggle in the world. Keep up your standards of life and do not let them deteriorate. I believe that, on the whole, the Indian community has raised its standard recently.

We need in Durban an efficient Indian hospital which should form the nucleus of a good medical school for the

Indian community. It could be a training ground for Indian doctors and nurses and will be a boon to thousands of Indians in Durban and other parts of Natal. I am glad that primary education has been made free for Indian children, and a start has been made this year. It is also a source of pleasure to me to know that the salary scales of Indian teachers in primary schools have been revised. No community has contributed more for education in proportion to its population and economic resources, and it is calculated that the Indian community has donated a sum not less than £70,000 for primary education alone. The progress of the community in secondary education has been highly satisfactory in recent years, and I am confident that Indian intellect will blossom forth in the Union, and will play a most important part in the intellectual life of the Union. The present generation is animated by a keen desire for education. The number of South African Indians in the Universities in South Africa, India and England is substantial, and there is now a good foundation for Indian leadership in economic and political spheres. We need a Technical College very badly, and the Indian community is grateful to the Mayor and to the Minister of Education for making this project possible. I hope, Mr. Mayor, that through your support and the support of the other councillors of the Corporation, it may be possible for the Indian community to start the building of this college in the immediate future. The Indian community owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Muhammad Sultan for his munificent gift for the Technical College. By his self-sacrifice and devotion to learning, Mr. Sultan has earned the gratitude of the Indian community. Finally, I may refer to the plan of the College which the members of the Congress have in hand. I have seen the Bluff site and I am convinced that it will be an excellent site for the proposed College. Your leader, Mr. A.I. Kajee, has been kind enough to show me the plan of the College, and I am deeply impressed with the design of this institute. I feel that if the Indian community is able to establish a Technical College, an Indian

Hospital and a College on the Bluff site, it will be the happiest sign of its renewed vigour and enterprise.

Finally, whatever our differences may be, remember that South Africa is your native land, and the duty of living amicably and happily together with the Europeans is vital. Racial harmony and racial co-operation are essential in a land like this, and you must not listen to the siren voice of any body who wishes to sow racial strife. Your salvation lies in Indo-European co-operation, and while you are and must be strongly opposed to a number of laws, your religion, no less than your tradition, enjoin you to cultivate the friendliest relations with the Europeans. The two races must live in harmony and peace if Natal is to be built up. I pray and hope that my wish may be realised. Amen



The Transvaal Indian Congress Deputation, Cape Town, 28th February, 1943. Leaders of Transvaal Indians

Inaugural Address to The Natal Indian Congress, (Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894) *at The Avalon Theatre, Durban, on August* 29, 1943.

[*Note*—The Inaugural address outlines the programme of the revised Natal Indian Congress, which had been founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. The relations between the Association and the Natal Indian Congress, which had been established in 1936, produced a condition of civil war between the two bodies. The Association tended to assume a Hindu complexion, while the Congress had a predominance of Muslims. The differences affected social relations, and even families were divided on the issue. The Indian community would have disintegrated morally and politically if the conflict had continued. The Pegging Act was partly the result of this cleavage. Moderate men on both sides realised the danger and leading men, such as Jalbhoy Rustomjee and P. R. Pather took up the question in earnest. They were helped in their efforts by young leaders of the Trade Union movement in Durban. Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee left Durban, as he was obliged to live in Johannesburg, so that his son may secure the Transvaal domicile. It soon became a national movement of unity of the Indian race for its preservation. Committees of the Association and the Natal Indian Congress were held before the Inaugural meeting and it was resolved to dissolve both the bodies and revive the Congress founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. At the Inaugural meeting Advocate Godfrey was elected President, Mr. A. I. Kajee became Chairman, while P. R. Patnaik was appointed Secretary. The unity was achieved by the Congress, and this body has now become the centre of Indian energy and aspiration. The young Trade Unionists also joined its Committee.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me congratulate you on your election by representatives of the Indian community assembled here. This is the greatest honour which the community can confer, and I have no doubt that you fully deserve it. I believe I am voicing the sentiments of every person here when I state that this is the happiest moment in the life of the Indian race in the Union of South Africa. It is to me a moment of supreme happiness, as I, like all my

predecessors, have worked for the unity of the Indian community in Natal since my arrival in the Union. The Indian community is a great community, and has a reservoir of talent and character which are in no way inferior to those of any other element in Natal. It is a community of men who are self-made by their genius, and it has a legitimate source of pride in the monuments of its labour and devotion to this garden province. The community has clung passionately to the ideas of liberty which are associated with the high morality and sublime creeds of our race. Like all vigorous communities which are growing and throwing shoots in all directions, it has been faced with the problem of unity. It was inevitable that its rapid progress in some directions should be checked by the slow pace of advance by others, while the intensity of its desire for economic freedom and political rights produced frustration and disappointment among certain elements. In a small community, differences of outlook and temperament play a much more important part than in larger bodies, and its peculiar position in this land inevitably created division in its rank, and confusion in its councils. These differences have been expressed in different periods of its growth, and within restricted limits they are a sign of vigorous life in a young and dynamic community. Without such differences, the community will wither and decay, the Indian people as a whole will lose interest in its work, and will become apathetic and listless. The dangers of division are, however, exceedingly serious. If they are carried beyond a certain limit, they may destroy all the elements of its economic growth and make it wholly ineffective in its attempt to adjust itself to changes in the social life of the country.

It is not my purpose here to discuss these differences. No useful purpose would be served by raking up the embers of controversies that are now happily forgotten. The Indian community has given on this occasion a good example of its capacity for solid political growth by sinking its differences, and uniting itself in a national

organisation. The creation of this national spirit, as distinct from the sectional groupings, which had undermined its position in this land, justifies us in regarding its present achievement as the work of a single family, and encourages in us the belief that it will be inspired by a unity of policy and feeling which will make the Indian community an influential element in this province. A community educated by experience and discipline, by sufferings and disabilities, could not passs into a new phase of being in the peculiar political complexion of South Africa, without serious checks and hindrances, but it has overcome these difficulties by the exercise of a stubborn will, and the Indian community enters today upon its creative work in Natal with renewed energy and hope. While excellent work has been done in certain spheres, it will be admitted by all that the existence of two political organisations among Indians drained its energy, and rendered it incapable of constructive work for the benefit of the community as a whole. It could not organise creative work for the amelioration of the Indian masses, and its disunion rendered it weak and spineless against attacks made on its existing rights. It is no exaggeration to state that during the last ten years, the Indian community has been losing continuously what it had built up by persistent effort during fifty years in Natal. The quintessential flame which breathed a breath of life into the fabric of the Indian society through eighty-three years of organic activity in Natal was far too vivid and too spiritual to be extinguished, and the sound sense of leaders of the community warned its leaders against the precipice into which it was rushing headlong in its quarrels, and bitter experience of this year roused it out of its torpor and impelled its leaders to save the Indian race from disintegration.

The effects of the disunity in Indian ranks were perceived by all persons in every walk of life. Penned up within the narrow confines of his homes and localities, throbbing with fresh life, overflowing with mem-

bers inured to industry and gifted with intelligence, the Indian demanded fresh channels for his energy in trade and professions, and he had perforce to compete with other Indians in the paths of industry, and clash in deadly duels for breathing space and wealth. The effects of this policy on the economic and social structure of the Indian community have been most unfortunate. While it was clear that this mighty mother of peoples, the Union of South Africa, could not afford equal sustenance to all her children, it was no less clear to all far-sighted men that the Indian community in Natal, priding itself upon the purity of its Aryan stock, contained within its loins the future of the race in this land. The movement for Indian unity was taken up enthusiastically in Durban by all sections of the community. Young men had noticed the debilitating effects of personal rivalries and sectional jealousies at the top for a long time, and had complained to me about it. Many leaders of the Indian community, who had dedicated their life to the service of their community, realised vividly the consequences of destructive energy to which the incident and accident of party and personal politics among Indians gave a sombre significance. Indian society saw the fermentation of self-reliant passions in the breasts of the lowest as well as the highest, and the community as a whole was being fashioned to that competing and destructive activity which is the inevitable result of the specialised vanity and ambitious careerism of a narrow-minded and selfish policy. It looked as if the whole intellectual activity of the Indian race in Natal, which had blossomed forth into fruits and flowers for half a century, was going to be dissipated in interminable debates, and in personal and party squabbles in which personal issues played a supremely important part. Meetings were duly convened, and, after interminable discussions, resolutions were duly passed. But effective action was impossible, as unity was lacking, and there was invariably free and unrestrained emergence of personal quarrels. It was clear to every intelligent person that this was bound

to sap the foundations of Indian energy and intellect. The recurring process of composition, dismemberment, and recomposition, under different forms, of the scattered elements of the Indian race in Natal would have inevitably produced race-suicide. Every one was forced to admit, in July this year, that the community could earn its survival in this land only by unity and solidarity. Engaged as it has been in the Union, since its arrival here, in 1861, in a struggle for its existence, unless it has unity and discipline among all the national forces of the Indian race, it will wither and fade out. Owing to these causes, the community as a whole could not formulate any consistent policy on housing, education, political rights and social security. The existence of two organisations effectively checked concerted action, and the bulk of the time of both the bodies was consumed in controversies. I am certain that if the Indian community had remained united and disciplined under the banner of a single organisation, which would have centralised its activity, and at the same time given free play to local energies, it would have achieved the unity of a coherent community, and its salient genius and diffused talent would have won for it a proper place in the public economy of this land.

Mr. President, I refrain from discussing in detail the results of this disunity in our ranks. It is sufficient for me to remark that the movement for Indian unity, to which such effective expression has been given today, represents the conscious effort of every section and class of the Indian community. The Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Association have rendered excellent service to the Indian community, and I would like to place on record our deep debt of gratitude to its leaders for the persistent efforts which they have made for the uplift of the Indian people. In the Natal Indian Congress, the dynamic personality of Mr. A. I. Kajee has been instrumental in keeping up the vitality of the Indian community, while in the Natal Indian Association, we

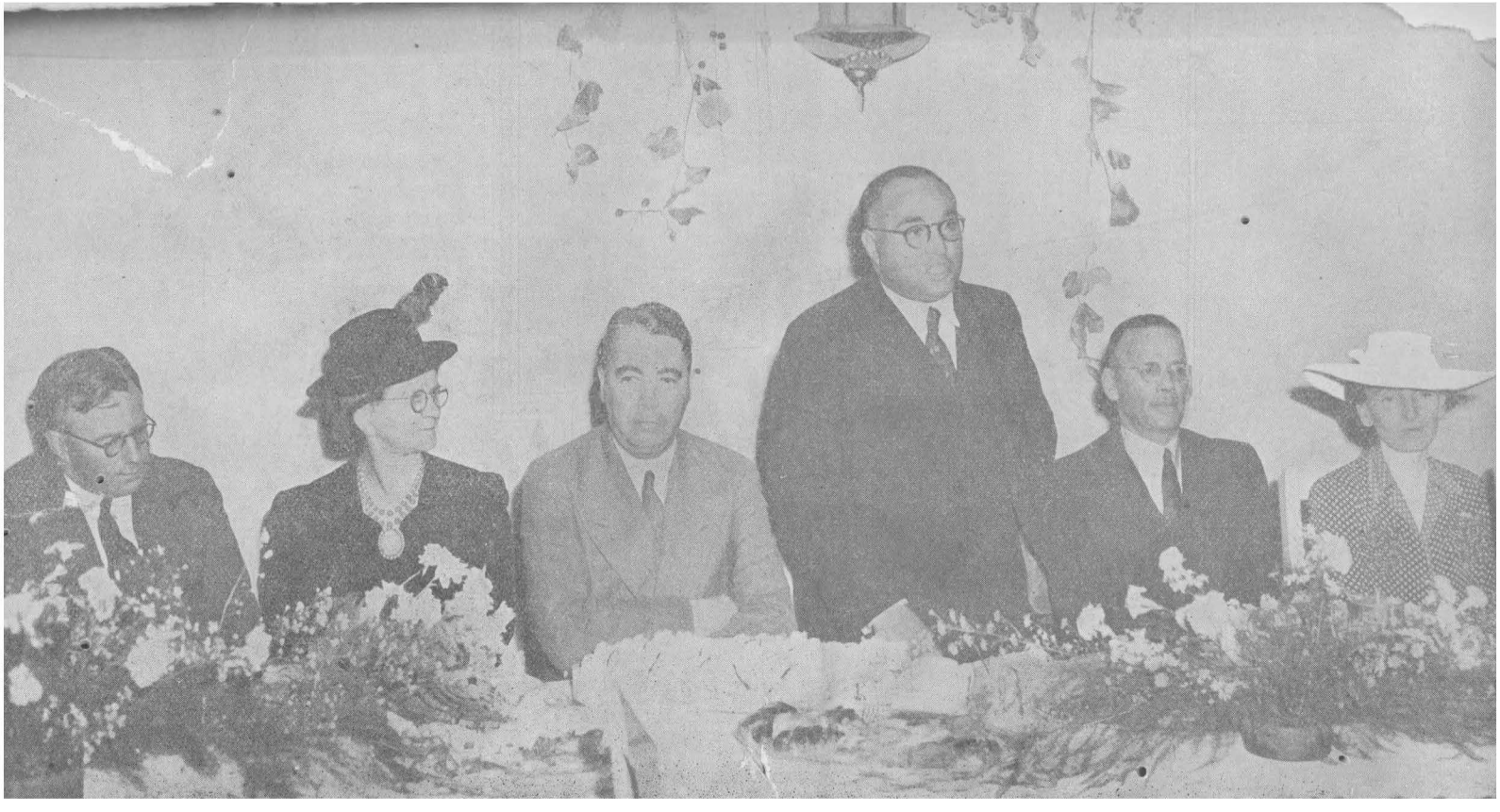
have the organising ability and vigour of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, and the zeal and ability of those stalwarts of the Indian community whose names are a household word in Natal—Mr. P. R. Pather, Advocate J. W. Godfrey, and Mr. S. R. Naidoo. There is no Indian in the Union of South Africa who does not know and honour them; there are few who do not lavish their affection on these tried and trusted leaders. I wish to place on record the magnificent work which hundreds of Indians in Durban and the rural areas of Natal have rendered to make the new organisation a success. It would be invidious to single out some persons, when every body has worked hard for unity, but I feel that I must particularly mention the names of Mr. A. I. Kajee, Mr. P. R. Pather and Mr. Jalbhoy Rustomjee. I have deliberately refrained from mentioning the names of young men, as I know that every young man has worked as hard as any of the leaders whom I specifically mentioned. I may venture to suggest that the movement for national unity is essentially a movement by the young men of the community, who are determined to construct a new order for Indians in Natal. They were sick and tired of interminable quarrels among old men, who, they thought, had entangled themselves in personal and sectional disputes, and had produced chronic uncertainty and recurring instability in the deliberative bodies of the Indian community. It is sufficient for my purpose if I point out that this feeling has percolated among all classes of our society and has been a most potent factor in the establishment of this body. It is known to all who were in touch last month that the leaders of the two sections agreed on the basic principles of change, and signed a paper containing their agreement on a common policy and a common organisation. The paper was circulated among all influential Indians in Durban and outside, and the enthusiastic response to that appeal convinced the originators of this proposal that the whole community was solid on the point. The signatures to the agreement poured in from all sides until

it was discovered that not a single influential section of the community was left unrepresented. The organisers of the move then held meetings of their committees on August 2, and the matter was placed before them for their approval. The Committees of the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Association unanimously approved of them, and a joint committee of the two bodies resolved to convene a meeting of the new organisation on August 29. The terms of the agreement were clear and precise. The remorseless march of events had convinced even the most prejudiced that if two rival Indian organisations continued to exist side by side, the decay and dissolution of the community was inevitable. Rivalry meant, of course, disunity and disruption of the community. The leaders of both these bodies agreed to dissolve them, and revive the Natal Indian Congress which had been founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. I was consulted, and gave my wholehearted support to the proposal. I did so because experience had convinced me that if the rivalry continued longer it would have produced disintegration of the Indian community, and would have brought about race-suicide. The Indian community could earn its survival in this land solely through unity and discipline, and I felt that the revival of a body which Mahatma Gandhi had built up with loving care would endear it to every Indian in this land. Whatever our views on Mahatma Gandhi's political doctrines may be—and it would be idle to deny that there are powerful sections which do not see eye to eye with him on this point—the fact remains that he is the greatest spiritual leader produced by India in the present century. His work in this land is known to everyone and all over Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal one comes across numerous persons who took part in his epic struggle in Natal and the Transvaal, and sacrificed their all for a cause which they deemed to be sacred. There are besides hundreds of young men present before me whose fathers, uncles or grandfathers fought side by side with the Mahatma. It is natural that the Natal Indian

Congress which he founded in 1894 should become the rallying point for these men, and a symbol of the aspirations and ideals of the Indian race. The Congress of 1894 is dear to the heart and mind of the Indian community, and it is but meet and proper that the youth of the present day should try to recapture the spirit of the past, and pursue the difficult task of self-discipline and self-mastery. In the pursuit of a policy there must be musical harmony between this organisation and the Indian people in Natal. Great organisations must have this harmony; it is the only source of their greatness. The same remarks apply to great leaders. Mr. Winston Churchill says brilliantly what plain Englishmen say crudely to their neighbours or say to themselves at night. One follows a leader who sums up in himself the best qualities of his race. The Natal Indian Congress must therefore become a father and brother to thousands of Indians in Natal who want to attain dignity, respect and prosperity by concentration of national energy.

The programme and policy of the new body have already been explained by some of its leaders, and it is unnecessary for me to comment upon them at this stage. The programme needs no elaboration. The needs of the community are well known. They have been stressed for years at numerous meetings and in hundreds of resolutions for several years. I should, however, like to emphasise two points which should be kept prominently in view. They are (1) Indo-European co-operation and (2) freedom from discriminatory laws.

Let me develop these two points. It must be an important part of this body's activities to emphasise the need for the co-operation of Indians with Europeans. The future of the Indian community in South Africa depends upon racial harmony. It should be your endeavour to bring about better relations between Indians and Europeans, and you should exemplify in your conduct the noble tradition of which you are the inheritor. I had the privilege of being born an Indian. I thank



A Party at Johannesburg, December 11th, 1943, to collect funds for the Bengal Relief Fund, organised under the auspices of the High Commissioner for India. South Africa contributed nearly £50,000 in aid of the Fund. An Indian leader at Johannesburg, speaking in aid of the Fund

God for it, as I am proud of my race, and of its service to humanity for nearly three thousand years. It ought to be a source of pride and satisfaction to you to feel that you are a member of one of the most gifted races on this earth, a race which was asleep though alive for nearly two centuries. Your race has awakened from its torpor, and is now engaged in resuming its contact with its splendid past, and in building up a magnificent future. The noblest doctrines of your religion enjoin on every Indian toleration, kindness, and love, and it is your duty, as members of the supreme political organisation of the community in Natal, to show these qualities in dealing with your European brethren. You must show that mixture of conscience, pride and self-respect which make a man true to a high ideal in all the possible circumstances of life. It is only through co-operation with your European brethren that you can progress in this land. I am free to admit that the Indian community in Natal has gained considerably through contact with a virile civilisation. This contact with the European community is one of the most important instruments in the progress of every section of the great Indian race to which all of you belong, and its adaptation to the western ways of life has been due wholly to the influence of European standards of life. In developing the chief features of its race, the Indian community must constantly adjust itself to the ever-increasing changes in the outlook and temper of the people with whom it is brought in constant touch. It is my earnest hope that this organisation may serve an excellent means for mutual understanding between Europeans and Indians, so that the misunderstandings which have unfortunately marred harmonious relations between the two principal elements of Natal may be removed. The Indian people is a kindly people; it is a tolerant people, and I have no doubt whatsoever that the best elements of Europeans and Indians in this land will give an example of this tolerance.

The second important principle which should be

kept prominently in view is freedom from discriminatory laws. It is not my purpose here to detail the laws passed against the Indian community in the Transvaal and Natal since its entry into this land. No useful purpose would be served by ripping open old sores, and raking up the embers of controversies which have been happily forgotten. I have sometimes been asked the reason for the continued progress of the Indian race in face of an overwhelming amount of discrimination. My answer is that the Indian in this land has an immense past, and a persistent vitality, and the sharp conflict of two adverse principles advocated by the two chief races in Natal, which are, I am convinced, destined ultimately to fuse their forces into unity and recompose the modern Natal, has strengthened the future of the Indian people. The new life of struggle in Natal was so confusing by its rapid changes, that the feeling of suffering was obliterated in the strenuous endeavour, in the steely determination to succeed and in the joy of liberated energies. It was the stronger enthusiasm, a new intuition, a fresh outburst of emotional vitality that supplanted the traditional attitude of passive submission to fate which had reduced their forefathers in India to a stagnant and inert existence. It is from this point of view that we must view the revival of the Natal Indian Congress of 1894. The fibres of Mahatma Gandhi's Congress are intertwined with the very heartstrings of the Indian people of the present generation, and the enthusiastic support of the unity move by Indians of all classes shows that the community is determined to be alive and free, so that it may embark on a comprehensive programme of constructive effort, and march with the onward forces of progress.

What, then, should be the programme of the new body? The Indian problem is not a new one, and it is therefore unnecessary to restate it on this occasion. Its programme is the old programme of social justice which has been embodied in different words in the uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement, which emphasise western

standards of living for the Indian community. The Indian in Natal is determined on keeping up the western standard of life which he adopted after mature consideration, in 1927, when the uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement were published. He has struggled persistently to maintain this standard, and will not revert to the conditions in which his forefathers lived in the last century. To expect the Indian to go back upon his present day standard, which is the result of determined effort on his part to ameliorate his condition, is to ignore the solid achievement of the Indian community during the last fifteen years. The Indian community cannot go back to the old standard. It must go forward, so that in course of time, its standards of life may be precisely the same as those of the European in Natal.

On this basic foundation of western standard, the Indian community has built up a social structure which can be readily adapted to the true pattern of European life. The spiritual life of the Indian and the basic virtues which have given him spiritual sustenance during his stay in this land, have not been impaired by his contact with the mental activity of the European. He has become an integral part of the social structure of this land, as the basic Christian virtues which are the glory and pride of South Africa are substantially the same as those inculcated and practised by the Hindu and Muslim forefathers of the Natal Indian. Hence, he has found no difficulty in assimilating them as they had been preached for hundreds of years in his own country before he settled down in Natal. It should, therefore, be one of the most important aims of the new body to keep the uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement, as its manual of action. The Indian community in Natal, as the Indian race in India, is on the march, and its young men in Natal and the Transvaal are pulsating with energy and are determined in raising their standards, and improving their social condition.

The next important plank in your programme is

freedom from colour bar in industry. Indians came here about 83 years ago to work on sugar plantations, and develop the resources of the countryside. They have shown their worth by the manner in which Natal has been converted into a garden. It is Indian industry and persistence which have made Natal what it is; just as it is European initiative and enterprise which gave it direction and leadership. Without the partnership of the two races in a joint enterprise, Natal could not have become a going concern. To the patience and dexterity of the Indian pioneer in the beautiful valleys of Natal the task of translating diverse motives into concordant shapes was assigned, and he has achieved it by his industry and intelligence. I have now toured through all important parts of Natal and talked to descendants of old men and young with vision and determination. It is perfectly true that some of the immigrants came from low strata of society, and their standards of living were undoubtedly low. On the other hand, there are parts of Natal where you find some of the finest races of India, who have thrived and prospered, and are now leaders of their community in trade and industries. Their very person is a symbol of their genius. We almost forget their strength and persistence in the admiration of their achievement; and the travail of their intellect is hidden by the serenity of their success. Yet, it will be unwise to conclude from this that the full flower of Indian genius has been unfolded in Natal. This could not occur here, as Indian genius has had few opportunities for development, but the Indian pioneer of those days wins our admiration quite as much by his aim as by his achievement within the limits imposed by the appallingly complex structure of this land. When we see their work on the land, their achievement in industry, the expression of their personality in the great financial concerns which they have built up, in the teeth of fierce competition, we feel that the rich veins of Indian intellect and character in this land have not yet been worked out; most of us feel a sense of reserved strength in their work, however

humble it may be. I am convinced that the inspiration of the best minds among the Indians of South Africa is not exhausted and it is certain that the brilliant young Indians of to-day will advance much further than their ancestors on diverse paths, as they have many advantages over them. They have a higher standard of living, greater intelligence, and greater self-reliance. The Indian youth of to-day is the best guarantee for the success of the Indian race in this land.

The Indian is leaving the countryside, and flocking to the towns. He has developed his intelligence and dexterity, and has become machine-minded. The number of Indians on sugar plantations is estimated at 7,200, while the Natives number 40,000. It follows that freedom from colour bar in industry is essential. Yet he finds it difficult to join skilled trades, as the rules of apprenticeship are rigidly enforced, and there are only about 18 Indian apprentices in Natal. I would appeal to Indian employers of industry to give opportunities to Indian young men who are keen on skilled work. Their number is, however, exceedingly small, and the problem of colour bar in industry is only one aspect of the problem of segregation. It ought to be one of the principal aims of the new body to aim at the training of Indians in skilled and semi-skilled trades, so that they may contribute to the development of Natal's basic industries. Trade is by its nature free, and no restrictions can prevent the employment of the Indian community in skilled trades, if it is keen on making itself efficient in any industry. The Indian community feels hampered by the colour bar in industry, and Indian young men, who are demanding new channels of energy in commerce and industry, are insistent on open door policy in industry. I hope it will be possible for the community to establish a Technical College without further delay, so that Indian young men may get training in the technical requirements of various trades.

I have mentioned above the need for freedom in

industry. Closely allied to it is the question of Indian housing in Durban. I cannot discuss this matter in detail as it is highly controversial, but it is clear to any one who has followed the controversy that the need for Indian housing has long been felt, but no effort has yet been made to meet this demand. Instead of providing amenities for Indians, where it will be possible for them to live with men of their race and culture, legislation has recently been passed to prevent what is termed 'penetration'. My attitude on this point has always been clear. The Indian people and the Government of India are most strongly opposed to segregation, and the effects of the Pegging Act are now visible not only in India but throughout the world. The Indian question in South Africa has become a menace to world peace, and Japan has been using it to rouse the whole of Asia, for her own evil purpose. I am told that Zeesen has also used it for its own nefarious purpose; while the feeling in England and other countries is no less strong. It was one of the most unfortunate measures that has ever been passed by any legislative body in recent times, and the events of last month showed conclusively that there was no justification for such a measure. The attitude of the Government of India on this subject has been clear from the outset. It has formally lodged an emphatic protest against a piece of legislation which is inconsistent with Allied aims, and inimical to the spirit of the new world which the Allies wish to construct at the end of the war. Dispassionate persons who have studied this question will tell you that it has served no useful purpose and has intensified racial bitterness and strife, not only in Natal but also in India. What has been gained by this legislation? Nothing whatsoever. Racial memories are very retentive, and Indians both here and in India have lodged emphatic protests against it. The Pegging Act supplies an ideal programme for the production of frustration and disappointment among Indians in the Union. It is not really a solution of the pressing problem of housing, and we have yet to find a remedy. It must be the aim of

this body to develop a liberal housing policy for Indians of the middle classes and working classes. I confess that unless there is an efficient and impartial machinery for housing, nothing substantial will be done in the immediate future. The Natal Indian Congress should provide uniform housing policy for Indians. It was clear to all a few months ago that the existence of two rival bodies would lead to divergent and conflicting views on housing. Had the Indian community been divided on this issue, its rapid decline in the scale of social values and economic progress would have been certain. Happily, this danger has been avoided by the creation of this organisation, and it is my earnest hope that Indians throughout Natal will speak with one voice on this issue.

Another important problem to which I should like to draw your attention is education. Indian education demands your immediate attention. Fifty per cent of Indian boys and girls are still illiterate, and the recommendations of the Broome Commission of 1937 have not yet been implemented. It is now six years since the Commission made its recommendations, yet the most important parts of its recommendations have remained inoperative. The salary scales of Indian teachers in elementary schools have been improved, and a programme of free education for Indian children, spread over eight years, has been announced. This is a step in the right direction, but illiteracy has not yet been liquidated. In Russia some of the most primitive societies in Mongolia and other parts have been lifted out of mire of ignorance, and in many places literacy is now 98 per cent. The Indian community has been conspicuous for its devotion to learning and scholarship, and the Indian parent has shown a wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice by stinting himself so that he may provide a better education for his children. The donations of Indians in aid of elementary schools in Natal have been numerous, and the existence of 102 aided schools in Natal is a testimony to his desire for light and learning, and a guarantee of the rapid progress of the Indian race

in this land. I would advise leaders present here to impress upon all Indians the fact that the present generation of Indians also owes a duty to the community. If the fathers of those whom I am addressing to-day endowed these schools and stinted and starved to save money for the institutions which they had founded, their work ought not to end with their death. Each generation owes a duty to its age, and the Indians of the present generation cannot absolve themselves of this duty by passing it on to posterity or taking credit for the work of their grand-fathers. They should build and endow more schools, so that no Indian boy in any part of Natal may remain illiterate. The stream of charity and philanthropy has no fixed limits, and I am certain that it has not dried up among Indians of this generation. I do not think the present generation of Indians will lag behind its predecessors in any sphere in which qualities of courage and enterprise are needed. The Indian community has still the spirit of the heroic age of its pioneer ancestors, and it has resumed in its varied work in Natal and the Transvaal in modren times the qualities we see scattered through northern and southern India, and given them the unity of fusion in a large and lucid manner. Unconsciously, the Indian race in Natal as well as in India proper is working toward the full Renaissance, the rebirth of the spirit of the ancient Aryans, though it has not yet blossomed into fruits and flowers. The South African Indian has been so engrossed with the struggle for existence that he lacks the qualities which his Indian ancestors showed in the golden age of the Indian race—radiance, sublimity, grace and passion. On the other hand, the Indian in Natal has an almost unique value as representing the synthesis between European and Indian cultures at a moment of transition. He is true to type in character, judgment and everlasting determination. For these reasons, I am convinced that there will be no failure of steadfastness among Indians in Natal.

I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with secon-

dary and university education. This must naturally remain the privilege of the elect, but I feel it is necessary to point out that the new body must take up the question of scholarships for deserving university students. The Indian community must draw all the university men within the orbit of its political activity, as I am convinced the universities will provide in future an ever increasing number of leaders for the Indian community. Indian leadership of the present has been built up on the solid basis of experience and character, and the community has leaders of which it is justifiably proud.

I finally come to the question of political rights for the Indian community. I have come to the conclusion that the question of civic rights for the Indian community should be taken in hand without delay. Without municipal and parliamentary franchise, it is impossible for the Indian community to make its voice heard. The Indian community enjoyed parlimentary franchise till 1896, and municipal franchise till 1924. The question of franchise has become a supremely important issue for the Indian community. It has found by experience that Commissions and Committees have reported on numerous occasions in the past, but their recommendations have not yet been implemented. The reason is that the Indian community has no representative on municipal bodies, or provincial councils of Natal, or in parliament. The time has now arrived when the Congress should take up this issue. I believe that the needs of the Indian community demand it. The municipal and parliamentary franchise should be on a common roll, for without it the racial cleavages between the two races will continue to widen, and the two races will drift apart. I cannot deal with this issue in detail, as franchise is not the only issue which awaits settlement. There are other cognate questions, such as representation of Indians in the civic and parliamentary life of the country. It is, in my opinion, better to get local issues settled locally, and it will be much easier for Indian and European members of town councils to adjust their

differences in the Corporation than to make some trivial and petty disputes of a small street and locality in, say Durban or Pietermaritzburg, the subject of an acute political controversy between South Africa and India. Had there been some Indian members in the Durban Corporation the cry of penetration would never have been raised, for the good sense and moderation of leaders of the two sections in the Corporation would have brought about a compromise. Indians should be eligible for membership of these bodies. From my knowledge of the Indian community in Natal, I can say without exaggeration that the community has in its ranks men of whom any race in the Union would be legitimately proud. They will be an ornament to any body in the Union, and I am perfectly certain that if they are given a chance, they will acquit themselves creditably. All proposals for the amelioration of the Indian community revolve round the question of franchise, and I am convinced that unless Indians have an opportunity of playing their part in the civic and parliamentary life of their country, the Indian problem will continue to be a recurring cause of friction between the two races.

The Congress must also impress upon its members the fact that about 85 per cent of Indians were born and bred in this land. It is South Africa which has given them sustenance, and they must regard this country as their motherland. There should be no divided allegiance, and they must be wholly devoted to the political and economic interests of this magnificent country. I realise that it is difficult to evoke sentiments of devotion when numerous discriminatory laws restrict their activity in many directions. This is, I believe, a passing phase, for this country contains many Europeans of good will and understanding whose number is growing. I feel that the day is not distant when the Indian community will be restored to the sense of its own dignity and political rights, when it will fold its soaring wings and enjoy in the genial soil of Natal those elementary rights of citizenship

which its forefathers exercised till 1924. Indian energy and persistence, which have triumphed in the end, will supply the spiritual oxygen, without which the life of the community would be atrophied.

I have sketched a programme for the revived body which I confess needs patience and tact, and it must aim at enlisting the sympathy and support of the best elements of Indians and Europeans. I should like to offer a few remarks on the method of work of the Natal Indian Congress. You have been united in a national organisation on this auspicious occasion, and have achieved unity after infinite difficulty. Having achieved unity to-day, you must maintain it, if you wish to preserve your community from decline and disintegration. The new organisation should not confine itself to political issues. A new outlook and a new tehnique are necessary. It must organise a committee on housing, another committee on education and another on social work. The Congress as a whole must become the true mirror of the Indian community and every element and class must be represented on it. It is a tender plant, and must be carefully tended. Avoid controversial issues which have divided the community in the past, and do not discuss them. When it develops its influence and power, and gains strength, then all such issues may be safely discussed by it. In the beginning, such discussion will be fatal to its existence. The best thing would be to leave controversial issues severely alone. The Indian community has suffered greatly in the past from divided counsels and personal jealousies. The only sure basis for the Congress is national support, and the Indian community and the rank and file must see to it that the new body is conducted on democratic lines. I am convinced that this body is the only authoritative organ of the Indian people in Natal, as it has the support of every element in the land, and is backed by the enthusiastic support of the Indian youth. I am right in saying that the Natal Indian Congress as now constituted is the Indian community in its organised form.

The soil of Natal lends itself to industry, not only because it is so fertile, but because human life and nature interpenetrate as nowhere else in the Union. On the emotions alike of Europeans and Indians, the new Natal culture, appearing at one moment as a solvent through economic expansion, at another as a corrosive in the sceptical and critical activity it has stimulated, is acting with concentrated energy, and this province consequently offers a distracting tumult of antagonistic racial passion, harmonised by no great hope. The future is dim, although the haze through which the vision has come to the Indian race seems golden. I am convinced that this is only a passing phase, and the two communities will work in a spirit of unity for the common good of this beautiful province. The two races have stamped upon this province the distinctive qualities of their stock. In Europe itself, the democratic powers are handling the iron orchestra of modern battle on the larger terms of space and time; while the Italians feel as though the shadow of fate were darkening among them. Within themselves they have lost, as Foch put it, the battle of the souls. So far as India is concerned, she threw in her lot irrevocably on September 3, 1939, on the side of civilisation, and has never looked back. At every test the Indian spirit has risen with emergency. Indians here as well as in India are of one piece in this business. They are the same all through. Every conceivable faith in India's pith and capacity is confirmed by successive crises of the war. The Indian in South Africa is inspired by the same ideals, and is guided by the same principles. Among Indians in the Union, the support of the Allied cause has been unanimous from the beginning and their contribution to the war effort of the Union has been substantial.

The Indian community must now take stock of its resources, and make a conscious effort to adapt itself to the changed proportions of the modern world. The sole criterion which the Natal Indian Congress should apply in its programme of national reconstruction should be

efficiency. No favouritism of any kind should be tolerated, for upon efficiency depends the capacity of the Indian community for freedom and determination to develop its latent talent. The life of a nation is the fullness of measure of its will to live, and the anomalies and contradictions of the period to which the Indian community owes so much of its spiritual and intellectual force, are due to its transitional character. I am convinced that the period of colour bar, discriminatory laws, and special privileges is over, and the war has profoundly modified the pre-war conceptions of racial superiority and economic imperialism. The Indian community should view the future with hope and confidence. His struggle to maintain the purity of his race and culture, and his passionate desire to be a patriotic citizen of South Africa, have borne fruit. Every action designed to restrict his activity has added new force to the elastic vigour of his mind.

The strong purpose of the Natal Indian Congress should be to strengthen and perpetuate the integrity and solidarity of the Indian community. Attempts may be made in future to divide the rich from the poor, the Muslim from the Hindu. I am convinced that such attempts will fail miserably. The reason is that the community, like a stick full of sap springing up suddenly from suppression, is sick and tired of these divisions. Its young men wish to build up their careers in this land, and secure the right to join institutions that are moulding the life and thought of South Africa. They want freedom, freedom from colour bar in industry, education, public service, housing and membership of municipalities. They are not interested in the personal quarrels of a few top leaders whose gaze is inflexibly fixed on the past. Indian young men look to the future, and think in terms of the present. They have liquidated the old quarrels of old men. As the Natal Indian Congress is the supreme organ of the Indian community it must be the duty of every Indian to see that the solidarity and unity of the community are not impaired again. I know that the Indian community has paid

dearly for its disunity for the last fourteen years; and the best guarantee of the permanence of this body lies in the fact that it is broadbased upon the people's will. I am certain that no further attempt will be made by any influential person to create disunity in its ranks. If any one attempts it, then, judging by the temper of the community prevailing at present, it will be futile and barren.

The Indian community has many important problems awaiting settlement. The period of post-war reconstruction is bound to produce instability, and thousands of Indians who are now working in factories fear that they may be dismissed immediately at the end of the war. There will also be other serious problems of post-war reconstruction. I would appeal to European employers of Indian labour to deal generously with their Indian employees, if the latter have proved their capacity to retain their services after the war. I feel that the Indian problem has become a most important problem in South Africa. No solution has yet been attempted of the Indian's economic, political or social needs. The Cape Town Agreement dealt only with social justice, and was not concerned with the problem of political rights for the community. It is clear to those who have followed the trend of discussions recently that the basic issue of political rights for the Indian in this land can no longer be ignored. Had Indians enjoyed municipal and parliamentary franchise in Natal, a number of problems which have unfortunately become the focus of acute controversies at present would have been amicably solved. The Natal Indian Congress cannot at present offer a permanent solution of the Indian problem, as it necessitates a thorough examination, and it would, in my opinion, be better if this question were left for decision to the Governments of the two countries. It is, however, clear that something must be done immediately to ease the present situation. I feel that, without prejudice to any permanent settlement which on a common roll may be arrived at, the municipal and parliamentary franchise should be restored to Indians immediately. They

decide that a specific issue has a national significance, they should refer it to the Natal Indian Congress for its decision. If the Congress agrees, then the whole Indian community must render effective help in the solution of such a problem. Attempts have lately been made to divide the rich Indian from the poor. Such attempts have failed, as the Indian society is organic, and has a solid cultural and racial structure. The Indian rich and poor belong to the same race, culture and country and the poor are the flesh of their flesh, and the bone of their bones. I would appeal to rich Indian merchants and employers of Indian labour to be specially solicitous for the welfare of Indian workmen. Rich Indians should show generosity in their charges for food and other articles to their poor Indian customers.

The Natal Indian Congress is the sole authoritative organ of Indians in Natal. I have no doubt that responsible authorities and bodies in Natal which wish to elicit Indian opinion will have to consult this organisation, as it is the community's sole organ in the province. My office will deal with this body in this spirit on all questions which affect the Indian community in this province. It is, in my opinion, essential that the Congress should collect a substantial amount from rich Indians to organise propaganda among the masses, and it should publish without delay a periodical which will expound its policy. Its office should be organised on modern lines, and it will be necessary for the leaders of the new organisation to tour throughout Natal and reconstruct local branches on the basis of unified leadership. I need hardly add that without discipline, the new body will go to pieces. It is, therefore, essential that all members of this body should follow its rules and obey its laws rigorously.

Before I conclude, let me emphasise that the municipal and parliamentary franchise for the Indian community must be based on the common roll. Franchise on a separate roll will be wholly unacceptable to the Indian community, as it will tend to aggravate racial feeling, and will produce misunderstanding and mistrust between the two races.

and basically inconsistent with most of the engagements entered into between the Government of India and the Union, that it will not bear a moment's examination. It is an anachronism in the modern age. It would have been an absurdity even at the time the Indians came to this land in 1860. It might have succeeded in 1860, it is a reversal of the order of nature in 1943. It is wholly inconsistent with the basic European culture, as expressed in its high standard of living. European culture which forms the great achievement of Europe, is now diffused throughout the civilised world and is vital for the dynamic growth of the youthful Indian community. The structure of the community is growing, and is not dying, and there is a longing in the air, as President Roosevelt puts it. The Indian community is determined to maintain a high standard of living in South Africa, and it decided long ago, in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, to be an integral part of the civic and political life of the Union. Hence the scheme of Indian town councils and Indian villages, etc. has been unanimously condemned by the Indian community.

The Government of India are pleased to accord recognition to this body, and it is their earnest hope that the unity which has been secured in Natal will endure. They will discourage any future attempt to create a rival organisation. The Government of India think that the decision to form a united organisation is of great importance and is most welcome. They will regard anyone who fosters or perpetuates disunity as rendering the community great disservice. As the Natal Indian Congress is the supreme organ of the Indian community in Natal, it is, in my opinion, essential that it should represent every interest and section of the community. We must have unity of mind and spirit, as well as unity of political programme. You must apply the principle of unity in every sphere of your life, social, political, economic and spiritual, and make the new body a true mirror of Indian needs and aspirations. While the autonomy of bodies such as trade unions and sugar-cane growers' association should be maintained; whenever they

decide that a specific issue has a national significance, they should refer it to the Natal Indian Congress for its decision. If the Congress agrees, then the whole Indian community must render effective help in the solution of such a problem. Attempts have lately been made to divide the rich Indian from the poor. Such attempts have failed, as the Indian society is organic, and has a solid cultural and racial structure. The Indian rich and poor belong to the same race, culture and country and the poor are the flesh of their flesh, and the bone of their bones. I would appeal to rich Indian merchants and employers of Indian labour to be specially solicitous for the welfare of Indian workmen. Rich Indians should show generosity in their charges for food and other articles to their poor Indian customers.

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Before I conclude, let me emphasise that the municipal and parliamentary franchise for the Indian community must be based on the common roll. Franchise on a separate roll will be wholly unacceptable to the Indian community, as it will tend to aggravate racial feeling, and will produce misunderstanding and mistrust between the two races.

Indians should be eligible for the municipalities of Natal. As practical men you must allow the franchise for Indians to be based on property or literacy qualifications, or on both, so that they may not swamp European voters. You must assure the Europeans that their predominance in the civic and parliamentary life of Natal will not be disturbed by the grant of franchise to the Indian community. I should like to point out that these proposals are made for the interim period, to ease the present situation, which has been aggravated by the Pegging Act, and by ill-considered proposals for Indian villages, etc. They have been made without prejudice to a stable and satisfactory solution of the Indian problem in the Union of South Africa. I am strongly of the opinion that such a settlement is overdue, and must be taken in hand without delay. In spite of the numerous laws and regulations which have restricted the activities of the Indian in many spheres of activity, the community has not slackened its activity. On the contrary, the Indian, tested by the disabilities imposed upon him, has gathered energy and grown in solid strength, and enough has survived from the ancient culture which he brought to this land, to operate as a motive force in the struggle in which he has been continuously engaged since his arrival. This has also made the Indian comprehend that some such disabilities as he has suffered in the land of his adoption should form the vestibule to a devoted life. Let me quote here a testimony to the pioneering activities of the Indian community in East Africa by no less a man than Mr. Winston Churchill. Precisely the same remarks apply to the work of the Indian in South Africa. Had the Indian been given the same opportunities in the Union, his contribution to the growth of South Africa would have been enormous.

> "It is the Indian Trader", he wrote, "who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places in which no White man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginning of

trade and opened up the first slender means of communications. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed. The Indian was here (Kenya) long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the White settlers especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa (the loudest against him of all)—count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the Native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?"

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now conclude. To-day is the happiest day of my stay in South Africa, as this is the day for which I have longed ever since I arrived here nearly two years ago. I am happy to think that I have been a humble instrument in bringing unity to the Indian people. This is the most precious achievement of the Indian people during the last fourteen years. Do not listen to the siren voice of discord in future. You must maintain rigid discipline in your ranks, and while opinions may be freely discussed inside the committees of the Congress on any issue which comes up for decision, once the decision is made, there should be strict discipline. Again, while differences may be expressed inside a committee meeting, outside there should be no deviation from the policy which the Congress has adopted on any issue, after consultation and discussion with its members. Once the decision is made, it must be obeyed unquestionably by every Indian throughout Natal. You have achieved to-day the most precious thing which a community possesses—viz., unity. You must keep it. See that it is not impaired by faction, or disrupted by jealousy. Keep a vigilant eye on all who try to sow discord.

Do not tolerate such people. If you want to attain your goal, remain united, and be firm as a rock. Only by this means can you be truly great. The Natal Indian Congress must become the symbol of the genius of the Indian community. It is the true vehicle of its aspirations, its urge for social progress and political freedom, and its determination to progress amid the cramping limits of discriminatory laws and prejudice. It is my earnest prayer that the Congress may grow from strength to strength, and may succeed in cementing the Indian people, so that it may realise the two great ideas upon which it is founded, viz., co-operation of the Indians and Europeans, and freedom from segregation in all spheres of activity.

The state of the Indian people is good,
The heart of the Indian people is sound;
The spirit of the Indian people is strong,
The faith of the Indian people is eternal.

SECTION VI

FAREWELL TO AFRICA

Speech delivered at a Banquet given in his honour, in the Banqueting Room, City Hall, Cape Town, by Mr. E. Parker, on Tuesday, the 21st March, 1944, at 7 p.m.

Note—This is a reply by the author at a banquet attended by 300 Indians and Europeans in the City Hall, Cape Town, on March 21, 1944. The banquet was given by Mr. E. Parker, a wealthy Indian businessman of Cape Town, and was attended among others by leading Indians and Europeans. Hon'ble Dr. Colin Steyn, Member of Social Welfare, was amongst those present. The author dealt with India's past and forecast a glorious future for his motherland.

MR. PARKER, DR. COLIN STEYN, MR. HARRY LAWRENCE, MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I deem it an honour and a privilege to reply to the toast on India. The speaker who has preceded me has referred to India's past glories, and her present share in the crusade in which twenty eight nations of the world are now engaged. This is not the occasion for the recital of India's glorious achievements in the field of human endeavour, as she has furnished to humanity an example alike of spiritual energy and material success of which few countries have been capable. In the dawn of human intellect, when India appeared on the scene, she flooded the world with her own vitality. It seems like the undrawing of the curtain and the letting in of the daylight in the world. The phrase of a Roman naturalist, Pliny, the "unthinkable majesty of the Roman peace" may well be applied to the gracious policy which our great emperor Asoka established in the third cen-

tury B.C., and to the message which the great Buddha gave to humanity full five centuries before the Christian era. The message marks the rising of the great river of intellectual energy which overflowed into China and Japan, Java and Malaya, to recover the culture of the ancient world. It was in India, long before civilisation had its beginnings in Europe, that human mind found its scope and recognised its freedom, first dared and did what placed it on a level with the best minds of Greece and Rome. Buddha and Asoka, the two great incarnations of the Indian spirit, stand before the vestibule of modern culture like a solitary mountain at the entrance of a country rich in all varieties of landscape. The India of those days is still vividly portrayed in the marvellous pillars of Asoka, which proclaim to the world the reign of virtue and the triumph of law, the need for security and the instinct for service. The stones and frescoes which are found scattered throughout the length and breadth of my noble land may be dismissed as futile specimens of a bygone civilisation. This would be, of course, a complete misunderstanding of their place in Indian life. The earliest examples of the Indian spirit are interwoven with the life and thought of our people, and some of our greatest leaders in modern times have summoned the energies of our splendid past to vitalise the present.

It is not my purpose here to go through the growth of my country in chronological order. This would be a tedious process. No country has gone through greater vicissitudes than my country, and no country has shown greater power of recuperation and elasticity. What shall I say of India's golden age, which is not so far away as some people imagine. It was an age of unexampled splendour in all spheres of life, in which we find the free grace and simplicity of the India of Emperor Akbar. Indian arms under Indian generals of renown were victorious in a large part of southern Asia, and Indian governors ruled over many countries which are now independent—such as Afghanistan, Persia, and parts of Central Asia.

For more than two centuries Kabul and the whole of Afghanistan was ruled from Delhi, and our administration of that land as well as of other countries remained (still) a model for their successors.

I admit, Mr. Chairman, that extension in space does not necessarily mean spiritual advancement or cultural growth. In the times of our great national rulers, such as the Mughals and others, India blossomed forth not merely as a great reservoir of character, but also as a source of inspiration in art and scholarship. The level of wealth and refinement, of grace and social culture, which India attained is testified to by some of the profoundest and ablest Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians and Dutchmen who travelled through the country in safety and comfort. We hear nowadays of the valour of Indian troops and the heroism which they have displayed on all fronts. Even in Italy, we get glimpses of members of the Indian Division who are vindicating their title to freedom and independence of their country by their valour and devotion in Burma no less than in Cassino. What is the explanation? They did not spring into this world, Minerva-like, fully armed and equipped, but are the product of environment and tradition which have built up, cell by cell, the present structure of India's defence. The humble Indian soldier who has a natural dignity and courtesy strikes every one who has met him on any front in Europe, Asia or Africa. To what shall we attribute their matchless valour and devotion to duty, but to the product of our tradition and environment? Turn where we will in the annals of our country, weakness is nowhere; power, energy and will are everywhere. The hardy warriors from the north, as well as from the southern hills of Maharashtra, have maintained the traditions which made their ancestors truly great. A large part of northern India contains not hundreds but thousands of battlefields where the strife of clans, and tribes, of castes and classes, was waged with desperate courage. We should now and again turn aside from the broad

river of western life in Calcutta or Bombay to where the torrents are leaping, passion-swollen, down from the northern hills of the Frontier Province. The whole of this part opens out many a scene of crime and terror and, again, from time to time, it leads up into the keen air where the pleasant mountain breezes are blowing, and the blue sky is smiling cheerily. Starting from the forbidding Khyber Pass, where India first begins to unfold herself, we watch the current winding its way with force and features of enlarging magnificence, till the stream has glided down into the plain to the meeting of the waters from which the united fortunes of the great Indian people flow to their unknown destiny. The whole of this enormous rectangle, extending from the remote parts of Kashmir to the Maharashtra in the south, and from Bihar in the east to Peshawar in the west, is a reservoir from which millions of soldiers have been drawn in countless generations to keep up the fibre of the race, and maintain, in their integrity, the martial traditions of the people.

For hundreds of miles on the western frontier, in the Punjab, Rajputana and the United Provinces, there grew up a population which was hardened by war and inured to fighting. The small and isolated families in some of the frontier towns and fortified farms and villages slept in turbulent times with their swords under their pillows, and their horses saddled in their stables. The blood of the children by the fireside on a winter evening was stirred by tales of wild adventure in song and story, and in some places, such as the Frontier no boy even grew up to man's estate who had not known the midnight terror of a blazing homestead, who had not seen his cousin or brother riding out at night belted for desperate fight to be brought back in the morning stark dead across his saddle. There must be few boys of that age who were not roused from their bed at night by their mother to swear with their child lips a vow of revenge over some fierce village vendetta.

I am speaking, of course, of the days of chivalry, in the springtime of our aspirations and achievement. India then disintegrated, owing to causes which it would be tedious to narrate, and was broken into a thousand pieces. She was spotted like the Dalmatian hound, and her strongly knit racial unity, with her unique culture and the proverbial kindness of her children was temporarily lost. For a time, the Indian race disappeared from the political map of the world, just as the German nation disappeared for nearly eight centuries and the Italian people was removed from the inner councils of power and decision for six centuries. It was not till the end of the last century that these nations which had accepted with the coldness of a settled despondency their political disintegration and social decay, received a new birth through the organising prudence of Cavour and Bismarck. Few people realised at the time that these two youthful nations will prostitute their newly-won freedom to base ends. India, too, was destined to follow the path of suffering and sorrow, and purify her soul before she could achieve her freedom. Her disorder was not organic but merely functional. It was not a disease in the structure of the organ, which admits of no permanent relief, consequently of no final hope, as her sons never ceased to have the golden hope, the radiant felicity and moral security even in periods of her deepest dejection. Though her leadership in the army and the administration, in commerce as well as in the administration of her own country, disintegrated in the nineteenth century, the Indian intelligentsia now began the sacred task of rebuilding the intellectual and political foundations of her greatness in the twentieth century. A political struggle now began for the conquest of power which has not yet reached midstream and the Indian youth is putting forth fresh blossoms of unusual promise in this war. We did not succeed in our attempt in the Round Table Conferences in London, of which I was a most insignificant member, in the

years 1930-33, and it may appear to some people that the four years which we spent in London were years of misspent energy. This, I submit, is an erroneous view of our work in London. We did not succeed in framing a constitution that could work. We were, I confess, hampered by so many obstacles in our path that it would have been a miracle if we had succeeded. The Indian constitution is not an easy thing to frame, as we found to our cost. We consumed our energy much on interminable discussions on the constitutional abstractions, and an enormous amount of time was consumed on discussions on the Legislature, the Cabinet and numerous other topics which an expert on the constitution loves to treat at length. We did not know—at least I did not know then—that the real foundations of national prosperity are development of the economic resources of our land, and the real wealth of the country consists in the skill, patriotism and discipline of the common man. Somehow, in our discussions on the mysteries of constitution, we seem to have ignored the fact that the peasant and the Indian workman, the simple God-fearing Indian soldier and the peasant-proprietor are their country's pride, and I admit that if we had taken the trouble to discuss the concrete problems of these classes, which are, and must remain, the pillars of Indian society, we might have seen our efforts crowned with success. In those days, we were content to adopt an irritatingly slow pace, and our timidity found expression in a constitution which, judged even by the Cripps' standards, is wholly out of tune with the spirit of the age.

During the last fifty years, Indian leaders have been building up the fabric of our national life which had disintegrated during the last century. I cannot discuss here the political unity of India as I do not wish to discuss controversial problems of current politics, but those who are fond of pointing out the political division of India conveniently forget the fact that Russia, which is now fighting with unexampled valour, as a single unit, is more

hopelessly divided racially than any other country in the world. Let me quote here the figures given by Mr. Maisky in 1942. The latest figures of the total population of the Union, according to Mr. Maisky, are 193 millions. Among these millions, there are 180 different languages, of which the most important number 70. Their newspapers are printed in 70 different languages, and so are text-books for the schools. Russian theatres give performances in 45 different languages. These differences have not proved an obstacle to Russia's unity. On the contrary, they have vitalised Russia, and culturally undeveloped races have profited enormously by contact with those highly developed. Lord Acton uttered a profound truth when he said "The combination of different nations in a State is as necessary a condition of civilised life as a combination of men in society. The inferior races are raised by living in political union with races intellectually superior. Exhausted and decaying nations are revived by contact with a younger vitality. Nations in which the elements of organisation and capacity for government have been lost are restored and educated anew under the discipline of a stronger and less corrupted race. This fertilising and regenerating process can only be obtained by living under one government". The example of Russia will illustrate the truth of this statement. In India, too, the same process has been at work. Stronger and more virile races have succeeded in regenerating less developed races throughout the country, and the racial, cultural unity of India is a fact. One has only to go through the extreme north of India, as Kashmir, as I did last year and reach the gates of India, Bombay, to find out how strong and real is India's unity. There is only one language spoken, Hindi or Hindustani, through this enormous block, and only one predominant race among these 200 million people. Those who are constantly harping on India's division and her disunity are indulging in a species of wishful thinking, as it is only by stressing these divisions, that vested interests can be preserved.

Mr. Chairman, India is marching with gigantic strides towards the goal of complete independence. This will not be merely formal independence, which is barren and meaningless, but the reality of independence, which must give to our land the substance of power so that young India may shape her destiny in accordance with her genius. She has had a plethora of advisers in the past as to how she should run her own house. She knows what she wants, and she loves what she knows. She wants freedom to reconstruct her political and economic life, and she is prepared for any sacrifice to achieve this end. Suffering and sorrow, according to ancient Buddhist philosophy, purify the soul, and India has constantly acted on this doctrine from time immemorial. She knows that freedom cannot be acquired gratis, nor can it be despatched by Air Mail. It can only be acquired through self-discipline and sacrifice. She has thrown herself passionately into the present war because she feels this is not a war of the type with which people are generally acquainted. She believes profoundly in the justice of the Allied cause, as she feels this is a war of ideas, in which the most fundamental rights of humanity are at stake. In this war, there is no middle path, as the war must lead either to annihilation or survival. The high ideals of chivalry which ennobled war in its most gruesome aspects, in days gone by, have been discarded by the Nazis, and in their place we have the new conceptions which regard victory of a nation as wholly inadequate unless it leads to the utter destruction of the enemy. The brave and unsophisticated Indian soldier, who is now pouring his blood in profusion in the deadly mud of Cassino and in the malarial tracts of Burma, has brought into these fields the spirit which has been handed to him for centuries. The old Indian tradition of chivalry and heroism, the diverse creeds which inspire India's numerous regiments, have made the Indian soldier invulnerable and have delivered him from the bondage of fear, whether of life or of death or of the hereafter. They have given him a motive for the good life, and, to use a

phrase of Marcus Aurelius, they have taught him to live as if on a mountain top. They are doing this, because by fighting for human freedom, they are preparing the way for the freedom of their own country.

Mr. Chairman, I have uttered these statements in the response to the toast on India, as I feel that this distinguished gathering, representing the mind and heart of South Africa should know and understand what India is thinking and feeling. Her political progress will depend wholly upon her exertions, and she has now sufficient capacity and self-assurance to feel that she cannot be denied freedom if she remains true to her ideals, ideals which have made her a participant in this titanic struggle, and will carry her to the sanctuary of independence. Having tried many ways during the last fifty years, she has come to look at her own strength as the source of her greatness, and the leaders of Indian revival have no doubt that her goal will be achieved wholly through her intrinsic effort. She welcomes gratefully the help and encouragement which other nations have extended to her in the past. She is also grateful to numerous friends who have proved a source of encouragement and inspiration to her children overseas. India has always attached supreme importance to the treatment of her children in South Africa. I have no desire at this stage to deal with this subject at length, as this will be dealt with by my esteemed friend Hon'ble Harry Lawrence and replied to by Mr. A.I. Kajee, but I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention the position of the Indian community in the Union. Before I do so let me make a particular reference to two great friends of the Indian community, besides others, who have graced this occasion with their presence. I refer to my esteemed friends, Hon'ble Dr. Colin Steyn and Hon'ble Mr. Harry Lawrence. Before I came to this country, I made it a point to read some books on South Africa, and one of the books which I read was a brilliant work by Lord Bryce on this country. Lord Bryce has given a pen-picture of the Orange Free State which he visited, and he met there the renowned Boer statesman,

President Steyn. Since that time, I have had a natural desire to know the son of that great leader, and from the time I met him in the early part of 1942 to the present day, it will be true to say that to know Dr. Colin Steyn is to love him. He is carrying on the tradition of statesmanship and sagacity of his noble and talented family, and I have no doubt that with the passage of time, he will enhance it. The Cape is justly proud of the Hon'ble Mr. Harry Lawrence, and I take this opportunity of placing on record the help and advice which I received from him as Minister of the Interior for a year and a half. We had to discuss numerous problems which affected the Indian community, and I always found him courteous, sympathetic, and considerate. It is a privilege and a pleasure to work with him, and though young in years, he has the wisdom of Solomon and the sagacity of an elder statesman. It is the good fortune of our community that we have men like Messrs. Lawrence and Steyn, besides other members of the Cabinet, who are sympathetic to the legitimate and just aspirations of the Indian community.

Mr. Chairman, I will conclude by pointing out India's interest in her children overseas. To Indians, the South African Indian community is specially dear, as India followed with the deepest interest Mahatma Gandhi's heroic struggle in Natal and the Transvaal. In fact, most of our Indian leaders took practical interest in the efforts of the Indian community in this land, and her interest in it remains unabated. India is anxious that the Indians in South Africa should be gradually freed from all the restrictions which have been imposed upon them as a race for the last sixty years, and she hopes that this will be possible with goodwill and co-operation of the best elements of Europeans and Indians. The Pegging Act has seriously affected India's attitude and the whole of India is unanimously opposed to it. It is my earnest hope that the time may not be distant when this obnoxious measure, which has proved a serious obstacle to the restoration of good relations between the two countries, may be repealed or replaced by some alternative

machinery which is agreed to by the sensible elements of the two races. Nor is this all. The Indian in South Africa should be restored the franchise in municipalities, provincial councils and parliament of which he was deprived in 1896 and 1924. The sooner it is done the better for the future relations between the two countries. I am absolutely certain of a glorious future for the Indian community in this land, as I know from experience of the three provinces that the community contains the material out of which great nations are made.

Mr. Chairman, I must now conclude by saying that it is my earnest hope that the time is not distant when the finest products of South Africa and India will meet constantly, pool their resources of experience and sympathy and develop a brotherhood of spirit and mind which will forge indissoluble links between the two countries.

Reply to the speeches delivered at the Banquet given by the Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg on January 11, 1945.

MR. MAYOR, MEMBERS OF THE TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to the Transvaal Indian Congress for the honour which they have done me to-night. I am also grateful to a number of my European friends who have done the Congress the honour of attending this banquet, and I am particularly grateful to you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind words which you have expressed in felicitous terms. I am therefore overwhelmed by mixed feelings of pleasure and regret. I am naturally pleased with the manner in which the leaders of the Indian Congress have expressed their appreciation of my humble service to the Indian race in the Union. I know, of course, that on these occasions it is customary to use the language of hyperbole, and to magnify whatever services I may have rendered to each or all of the Provinces of South Africa. One cannot expect language of mathematical precison in describing the work of the chief guest, and it would be a hazardous undertaking to subject these expressions to a microscopic examination, after the excitement and agitation of this function have ceased to operate. I can say quite frankly that nobody is more conscious of the limitations and shortcomings of my work during the last three years than myself. While I am naturally pleased with this expression of confidence of the Indian community, my regret at parting with all of you present here, and thousands outside this room, is poignant. During my stay in your midst, I have been fortunate enough to make many friends, both among Indians and Europeans, and I value the help and guidance which they have rendered to me in the performance of my arduous task. I came as a stranger amongst you in a country of great promise and considerable achievement. Your active help and advice have enabled me to understand the complexity of the problems

with which I was faced. As one who has watched the achievements of your young country in the countless epics of daily battle, whether in parliament, the press or the platform, I cannot help feeling a sense of profound humility before the leaders of both the Indian and European communities. Your co-operation to me in my difficult task immediately removed the feeling that I was alone and helpless in a new country.

Of your country itself, all I need say here is that the more one lives in this beautiful land, the more one comes to love it. South Africa has revealed in her great struggle a power both of endurance and of organisation which has given to the people of this land a new status in the regard of mankind. It is a country with a heroic tradition, and its great reservoir of character and ability are the surest guarantee of its future greatness. Individually, I have nothing but admiration for the type which South African environment and history have developed among her citizens, and I am carrying back to my land a deep devotion and abiding affection for the numerous persons, both Indian and European, whom it has been my privilege and pleasure to meet. I cannot speak too highly of the calibre of your leaders in industry, parliament and press, and I am convinced that South Africa will surmount the difficulties inherent in the period of reconstruction after the war, if she remains true to the ideals which have made her great.

Let me descend from the general to the particular, and refer here to the City of Johannesburg. I confess to you, Mr. Mayor, that when I came to your beautiful city on November 23rd, 1941, I was overwhelmed by its incongruity and its American character. I expressed this frankly to one of your predecessors, Mr. Thoburn, who was the first to pay call upon my arrival. I felt lost in the hurly-burly of an amorphous collection of buildings which seem to have been designed on some mysterious principles. Gradually, bit by bit, when I studied it in detail and explored its secret beauty, Johannesburg grew

upon me as London grows upon one, and I claim now that I have as great a devotion to your noble city as you yourself, and will never cease to look back to the period of my stay in your midst, and under your protection, with a feeling of unalloyed happiness. I may say that I have had the privilege of knowing four Mayors of Johannesburg, Messrs. Thoburn, Levesson, Holland, and yourself, and in discussions with them I have found an example of civic pride and devotion which express a sense of fulfilment far more profound than anything we are likely to experience in the normal round of our daily lives. The transformation of scattered and lopsided buildings into a modern economy in which all the resources of industrialism, human and mechanical, have been organised, is an achievement of which you, Mr. Mayor, may be legitimately proud. Year after year, men and women, both young and old, have found in the city the inspiration which makes them feel that they are a part, however small, of the great purpose which has the world on its side. What Johannesburg will be in future, we do not know. All that we need say now is that this beautiful city has a great future and her people will enjoy the physical and spiritual conditions which evoke constructive enterprises in industry and commerce, in science no less than in arts.

I have had the privilege and pleasure of touring through the main centres of your civic and industrial life in three provinces of the Union, and have discussed some of the problems of your land with your captains of industry and statesmen. The experience I have gained will be of inestimable value to me in my own country, and I will treasure the friendships which have been formed in the course of my official duties. The hospitality of South Africa is proverbial, and joined to this quality is the grace and charm of your social life, and the breadth of your interests. The leaders of your community must have been men of vision and imagination, and they assumed the validity of the old categories of European civilisation built upon the idea that a high standard of living is both inevitable

and permanent. The early pioneers of this land formulated its economic imperatives and political character for the European section of the population with vision and imagination. I found evidence of this foresight in the numerous cities and towns which I have visited during the past three years, and was deeply impressed with the devotion of citizens to their cities. The spirit which animates the city fathers throughout the Union is one of the most potent means of unifying this country, and the interest which the ratepayers take in the welfare of their city is the surest foundation of their political freedom. South Africa can boast of a succession of able and brilliant leaders in every sphere of activity, and the present war has given an impetus to her industry and the military ardour of her youth which are bound to make it the leader of Africa.

Mr. Mayor, I have so far dealt with the political and intellectual climate of South Africa, and have confined myself to the impressions I have gained of the leading figures in contemporary South Africa. I will now deal with the peculiar problems of the Indian community. I do not know and have never been able to find out how the Indian community managed to penetrate the mental and physical frontiers of the Transvaal. I found, in reply to my discreet enquiries, that Indian leaders were by no means anxious to enlighten me on this topic, as they felt that it was probably best to draw a veil of oblivion over the manner and methods by which they entered this province. Suffice it to say that my countrymen are heard of as far back as 1885, as in that year a law was first passed against the Asiatics. From that time to the present day there has been a constant stream which has served to fertilise the industry of the Transvaal. The community has gone through many vicissitudes during these years and has been subjected to a series of discriminatory laws which still disfigure the statute book. Curiously enough, until the end of the last war, the feeling against the Indian race was not very strong, and the early Indian settlers worked and lived in Pretoria and elsewhere in an atmosphere

of friendliness and even cordiality. Old Indian residents of Pretoria have described to me vividly the constant intercourse and friendship which they cultivated with the venerable and revered leader of Afrikaners, President Kruger. Some of them used to go to that inspiring leader's house, have a quiet chat and a cup of coffee, and discuss the problems which faced them in their isolation from the rest of the Pretoria citizens, in a spirit of frankness and freedom. In the country places which I have visited, I have found no evidence of any deep-rooted hostility between the Afrikaners and the Indian shopkeepers. I have been to many parts of the Transvaal and the first question which I inevitably put to my countrymen was, "How are you getting on?" The reply has invariably been that they were getting on excellently with their Afrikaner brethren, and they had nothing to complain of. Up till 1920 there was no question of any hostility between the two races, and the Afrikaner leaders, nourished no doubt on the Old Testament spirit, and fortified in their beliefs by the desperate struggle which they had to carry on for their political existence, accorded to them a treatment which, though not ideal, was tolerable.

The end of the war produced inevitably post-war neurosis, and its aftermath, racial and sectional hostility and bitterness. We find the same phenomenon in the United States of America, where racial hostility took the form of racial riots in the post-war period. In South Africa, however, there were other causes which produced a reaction. The most important of all these factors was the enterprise, initiative and industry of the Indian trader in the Transvaal. By 1920 the Indian had built up a solid foundation for the success of his trade throughout the Transvaal, and this was naturally resented by his trade rivals, who had hitherto failed against the intelligence and industry of the Indian race. They, therefore, started the Anti-Asiatic League at Krugersdorp, which became the centre of anti-Indian agitation. Many of those who were vociferous in their demand for a law against the In-

dian have changed their views, and I am happy to state that some of them are now the ablest and sincerest friends of the Indian people. However, the mischief was done, and from that time a series of laws were passed against the Asiatics in the Transvaal. The Indian community has had no rest from that time to the present day, and the proportion of discriminatory laws against Asiatics has not been reduced. The Class Areas Bill of 1925 was fortunately shelved, and the Cape Town Agreement was signed in 1927. It is not necessary here to discuss the details of these measures, as this will take me too far afield, but I may add that the Agreement did not embody a solution of the Indian problem, though it formulated a series of pious maxims which have not yet been applied. The Cape Town Agreement did not aim at solving the political problem of the Indian community, nor did it embody a comprehensive solution of the social problem with which the Indian race was faced. All that it did achieve was to promise help in certain restricted spheres which were precisely defined in the document, in a distant future. The promises made in the Cape Town Agreement have not yet been redeemed. In fact, there is no evidence that they are likely to be redeemed in the near future. On the contrary, from that time to the present day, the Indian community, or to put it differently, the Asiatic danger has been exploited by both political parties solely for electioneering purposes, and a series of laws have been passed which have further impaired the foundations of goodwill and trust between the two communities.

The Act of 1932 was directed against the Indian community, and this was followed immediately after by the Feetham Commission. There was then a lull, but it was broken by the Interim Act of 1939. This Act was passed on the assumption that a number of Indians had penetrated into predominantly European areas. This was denied by Mr. Hofmeyer, who resigned his Cabinet post in protest against the Bill. It was an unjust, iniquitous and cruel law, which subjected the Indian community to a species of humilia-

tion of which a gifted race, endowed with ancient culture and glory in her martial pride, felt with a poignancy and bitterness which are hard to describe. The Interim Act had its root in the feeling of superiority which had been consciously developed by the new doctrines of Nazism in the Union. It is surprising that this Act should have been sponsored by Mr. Stuttaford, the so-called Cape Liberal, who was then Minister of the Interior. He rushed the Bill through the House, without waiting to collect the data on the subject, and, as a belated concession to the insistent demand of its opponents, appointed the Broome Commission to investigate the extent of the penetration. The procedure was extraordinary and unprecedented. Instead of proving the extent of penetration by facts and figures, it took penetration for granted, and passed the Interim Act. The Broome Commission after elaborate enquiries found that there had been no appreciable penetration into European areas, and the Interim Act was, therefore, passed wholly upon groundless fears and false data. The Interim Act ought to have been repealed immediately after the Report of the first Broome Commission, but it was renewed for another two years in 1941 as the Report had not been published by that time. This was in 1941. The Indian community was content to wait for the year 1943, which was the date for the expiry of the Interim Act. It was under the impression that the Union Government will honour its pledge and let the Act expire that year, as it had been renewed only for two years in 1941. What happened in 1943? Everybody knows that the Pegging Act was passed then, which not only applied the principles of the Interim Act to Natal, but renewed it in the Transvaal, not for two, but for threeyears.

This is a brief history of a recent legislation which throws a flood of light on the methods adopted by the Union Government in dealing with the Indian problem. I have searched in vain for such a piece of legislation in other countries, and have found the technique employed by the Union Government to be without any precedent

in any civilised country. The record of South Africa in her dealings with the Asiatics from 1885 is one of which no country can be proud. The Pegging Act of 1943 is still on the statute book. It was thought that the Pretoria Agreement signed in April, last year, will provide a suitable basis for a compromise and there was hope of the solution of this problem last year. Unfortunately, the Pretoria Pact itself was torn into ribbons by the three Ordinances which were passed by the Natal Provincial Council in November last, and the question has become far more complicated since that time by the swift march of events in India. Had the Pretoria Pact been implemented in Natal, it is probable that the Transvaal problem would have been solved by the repeal of the provisions of the Interim Act embodied in the Pegging Act of 1943; but the repudiation of the Pact has seriously complicated the Transvaal issue. The position in the Transvaal is as follows. The Pegging Act is in force, and as this Act embodies the Interim Act of 1939, which was renewed in 1941, the future of the Indian community in this province is dark indeed. The Indian community depends for its livelihood on licence to trade. Withhold these licences, and the community is doomed. The Act effectively restricts this right of the Indian race, which it has enjoyed in this land since it came to this province, nearly sixty years ago. Many leading South Africans, such as Mr. Hofmeyer and others, have stressed the injustice of this measure, and Mr. Hofmeyer has offered his resignation twice on this issue—once in 1939, when the Interim Bill was introduced, and on the second occasion, in 1943, when the Pegging Bill included the Transvaal in its purview. The community has carried on sustained agitation against this measure since 1943, and India has taken a lively interest in the activities of her kith and kin in the Union.

This, Mr. Mayor, is one of the principal disabilities from which the Indian community suffers. It is a disability which is keenly resented by millions of Indians throughout India, as well as by two million Indians over-

seas. This is not all. Owing mainly to this Act, the relations between the two countries have deteriorated, and South Africa herself has become the target of attack of all the civilised nations of Europe. The Indian community has borne with patience and fortitude a wrong which has hurt its soul more profoundly than anything else, and the Indian race throughout the world has protested against this iniquity in no uncertain terms.

I have said above that the question of trade licences is a matter of life and death to the Indian race in this province. Take away the licence to trade, and the community will be extinguished. Yet this basic right, which had been enjoyed by Indians for a long time, has been restricted and curtailed.

There are other problems with which the Indian community is faced. Housing is one of the most important. The Feetham Commission had set aside certain areas for Indians in Johannesburg, which are called Feetham areas, but this was not, and could not be, the solution of the Indian problem. The Transvaal Indian Congress was strongly opposed to this measure of segregation, and it passed a strong resolution offering determined opposition to the principle involved in the Act of 1932. For reasons which I need not detail here, this resolution was not implemented and the Feetham Commission went on functioning, in spite of the protests of the Congress. As a result of its activity we have the present Feetham areas in Johannesburg. The Indian population in the City of Johannesburg has increased considerably since, and the congestion in Feetham areas has created numerous social problems, has intensified the onset of tuberculosis among Indians, has impaired their vitality, and prevented the Indian community from effecting necessary improvements in its housing. The problem is now so serious that it admits of no delay whatsoever, and it is my earnest hope that the Johannesburg Corporation will take up the matter and suggest constructive measures for Indian housing in the City. As

the present areas are wholly inadequate for its needs, it is, in my opinion, essential that the Indian community should be assigned additional areas in the City itself, so that it may build not merely houses that conform to European standards, but also create institutions which will cater for its intellectual and social needs. The Corporation should also construct blocks of flats for Indian workmen in the City, and should also recover land which was initially intended by the Feetham Commission for the Indian community, but was later on usurped by individuals and corporations for industrial purposes. If it is not feasible to recover this area from these corporations and individuals, then it seems only fair that the community should be granted alternative areas to meet its pressing needs.

The Corporation is also considering the question of an Indian Township at Diepkloof, and Mr. Fotheringham asked my office to recommend eight persons who will advise him on the question of an Indian Township. The principle of this office has invariably been to consult the leaders of the Transvaal Indian Congress before any decision is taken, as it is the only accredited body of the Indian community in the province. I, therefore, requested this body to recommend to me seven persons who will represent it in its consultations with the City Corporation. I added one more person, Revd. Seigamoney as he championed an interest that was not represented in the Congress. These eight representatives had many consultations with Mr. Fotheringham, and selected a site in Diepkloof for the proposed Indian Township. I should like to make it clear that these eight men did not commit themselves to the details of the scheme. The recommendations of representatives appointed by my office and recommended by the Congress were tentative and provisional, and none of them committed himself to the scheme, unless basic conditions outlined by them were approved. One of the most important conditions is that Indians who do not move into the Township

should continue to reside undisturbed in their houses. The Indian community is afraid that the Township will simply be the thin end of the wedge, and while it is voluntary to begin with, Indians who do not move into it, may be compelled by some provincial Ordinance to leave their houses in the City, and vacate them for Europeans who may occupy their houses as part of the post-war pattern of European housing. There are disquieting rumours of a Town Planning Draft Ordinance which, it is said, may be introduced next March. The Indian community fears that proposals for post-war reconstruction have not yet been divulged. I myself would not have paid much attention to rumours, but my experience of negotiations in Natal over the Pretoria Pact has disillusioned me. I could never conceive it possible that the Pretoria agreement which had been solemnly signed by two parties would be flagrantly violated. The *volte face* in Natal has given me a terrible shock, and shown to every one here how necessary it is for the Indian race to maintain eternal vigilance. This is and must be the only guarantee of its freedom and it must scrutinise with the greatest care any proposal which affects the foundations of its social life. I am definitely of opinion that the Township scheme, which has so far been tentatively examined, without any commitment by the eight representatives or by me, must be carefully considered by the reconstructed Transvaal Indian Congress.

I have so far dealt with the question of housing in Johannesburg. As you are no doubt aware, this problem is very acute in the countryside, while in Pretoria itself Indian housing is in a scandalous condition. The Asiatic Bazaar in Pretoria has been grossly neglected for years, and the sanitary conditions of some parts of the location are indescribable. Senator Clarkson and myself inspected some of these parts in the location a few weeks ago, and it was borne in upon all who were there that the Asiatic location demanded immediate attention. I am told that proposals are on foot for radical improvement, and I hope and believe that they will be carried out without

delay.

In the countryside, the need for Indian housing is most urgent. I have heard various rumours about a new scheme which aims at removing Indians in all towns of the Transvaal from their present residence, and compelling them to live in Indian Townships, which it is proposed to establish at a safe and sanitary distance from such towns. I could not believe that was possible in the year of grace, 1945, but the rumours have been so persistent that I cannot dismiss them as groundless. I am inclined to think that it is essential for the Transvaal Indian Congress to get this matter cleared up immediately. In fact, it is said that an official of a Government Department has actually toured these places and expressed opinions which have made the Indian community apprehensive of its future.

The next problem which faces the Indian community is the question of education for Indian young men. I would like to put on record my appreciation of the work of the Transvaal Education Department, and to state that the Transvaal province has done in the past, and is doing at present, substantial service to the Indian community by providing for a type of education which is in advance of other provinces. I should like to state here that General Pienaar has listened to the complaints of the Indian community with sympathy and attention, though it has not always been possible for him to redress their grievances. He has, however, been accessible, and has visited Indian educational institutions in his official capacity.

Mr. Mayor, I am afraid I have gone into minute details in my account of the Indian community. I hope you will excuse me for it, as this is my last speech on some of the complex issues with which my community is faced at the present time. In the solution of these problems it needs the help, advice and guidance of the European community in this land. This has not been wanting in the past; I am convinced it will be forthcoming in the future. The

problems of the Indian community in the Union are not peculiar to the Indian race; they affect many sections of the non-Europeans, and are exercising the mind and thought of their leaders. I am concerned here only with the Indian problem, and have necessarily had to confine myself to the disabilities from which the community is suffering at present.

Having dealt with the specific problems which the Indian community in the Transvaal is now facing, let me give here an assessment of its position in the economy of the Transvaal. The leaders of the Indian race arrived here at a time when the knowledge of their country was limited, and there was naturally prejudice among ignorant persons against strangers with distinctive garb and different standard of living. It would be an affectation to deny that they were slow in adopting European standards of living, and maintained the habits of their country in a land which had adopted the essentials of European culture. Had they shown greater flexibility and adaptability to their new surroundings and assimilated the new culture quickly, it is probable that the Indian problem would not have assumed serious proportions. They had, it is true, a reservoir of talent and character which was most useful in their competition with their rivals in trade. They showed intelligence of a high order and their industry and fortitude in misfortune and difficulties gave them a position in the life of the country which was duly acknowledged by their Afrikaner neighbours in their business dealings. Had they imbibed the traditions of European culture, absorbed the lessons of scientific discoveries, and grasped the importance of science in the solution of the problem of material existence—housing, dress, nutrition, public health and hygiene as well as technical equipment—they would have assimilated the new environment without any difficulty, and would have become an integral part of the new society in which they found themselves. Technical development and technological progress have become the categorical imperatives of modern

civilisation, and have been woven into a tradition of man's effort at emancipation both from the tyranny of nature and the blighting influence of racial discord. Though the Indian race has had unpleasant experience of discrimination in this new land, and they had the capacity to transform their bitter experience into a glorious tradition, they continued to be the victims of a fate they had not decreed and were sacrificed at the altar of a tradition and culture which they had not absorbed.

The Indians, who served an essential purpose in the economy of the Transvaal, and supplied a long-felt want by providing in their stores all, or nearly all that the countryside of the Transvaal required, settled down in their new surroundings with a feeling of thankfulness, and became respected members of their community. There were some, however, who could not settle down, but moved from town to town until they reached some frontier of safety. During the last fifty years the Indian community in this province has achieved security and stability in the only sphere which was open to it—trade. Had opportunities been given to the pioneers of the Indian race in the beginning of their settlement, I have no doubt that the community would have thrown up many leaders in industry and commerce, in parliament and in municipal boards. The isolation of the community, which was the inevitable result of a distorted view of our culture, failed to evoke among Indians of the highest calibre the full potentialities of dignity and devotion of which the Indian race is capable. Hence, trade remained the only vehicle for the expression of its special gifts of mind and spirit, and though Indians became prosperous and wealthy, their leading members came to believe that the greatest man is necessarily the wealthiest. It followed that wealth alone measured the importance of an individual. The community was driven by inherent logic of the position in which it was placed to shower upon the richest men the eulogies which are normally reserved for persons who have rendered the greatest services to their country.

All that I need say in defence of this narrow outlook is that the behaviour of some of the early pioneers was conditioned by the system in which they lived. Any other race would not have survived the conditions which had been designed for its social isolation. It was not eligible for any service under the Union Government or local authorities; it was not allowed to trade freely, as its rivals were apprehensive of its intelligence and ability; hotels, restaurants were barred to its most cultured members; it could not move freely in the parks, cinemas, entertainment halls, or in transport services; it could not own property in most parts of the Transvaal. Although it was accused of living in insanitary surroundings, it was denied opportunities for self-improvement and culture for its leading members who wanted comfortable houses in good surroundings. In the Orange Free State, every member of the Indian community was expelled from that province. Again, from 1920 onwards there has been a succession of laws against the Indian race in the Transvaal, which has aggravated the disabilities under which the community suffers in the Transvaal. Is it surprising that the Indian race, segregated from all forms of activity, except trading, should have found it difficult to maintain a high level of intellectual or social standard? How can a sullen, repressed people be useful citizens or contented residents?

In spite of the restrictions imposed upon the Indians in the Union, the community has a record of service of which any race may be legitimately proud. It has built up excellent relations with the Afrikaners in country places, and has maintained a high level of industry and honesty in its dealings with the different strata of the South African society. In Johannesburg itself, Indians have established themselves on a solid basis, and their position is now secure. During my tour through many parts of the Transvaal, I have been greatly struck with their enterprise and initiative. The Indian young men, too, are forging ahead, and the present generation of Indian youth is full of pro-

mise. You find them in many liberal professions, and there are many promising young men in the Witwatersrand University and Cape Town University, as well as in the classes for non-European students at Durban. In the catering trade, the Indian has particularly distinguished himself, and there are thousands of Indian employees throughout the Transvaal. Slowly they are building their own institutions and organising schools and colleges which are bound to have profound influence on the progress of the Indian race in South Africa. When we compare the population of Indians in this province—which, I may remind you, Mr. Mayor, does not exceed 30,000—and the serious handicaps under which the Indian community is suffering now, we are entitled to regard the achievement of the Indian community as satisfactory. Very few races would have risen superior to the conditions which prevail in South Africa, and most of them would have been extinguished under the blighting influence of discrimination. That Indians have overcome these obstacles is due to the fact that the race has timeless persistence and a unique capacity for survival. It has been fortified by the rigorous moral training which each of its members undergoes, and this alone has enabled it to bear the succession of shocks which a series of repressive laws have dealt to its dignity, honour and prestige. I am confident of the future of the Indian race in the Union, as I feel that it has now attained manhood and is determined to survive as a self-respecting and honoured body among the community of races which compose the structure of South African society. The Indian race has become conscious of its unity, and has rediscovered its vitality, and I am certain that the Indian community has an essential service to perform in the economy of post-war South Africa. Had the leaders of our community been given a chance in this land to develop their intellectual powers, had Natal utilised the great reservoir of ability which the Indian race contains, the industrialisation of Natal would have been speeded up and the garden province would have outstripped all other provinces

in industrial activity.

It is no use crying over spilt milk, but I feel that the lessons of the past serve all as an example for the future. Instead of segregating the Indian race in the Union, South Africa could have lent a helping hand in improving the social life and developing the intellectual ability of the race. The Apostolic age preached a great fellowship of men and women—the values in those times transcended the privileges and vested rights of the few. The early life of the Christian fathers is replete with examples of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice. They were animated with a faith in equality and human brotherhood which enabled them to destroy the barriers of privilege and caste. The noblest period of the early Christian Church emphasised the elevation of the common man, and it offered to the humblest of its believers the right to a faith in his salvation. Would it not have been conducive to the growth of the human spirit and human freedom if the leaders of Christianity in South Africa had written the precepts of early Christianity into the inner fabric of a universal humanity ?

The victory of early Christianity over paganism meant hope, instead of despair, endeavour instead of resignation. Unfortunately, the doctrines which produced a succession of victories for the Church in Europe and Asia, and brought about a spiritual reformation, the like of which has never been witnessed before, have been radically changed to suit the racial theories on which segregation is based. Protestant Churches in South Africa follow rather than lead public opinion, and we have, as a result, a secular pattern of behaviour, the design of which is supplied by the growth of a society based on segregation, which repeats its problems and begets its habits, from year to year. It must also be admitted that the Puritan tradition in England, as well as the Calvinist tradition in South Africa, prepared the identification of grace with success in the material sphere. Materialism is now supreme, and the Church has lost all power to control its

luxurious growth. The Calvinist ideal regards material success as a sign of God's favour and poverty is regarded as a sin. The doctrine is reinforced by other elements of a realistic philosophy, which suspects beauty, regards segregation as a necessary consequence of the doctrine of predestination, and glorifies the new aristocracy which has risen upon the ashes of the old feudal nobility. Such doctrines are a serious threat to the civilisation of the new world which is being forged in the crucible of suffering in the present world war. Many South African leaders are, therefore, supporting a social order, which, by its inequalities, is a negation of the principles for which the allies have waged the present war during the last six years. This has produced a conflict in which classes and races lead different lives; their members speak a different language, and the common stock of welfare that we might relate to common needs is divided without relation to effort, sacrifice, skill or industry.

I have, I am afraid, digressed a little from the specific subject with which we are concerned tonight. I have done so as I feel that unless we assess the influence of the Church in the determination of the policy which is dominant in South Africa, at the present time, we shall fail to analyse a most important element in the life and thought of South Africa. The early missionaries who preached the gospel in South, East and Central Africa were men whose life and work in this land are a source of inspiration to millions of non-Europeans. One has only to visit Lovedale and Fort Hare to realise the vitality of the Christian tradition. The astonishing triumph of Christianity, during the first three centuries of its history, was achieved at a time when the foundations of the Greek-Roman civilisation were tottering. It was largely the faith of a class which was, in many cases, the lowest in the land, and was held in profound contempt by the men who ruled Rome. Why did it succeed? Because the masses, who were ignorant, illiterate, poor and disease-ridden, poignantly felt the injustice of a world in which neither effort nor virtue was rewarded, in

which character was wholly ignored and the concepts of moral values had collapsed. Christianity triumphed by the irresistible force and potency of its doctrines, no less than by its burning faith in fraternity and equality. What is the position at the present time? While there are self-sacrificing leaders of the Christian Church who have dedicated their lives to the improvement in the lot of the under-privileged, it must be stated that Christianity as a living religion, in its treatment of non-Europeans, has ceased to be a positive factor in the spiritual and social life of South Africa. In some cases the theory and practice of segregation, in its hideous form, is actually defended by leaders of some Churches. The early English missionaries who founded Lovedale and built up Fort Hare had a different conception of their vocation. One can still read their lives in the pious memorials which are treasured in these institutions, and are still a source of inspiration and hope to thousands of persons. Where are the successors of Dr. Phillips and others who laboured unceasingly so that the message of hope may be transmitted from generation to generation to millions of men throughout South Africa? Unfortunately it must be admitted that a number of leaders of the Church find it easier to maintain good relations with the leaders of the ruling class in the State than to preach a doctrine which is bound to be frowned upon by influential elements. In fact, many of them have become 'realists', as if realism were a principle of action or a guide to earnest Christians.

Mr. Mayor, I have been obliged to discuss an aspect of the problem which does not seem to have received the attention which it deserves. Let me now turn to the political work which the Indian community has rendered in the past. The Transvaal Indian Congress has become the accredited organ of the Indian community, and I am indeed happy and pleased that I am leaving the Indian community united. It had become disunited in 1939, owing to reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter. When I arrived in November, 1941, I found that the two

groups were not prepared to coalesce but I was confident that good sense will ultimately prevail. Through the efforts of leaders of both the groups, informal discussions went on for several months last year and a number of meetings of the two bodies took place. These discussions proved most useful in removing misunderstandings and clarifying the basic issues, and it was ultimately agreed that 18 members of the Nationalist Bloc should join the Transvaal Indian Congress, and five members of the Bloc should be elected to the Executive Committee. A meeting of the Working Committee was held on the 7th January, this year which witnessed the reunion of the two groups. I watched the proceedings with lively interest, and was deeply impressed with the high level of debate on many important problems of the Indian community. I am happy, indeed, that the unity of the Indian community should have been achieved in the Transvaal and Natal, during my regime, and I will always look back to the unity which the Indian race in the Transvaal and Natal achieved in 1945 and 1943, respectively, as the happiest event of my sojourn in this land. It is unnecessary for me to detail the services which the Congress has rendered to the Indian community. It is not too much to state that the Indian community would have become politically impotent without the driving power, initiative and devotion of the band of workers who have been at the helm of Congress affairs. I have had the privilege of working with the leaders of the Congress for three years, and I can say without hesitation that I was impressed with their ability, integrity, industry, and spirit of self-sacrifice. It would be invidious for me to particularise but I may mention here that the Indian community sustained an irreparable loss recently through the sad demise of its President and Secretary. Its President, the late Mr. Valod, was universally loved, and was an example to the Indian race. A man of rare ability who hid it under extreme modesty, Valod was a unifying influence in the life of the race, and was able to keep the Indian community

together. This is a great value in politics, and Mr. Valod had it in an uncommon degree. The loss of Mr. S. M. Nana, the General Secretary, is another irreparable loss. Mr. Nana had become the life and soul of the Congress, and he wielded an influence which was unsurpassed. A man of great charm and tact, he was one of the greatest leaders the Indian community has produced in recent times. His self-sacrifice and devotion to duty were proverbial, and it would be difficult for the community to replace him. The Congress has always been distinguished for its balanced outlook on the Indian problem and it mirrors, in its Executive Committee as well as in the Working Committee, the Indian race, in its varied aspects. It has now become an integral part of the political life of the Indian race, and I am confident that it will gain greater power and prestige, with the passage of time. I am of the opinion that the time has come when the Congress leadership should dispense with the help of my office on a much greater scale than has been possible in the past. You have now excellent material in your Congress, and if the university trained men, who have begun to take an active interest in the political growth of their community, helped by the old and experienced workers of the Congress who have worked for it for the last twenty years, pool resources of ability and character, there is no reason why the Congress should not build up brilliant leadership in the immediate future.

I have so far dealt with the problems of the Indian community in the Transvaal, and have deemed it necessary to deal specifically with the most important issues which the Indian race will be called upon to solve. It is sometimes said by its critics that the Indian race in the Union has produced no artist or scholar of outstanding ability, and the Indians have remained essentially a trading community, who have confined their activities to commercial enterprises. There is some truth in this charge, and we have to admit that the race has not yet contributed its quota to the intellectual and spiritual growth of this land. It may be

said in reply that Indians in the Union have had to carry on a hard struggle for existence, and they have survived in this land, against the background of segregation and prejudices, by persistent effort and industry. It must also be admitted that a number of Indians who came to this land were not socially or intellectually equipped to adapt themselves to their new environment. They had to discard a number of their habits before they could take firm root in the soil. This naturally took time and it is by no means clear whether the community has yet attained security in the land. Their status is still undefined. They are often called Union Nationals but they cannot be deemed as citizens of South Africa, as they have not yet been granted the basic rights of citizenship in the land. They have made money; some of them have become rich; but money is not, and cannot be, a substitute for political freedom, and they are still hostages in the hands of the politically enfranchised sections of the population. They are kept in a state of nervous excitement during the parliamentary session at Cape Town as they are not certain whether another discriminatory Bill will not be introduced in the Assembly and rushed through the Union Parliament. They have always had faith in their destiny, as without it the community would have been extinguished. While their main energies have been devoted to the sheer struggle for survival, they have not been oblivious of their duties to their brethren in India, nor have they neglected the education of their children. As even the Cape Liberals have become "realistic," which means in plain terms their inability to fight for principles which have been sanctified by the struggle of their leaders in the nineteenth century, and both the Church and the Labour Party have had to fit themselves into the framework of the society based mainly upon the maintenance of the colour bar, it is not surprising that belief in human freedom has declined from a principle of social action to the status of a Utopianism which the South African historian analyses in precisely the same manner as he discusses the erosion of a belief in the doctrines of the British

Chartists. The schemes of values which had been passionately advocated at the Cape in the nineteenth century have broken down, and some of the descendants of those Cape pioneers have become exponents of the new economic structure which was built up on colour bar and segregation during fifteen years of General Hertzog's regime.

'My advice to the Indian community in the Transvaal would be to build up partnership between the East and the West on a firmer basis of common purpose. They have secured peace and material prosperity under a regime in which technical equipment is combined with dynamic leadership. But the soul of man yearns for freedom, and blessings bestowed under the shadow of discriminatory laws are not appreciated. They feel that the development of the productive capacity of the land and increasing technical superiority without freedom serve merely as forces that threaten all they hold dear.

The Indian community should regard the Transvaal Indian Congress as the apple of its eye. Once this organisation disintegrates, the community will be cut up into numerous fragments, and will cease to count in the Councils of the land. The Congress contains all the elements of the Indian community, and this should be a source of strength and vitality to the Indian race. It has many members of the Nationalist Bloc, as well as many representatives of the conservative section. The co-operation of these two sections will ensure the progress of the Indian community in a balanced and steady manner. The swift evolution of events makes rapid adjustment in a changing situation essential and there is no reason why the Indian leaders with their training and experience should not strike a happy mean between a radical change and stagnation. The love of freedom is deep in your hearts, deeper even than is in the hearts of your brethren in India, as you know what your cousins in India do not, what it is to live for eighty years without social, economic and political freedom. The fight for freedom must, therefore, be carried on, without pause or intermission, but it must be carried on consti-

tutionally, in strict accordance with the laws of the land. You should realise soberly that in your day to day activities, and difficulties which arise from local causes, you must find your salvation in yourself. Depend upon your inherent strength and think of the difficulties which your forefathers encountered when they first arrived in this land. Any nation which not only tolerates but encourages prejudice and discriminatory laws against one group in the state carries within itself the potentialities of developing fascism, as a persistent sore is always a developing cancer. You must, therefore, be constantly on the watch for any sign of incipient fascism as indicated by provincial or central legislature, and draw the attention of the Union Government and the world to it. Propaganda is the life-breath of modern democracies, and you should be vigilant in protecting your rights. It will be India's mission in future to revive the old values, to emphasise the sanctity of personality in the modern world, and to impart to Europe and the rest of the world an energy and vitality which will build the frontiers of our world nearer the road on which freedom can be found. Every one who compares India of the last century, stagnant, pessimistic, convinced of its own futility, with New India, ardent and energetic, and confident in its aspirations and destiny, has to recognise that there is in the inner ethos of our Indian culture the clue to the secret which the Indian race has ever pursued. This alone has ensured her survival. Without her will to live and expand, she would have been broken into a thousand pieces.

I have so far dealt with the aims which your Congress should place prominently in view and have divided them into immediate and ultimate ends. I know that the young members of the Congress will vehemently oppose this division, and would like to realise here and now the ultimate aim. They will demand equality in the immediate present. We must admit that South Africa has given to the Indian community in this land a better physical life, a better knowledge of the application of science to nutrition, an

experience of the advantages of hygiene, and the manifold ways in which science can change the health and environment of the man. Yet, the community is restless, as these material benefits are nothing in comparison with the freedom of the race, to which its noblest leaders in India have dedicated their lives.

South Africa has developed a vigorous industrial life which has changed the economy of East, South and Central Africa. She ought to have given us also a technique of modern democracy, which could bring to our community a method of expressing its opinion, and exercising its influence in the government of the country. In return, Asia could also give to South Africa what she lacks. Both India and China could show to South Africa how different people and races are now living happily together and with mutual respect, how the differences of caste are effaced in daily life by the emotions of pity and sympathy for these unfortunates. India could also show to the people of this land the value of individual human spirit which is the fruit of her long and varied experience. She could also show by her example how differences of race could have been transcended by a profound faith which has served as the refuge of her spirit in days when our race was threatened with moral and political decay. Finally, both India and China could show to South Africa the supreme advantages of fortitude and tolerance which have served to keep the country together, and given it coherence and unity which few multi-racial countries enjoy at the present time. In the middle ages, it was the East that gave her knowledge to the West. In modern times, it is the West that has given to the East. In the immediate future, each will give something to the other and from this mutual cooperation there will spring a richer and a freer life for the two.

We know, every Indian knows, that the future is with India. When Indians are masters in their own homeland—and this will depend solely on their inherent strength, and not upon petitions and memoranda to Committees and Commissions—and reconstruct their national economy,

they shall see to it that their kith and kin overseas are accorded honourable treatment, their race is not subjected to humiliation, and is treated with honour and respect. That time is not distant, as the Indian race, by eighty years of organic political activity, has proved its capacity for leadership in peace and war.

Mr. Mayor, I am afraid I have spoken to-night at considerable length. My only excuse is that this is my swan-song, as it is unlikely that I will address such a distinguished gathering of both races again in South Africa in my life time. I will conclude by exhorting my countrymen not to lose heart. They should carry on their mission of co-operation and tolerance in this land for the building of a better world. One thing is certain. Freedom can no longer be withheld from the Indian race. It will be achieved solely through struggle and vigilance. I am certain that the day is near when the conscience of the world will demand abolition of discrimination. It is my prayer that such a day may not be distant, so that I may live to see a highly gifted and cultured race free from the shackles of segregation. Amen !!

The farewell speech to the Natal Indian Congress on January 21, 1945.

[*Note*—This is the last speech made by the author prior to his return to India. It was delivered at the Avalon Theatre to an audience of almost 2,000 Indians. There were also some representative Europeans at the function. It is a comprehensive address and deals with the position of the Indian in Natal in detail. The author was disillusioned about Natal after 3 years and was forced to refer to tendencies which are bound to create racial friction in this multi-racial province. He expresses his firm faith in the destiny of the Indian race in that province and is convinced that the Indian knows the secret of racial survival and will emerge triumphant from this struggle.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is naturally a time of deep regret to me as my sojourn among Indians in this land for three years has given me opportunity of studying the Indian problem in all its aspects. I have been fortunate enough to make many new friends both among Indians and Europeans in this land, and I have tried to the best of my limited capacity to understand the view point of the European and Indian communities, and have spared no efforts to bring about an honourable settlement between the two races. It would have been wholly inconsistent with my position as an envoy to have confined myself to the Indian community in the study of this problem, and my contacts with leaders of European thought were most useful in removing misunderstanding and suspicion. The functions of an Indian ambassador are two : (1) defence of Indian rights and (2) maintenance of good relations between the European and Indian races in Natal, and between the Union Government and the Government of India. I tried to maintain a judicious balance in the performance of these two functions, and if I had sometimes to subordinate the second condition to the first and give the defence of Indian rights in Natal priority in exceptional cases, and in times of crises, it was due solely to the consideration that the maintenance of the



Sir Shafa'at making his farewell speech at a meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, at Durban, in January, 1945

existing rights and privileges of the Indian race in Natal must be the supreme consideration in the mind of any one who is accredited to the Union Government. No Indian can afford to ignore the effects of curtailment of the rights of the Indian race in the Union during the last twenty-five years, and it is the bounden duty of every person who comes here in my position to safeguard these rights. Every one knows that some of the basic rights which our race enjoyed in the past have been whittled down, and every one is aware of the arguments which have been brought forward with pitiless monotony whenever rights sanctified by law are violently disturbed. I have the proud privilege of being Indian by birth, and I feel that this is the greatest honour that has been conferred upon me, as well as upon all who are members of the Indian community. How then is it possible for any member of our race to forget his duty to his people in this land and sacrifice the rights which your ancestors won by their character without protest?.

I do not think it is necessary to amplify this further, as Indians know through what tribulations and trials our race has passed during the last two years. It is sufficient to state that the period of insecurity and apprehension which the Indian race has experienced during the last two years has left its mark in the proceedings of the press, of the meetings of your body, and the proceedings of the Broome Commission, the Natal Provincial Council and Durban Corporation.

When I arrived in Durban in the beginning of December 1941, and discussed the Indian problem with leaders of Indian and European thought, the sky was calm and serene, and I was buoyed up with the hope that it may be possible for me to make a humble contribution to the solution of the Indian problem. The prospects appeared to be hopeful and I felt certain of achieving an honourable settlement at a time when the Atlantic Charter was ringing in our ears. The war of freedom had not yet been transformed into a war against the Axis,

and enthusiasm for a new world was intensified by the heroic deeds of our soldiers at the front. Durban was calm and was wrapped up in self-complacency, and her serenity was disturbed only now and then by the October elections to the Durban Corporation as well as by one or two by-elections to the Union Assembly.

At a meeting held in Durban in March, 1942, the Mayor of Durban, Mr. Rupert Ellis Brown, promised a piece of land in the Botanic Gardens for an Indian Technical College, and the Indian community was determined to pull its full weight in the economic life of Natal. Suddenly the atmosphere was changed, and the Pegging Bill of 1943 violently disturbed the self-complacency of the Indian race, and the proceedings of the Assembly showed to the world the intensity and volume of anti-Asiatic feeling in the country. The Pegging Act has proved the most serious obstacle to the maintenance of harmonious relations between the two countries, and has roused the race-consciousness of the Indian race in India and the Union. The whole civilised world was shocked by the measure, and it served as excellent propaganda for men in Berlin and Tokyo. By passing the Bill into law South Africa thereby deliberately turned her back upon the supreme issue of the war, which is, and must be, human freedom, and violated the tradition based upon values which repose on truth, the tradition of Cape liberalism, and on hopes which had been fostered in the mind and heart of the Indian people in India, as well as in South, East and Central Africa. This cultivation of conscious aloofness from the world-purpose has so completely isolated South Africa from the rest of the world, no less than from the United Nations which are now fighting the battle for freedom in all hemispheres, that it is an abandonment of the positive life in a manner which it is difficult to distinguish from betrayal of the sacred cause for which all the Allies are now fighting. The effect of the Pegging Act in India was profound, and the Indian people, who were at that time in the throes of a severe economic crisis, forgot their own troubles and

poured out their sympathy to their kith and kin overseas. Committees were formed throughout the country to mobilise support for their brethren in the Union and the Indian people denounced the politics of power which had been embodied in the Act with a ruthless disregard of world opinion. The Pegging Act of 1943 exposed not only the policy and technique of the South African Government, but also the war aims of the Union Government, and her claim to the leadership of Africa. There were men of liberal views in South Africa who opposed the Act as a violation of the creed on which they had been nourished, and we must put on record our appreciation of the noble stand which Mr. Hofmeyer took in 1943. His resignation was happily not accepted. It is, however, true to say that the meaning of Mr. Hofmeyer's sacrifice was reserved for a specialised audience, which has been steadily dwindling during the last ten years, and the Pegging Act was duly passed and enforced in Natal.

The Indian race had so far been spared the humiliation of residential segregation in Natal, but the new doctrines embodied in the Pegging Act took away the right which the Indian people had enjoyed since they came into this country. The opposition to the Pegging Act was so widespread that some relaxation of its rigour was felt to be necessary, and the Pretoria Pact was signed in April last, whereby unrestricted right of ownership was conceded to the Indian community, while the question of juxtapositional residence was to be determined by a Licensing Board of five members, of whom three were to be Europeans and two Indians. It is necessary to point out that the Natal Indian Congress did not agree to the principle of residential segregation, and they made it perfectly clear in their memorandum to the Prime Minister that this was only an interim arrangement pending the solution of the problem by the Broome Commission. I think I am right in saying that the principle of residential segregation has never been accepted by any responsible Indian organisation in the Union.

It has always been the practice in the past for Indians to live among their own people, and we have as a result sections of towns which have developed as a result of the concentration of Indians in particular localities. This has been done voluntarily, and Indians of their own accord have gravitated towards such areas. There is no objection to this practice, as it is only natural that Indians should try to keep together, and develop their own institutions and organisations. When, however, they are obliged by a law to reside in special localities, they rightly feel it as a stigma on their race, and they have the strong support of India on this issue.

I should also like to make it clear that the Government of India were not a party to the Pretoria Pact. My Government are fundamentally opposed to statutory control of residential segregation in any shape or form, and they could not be a party to a Pact which violated the elementary right of the Indian race in Natal. They, however, accorded their moral support to it, as they felt that when the two principal parties, the Union Government and the Indian community, had agreed to a compromise, they were not justified in opposing it. The Government of India have a moral duty to Indians overseas, and if they had agreed to statutory segregation in 1943, they would have had to accept the same principle in East Africa and Central Africa. The position has now been completely changed by the basic resolution of the Natal Indian Congress, which was passed last December. The resolution noted that the Pact was repudiated by the Union Government, and demands unconditional repeal of the Pegging Act.

I do not think it is necessary for me to trace the progress of the Pretoria Pact from May to November, 1944. An agitation was started by leading sections of the European population in Durban immediately after the Pact was signed, and a campaign of racial bitterness was launched which is unprecedented in the chequered annals of Durban. I was in Durban, in the months of May, June and

July, last year, and watched the progress of the campaign of racial bitterness during this period. I do not propose to go into the details of this controversy, as it would serve no useful purpose, and reserve detailed treatment of this unsavoury and disgraceful episode as the climax of racialism, when I am no longer bound by conventions of diplomacy, and can express my thoughts freely and frankly. It is sufficient to state that the Pretoria Pact was violated by the passage of the three Ordinances by the Natal Provincial Council, which contains not a single Indian member. The speeches in the Council were on the level of the speeches in the Union Assembly on the Pegging Bill in 1943. A collection of these speeches will throw a flood of light on the policy of South African statesmen towards the Indian race in the Union. They should be compared with the speeches of Government spokesmen on the international problems and the Atlantic Charter. The speech of the former Administrator of Natal, Mr. Heaton Nicholls, showed that the mental climate of Natal is not in essence different from that of fascist countries. They also showed the outline of a new segregation pattern which has been designed for the Indian in Natal on a comprehensive basis after the war. Some of the champions of the new segregation measures are amongst the most zealous advocates of the new creed embodied in the Atlantic Charter. The Natal Ordinances, no less than the Pegging Act, have decisively exhibited the futility of the racial scheme of social organisation in the Union which refuses freedom to the Asiatic and denies to the Indian race—one of the most gifted and creative races in the whole world—those principles of Christianity which have remained the source of spiritual nourishment for millions throughout the world.

I would particularly like to refer here to the able letter which your Congress sent to Mr. Heaton Nicholls on his astonishingly bitter speech against the Indian community in the Natal Provincial Council. It is curious to note that the leading Nazi leaders advocate precisely the same

doctrines for the "inferior" white races of Eastern Europe. Here is a brief extract from a statement of Dr. Ley, the Chief of the German Labour Front. "A lower race needs less room, less clothing, less food and less culture than a higher race. The German cannot live in the same fashion as the Pole and the Jew. More bread, more clothes, more culture, more beauty, these our race must have, or it dies."

One has only to read the speeches delivered during the last two years in South Africa on the Indian problem to become convinced that South Africa has many of the elements of fascism in her mental make-up, and that on many occasions, it is not the ordinary European, who has all the moral qualities of a great people, but his leaders in parliament and other bodies, who deliberately encourage these doctrines to carve out leadership and secure a stable position in the economy of the country. Had the Indian been allowed to exercise the parliamentary and municipal franchise, of which he was deprived in 1896 and 1924 respectively, such leaders would have been automatically eliminated, and both Indian and European voters would have combined to defeat candidates who specialise in racial strife and foster internecine quarrels.

The Durban Corporation has acquired an unenviable reputation for its hostility to Indians in its midst. Up till 1924, the Corporation was singularly free from this virus, as Indians voted with the Europeans at municipal elections, and successfully eliminated racialists. The Indian community was then contented and was bound to the Corporation by numerous ties of common interest. When the Indian people were deprived of the municipal franchise in 1924, the situation rapidly changed, and there has been no racial peace in Durban since.

It may be possible for me in a work on South Africa to throw light on the problem as it presented itself to all who went through the terrible experience of a racial quarrel, at a time when many impartial and level-headed men were thrown off their balance and supported the

extension of segregation by the Ordinances which were passed last November. One has only to glance through the daily press, as well as the proceedings of the Durban Corporation from May to November, 1944, to become convinced of the debilitating effects of the racial poison which was injected in the body politic by persons who became firmly entrenched in their leadership as a result of this campaign. This does not, of course, mean that Durban is distinctive or peculiar in the treatment of the Indian problem, nor does it involve the assumption that the men who took part in that campaign are destitute of those moral values which are, and must always remain, the foundation of society, in any and every age. I have some very dear and affectionate friends among the Europeans of Natal, and I will always cherish the memory of their friendship. The Mayor of Durban is one of the finest of men, in private life, and I am convinced that even men of his type were forced to swim with the tide, otherwise they would not have maintained their influence in the city, and would have been replaced by violent and unbalanced demagogues. All that this statement implies is that, in such problems, there is a violent conflict between valuations preserved on the general plane when the average Durban leader thinks, talks and acts under the influence of Christian precepts, and the valuations on specific planes of individual and group, when personal and local interests, economic, racial, social and political jealousies, miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook on the multi-racial structure of society. The American philosopher, Professor John Dewey, whose influence in America is profound, declares, in his book, *Freedom and Culture*, "Anything that obscures the fundamentally moral nature of the social problem is harmful, no matter whether it proceeds from the side of physical or of psychological theory. Any doctrine that eliminates or even obscures the function of choice of values and enlistment of desires and emotions in behalf of those chosen weakens personal responsbility for judgment and for action. It thus helps

to create attitudes that welcome and support the totalitarian state."

The result of this conflict of valuation is that contradictory moral valuations are held by the same person. As people's valuations are conflicting, behaviour and, later on, legislation itself, become a moral compromise. The higher moral valuations in South Africa coexist with valuations in which social reality has been twisted and mutilated to support popular prejudice about the Indian and the Native. Whole systems of firmly entrenched beliefs concerning the Indian race were utilised last year in the columns of the press to support rigid segregation laws and discriminatory legislation. Mr. Henry Wallace, formerly Vice-President of the United States of America, analysed the conception of freedom in his historic speech on May 8, 1942, to the Free World Association. "The idea of freedom—the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well—is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity. The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until the nation was formed as a federal union a century and a half ago".

These doctrines have been dinned into the ears of the Indian race throughout the Union, yet we find the same contradiction between the higher valuation expressed in this quotation from Wallace and the valuation embodied in the Pegging Act of 1943 and the three Natal Ordinances of November last. Though these measures have obliged Indians to observe the law and avoid special areas earmarked in Durban, they have failed to establish any semblance of authority over their minds. They have, on the contrary, knit the Indian race together and automatically organised a congeries of conflicting elements into a disciplined race. Nor is this all. They have served to unify India, and brought into focus elements which had

hitherto remained unnoticed. Finally, they have roused the conscience of the civilised world, and made a dramatic appeal to the gulf that yawns in the mind and heart of South Africa's supreme leaders between precept and practice. Many persons remember that glittering promises were made to the people in the first world war, and were forgotten in 1919. So on this occasion, when the war started in 1939, a number of moral maxims were propounded and lucidly explained in a tone of the deepest sincerity. I have faith in the sanctity of these promises as I feel certain that the co-operation of America and Russia will result in a world organisation by which the peoples of Asia and Africa will be guaranteed a minimum of political rights. I am, however, bound to say that the Indian community in the Union is in a resentful mood. The Indian argues that he has to fight discrimination in South Africa for his country and to earn a living, and he is haunted by the spectre of unemployment and post-war racial friction at the end of the war. He has carefully studied the aftermath of the first world war, when a powerful anti-Asiatic movement was launched against him in the Transvaal, and is aware of the fact that whenever any Government in power is in difficulties, and authority is slipping from its grasp, it can automatically enhance its influence and recover its hold by appealing to the racial instincts of European voters. One need only go through the technique employed by General Hertzog to feel convinced how necessary it is at times to appeal to the fear of the non-European before a stable majority can be secured in the country. The fifteen years of General Hertzog's administration, when carefully analysed, will yield this result.

I have so far dealt with events which must be fresh to all Indians, and the community throughout the Union must have gone through anxious times. India followed you in your distress and tribulations with the deepest sympathy, and her feelings were expressed clearly and decisively in the debates in the Indian Legislative Assembly in November last. Those who wish to know India's reaction

to the new policy embodied in the Ordinances must go through the voluminous material which every mail brought here from India. They will find that though our race is now engaged in the solution of some of the most complex problems with which any country has been presented, your brethren in India found time to give expression to their feeling of indignation over the wrong done to their kith and kin during the last two years. It is pertinent to remark here that there is little evidence of any relaxation in the stringency of segregation in this land. America is giving thought to the problem of the coloured people in her midst, and President Roosevelt has set a noble example in this respect. The North of America is devoted to the American Creed and it founds its principles of behaviour on the Christian doctrine of equality.

There has been notable progress in the development of freedom for the coloured people in the United States of America, though a good deal of leeway has still to be made. In South Africa, on the other hand, segregation, in various shapes and forms, is spreading its tentacles in every sphere. Dr. Myrdal refers in his recent work, the American Dilemma, which deals comprehensively with American Negroes, to a process which chemists technically describe as "irreversible processes", which implies a chemical process which goes in one direction with ease, but, for all practical purposes, cannot be changed back to its original state. This process has been in operation in Natal during the last two years, though happily the Transvaal has been immune from it. The sound commonsense of the Afrikaner race in the Tranasvaal countryside, and the cosmopolitan spirit of Johannesburg, have preserved the Transvaal province from the blighting effects of racial strife. In Natal, on the other hand, I have observed that race prejudice has increased rapidly during the last two years, and seems to follow the chemical process mentioned above, as it seems easier to increase the prejudice against the Indian than to decrease it.

I cannot deal here with the causes that have produced this change, as this will take me too far afield. Had South

Africa shown any desire to repeal her discriminatory legislation against Indians, and then passed a special law to deal with an exceptional case, her case would have been greatly strengthened in the eyes of world opinion. Unfortunately, she is not only keeping all the old laws passed against Asiatics intact; she is piling up fresh laws against our race, and there is no evidence that the cases discussed by me so far are the last of the series. The most painful aspect of the problem is that not a single representative of the Indian race is consulted in the formulation of these laws, and they are rushed through the provincial and Union legislatures with a haste and in a spirit of racial unanimity, which throw a curious light on the mentality of the law-makers. The speeches made on such occasions are a painful reading, and even the most sedate member of the Indian race is wounded in his soul by the epithets which are often used against the sins of omission and commission of the Indian community.

Before I conclude this aspect of the Indian problem, let me refer here to the structure of segregation which has been built up in this land against the Asiatics since 1885. I cannot tabulate and calssify them here, as this will take me too far afield, and content myself with the effects of these measures on the social, economic and political life of the Indian race:

(1) Political and civic disfranchisement of the Indian in Natal effected in 1896 and 1924.

(2) Freedom of movement from one province of the Union to another province is prohibited to the Indian, except under a permit to be obtained from the office of Protector of Asiatic Immigrants.

(3) Expulsion of all Indians from the Orange Free State at the end of the last century. This atrocious law is still in force. No Indian is allowed to set foot on the soil of the Orange Free State. He may, because he has to, pass through the railway lines in the State,

and if he is in transit, he will have to use the road. He may also visit it solely in connection with his business, such as appearing in a case before the Supreme Court, etc.

Provisions (2) and (3) are unique in the annals of the civilised world and will, I am sure, be read with astonishment by persons who have never visited this land.

(4) Bar against inter-marriage in some provinces. No objection can be raised against it, as the Indian race has maintained the purity of its blood in this land, and is opposed to miscegenation in any shape or form.

(5) Discrimination in social intercourse. These are the barriers against dancing, bathing, eating and social intercourse generally. Some of these are trivial, though they are resented by many Indians.

(6) Discrimination in the use of public facilities, such as schools, churches, trams, etc.

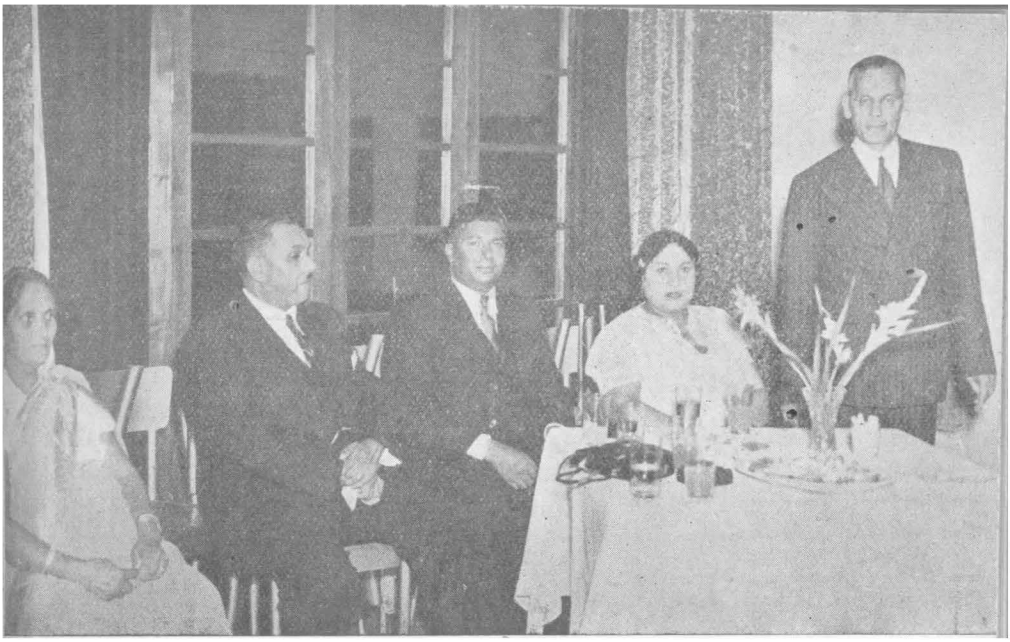
(7) Discrimination in securing land, credit, jobs in public services, in public relief and social welfare activities.

The inhibitions and restrictions involved in the trains as well as regulations which apply in the social spheres detailed above, are embodied in laws and regulations which have assumed formidable proportions. It is sufficient for me to state that this appalling mass of discrimination and inhibitions has been gradually and systematically built up over a series of years and has now been integrated into the structure of South African society. The longer it lasts, the more difficult it will be to abolish it, as vested interests have been created, and the economic doctrines which are implied in these laws are now interwoven with the political principles of the dominant parties in the State. The Indian community has become the means of uniting the two great European parties on a common platform,

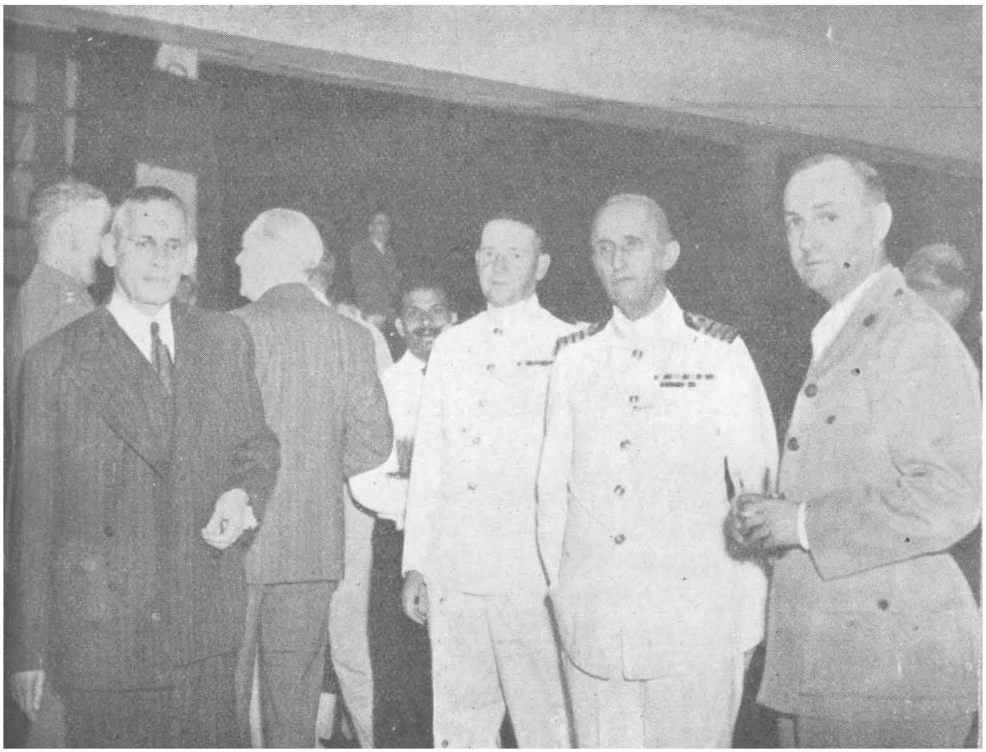
as, without it, the two political parties will carry on a bitter political warfare on almost every basic issue with which this country will be faced immediately after the war. If the Indian community is to be held up to ransom each time there is a fissure in the ranks of the United Party, and it is deemed necessary to sacrifice periodically the rights and privileges of our race—whose numbers, be it noted, are exceedingly small, and they constitute only 2·3 p.c. of the entire population of South Africa—whenever there is instability or division inside the Party; if leadership of the European race can be built up only at the expense and to the detriment of Indian rights on this land, then all that I need say is that the great world opinion, which has moved away from the old foundations of privilege and monopolies, and is eagerly looking forward to the morning of fulfilment and achievement, will unitedly and passionately oppose the reversion to semi-slavery. It is inconsistent with the basic principles for which our race is sacrificing the flower of its youth, in practically all the fronts at the present time. It is preposterous to assert that the Indian race should go on fighting for the principles of freedom in the malarial tracts of Burma and the snow capped hills of Italy, while South African leaders are piling up humiliating laws against their kith and kin in Natal. Such a crude conception of reciprocity and equality of sacrifice has never been entertained by men even in the most rudimentary stage of civilisation, and if South African statesmen think that India is going to accept this state of things willingly, they are wholly mistaken.

I do not think I need stress here the effects of this policy on the component elements of the European population in this country. When segregation laws crush the dignity of manhood out of the common people of the race against which they are directed, they create vested interests which the laws of economics find it difficult, if not impossible, to remove out of the path. When even the houses of Natives in Durban and Johannesburg must be built by white labour, and the State or municipality must pay

to these workers seven to eight times the amount that would have been paid to the Native workman, how is it possible to provide social security and decent houses to the Natives, and develop secondary industries in the country to offset the concentration of the whole country on one industry—gold? Nor is this all. Discrimination in any shape or form makes the dominant class and race lose that inner integrity which might preserve its liberties in times of crises. When such a gifted race as the Indian race is subjected to discrimination based wholly on grounds of colour, is it surprising that some sections of Europeans, i.e., the Jews are apprehensive of the future and are afraid that they may also be subjected to a species of segregation after the war, if they fail to comply with the rigid racial policy of the dominant party in the country? One can visualise the effects of this policy first on the Jewish community and then on the English element in Natal. It is impossible to play with history. Few people in South Africa are willing to learn this lesson in 1945. They are too much occupied with the elegant elaboration of minor problems, which distract the attention of parliamentary voters from the uncongenial realities of the Indian crisis. Individually, one finds some of the most charming men among Indians and Europeans, and I cannot express adequately my appreciation of their sterling qualities. I have had the privilege and pleasure of meeting leaders of every section of the European population and I am convinced that very few countries have produced so many persons eminent in so many spheres of organic activity in proportion to its population. There is a great reservoir of character and ability in the country, and I have been deeply impressed with the enterprise and ability of the European leaders of South Africa. There is a manly independence about the people in the Transvaal and the Cape which is, in my mind, the surest guarantee of their freedom, and in discussions on problems that are not directly connected with the question of colour, there is a frankness and directness in the treatment of complex issues which will impress every one



Sir Shafa'at with Durban Indians at a party at Durban



Sir Shafa'at at a farewell party given by him at Durban, in January, 1945, talking to some Naval officers

who has had the privilege and pleasure of meeting them.

Johannesburg is dynamic and pulsates with energy, and it is always a pleasure to me to meet the leaders of industry in this beautiful city. It is relatively free from colour prejudice, and one meets here as well as in the Cape persons distinguished alike for their personal charm and depth of intellectual interest. It is not surprising to find that scholarship is not highly developed, as the country is still young and its population is relatively small. Of the Universities in this land, the Witwatersrand University has earned a place in the affections of all non-Europeans in the land, and its great leader, Principal Raikes, deserves the encomiums that have often been paid to him for his statesmanship and vision. The sad demise of Professor Hoernle was an irreparable loss to non-Europeans throughout the land, and there are few persons in the country who can take his place.

Let me mention here the unostentatious and self-sacrificing services which Mr. J.H.Hofmeyer has rendered to the cause of Indians in this land. He sacrificed his career by resigning his Cabinet post over the Interim Bill in 1939, and he again handed in his resignation to the Prime Minister, in 1943 in protest against the introduction of the Pegging Bill. There are hundreds of persons who do lip service to the principles of liberalism and duly make stereotyped speeches against illiberal measures, but reconcile themselves to discriminatory legislation after a feeble protest. One has only to go through the list of laws passed from 1920 onwards to become convinced of the justice of these statements. Had the Cape Liberals been cast in the mould of Mr. Hofmeyer and his revered uncle, the liberal tradition would not have dried up in this land, and many of the laws which have been passed would have been successfully opposed. While the liberal tradition has been practically forgotten by many persons, some Natal Europeans persist in the delusions that the old Colonial days are continuing, and the Indian in 1945 is precisely in the same position as the indentured Indian labourer of 1863.

There are some able and earnest Europeans in Natal who have rendered notable services to the Indian race. I would like to place on record here the devotion which Senator Shepstone has shown to the cause of the Indian community. He has been foremost among the champions and defenders of the legitimate rights of the Indian people, and it is but proper that we should place on record our thanks to him for what he has done, and tried to do, for the Indian community last year. There are others, too, whom one could mention, but this will swell the size of this speech and I refrain from doing it. It is sufficient to state here that there is a nucleus of sincere Europeans who are prepared to defend the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Indian race. It is my advice to the community not to neglect or under-rate, the services of such men, and Indians should welcome such co-operation, as this is the only means whereby peace and hamony can be maintained in Natal. Racial discord will delay the progress of this beautiful province for a decade, and will hurt Europeans and Indians alike. It should be the aim of every Indian leader to foster co-operation between the two races, and in carrying out this project the help, guidance and advice of some of the proved friends of Indians in Natal and elsewhere must always be welcomed. It is, however, essential that the formulation of Indian policy and programme should be the function of the Natal Indian Congress alone, but in the execution of this programme, the help and advice of our European sympathisers should always be welcomed.

It may legitimately be asked whether I visualise any relaxation of the colour bar in South Africa in the immediate future. I am regretfully compelled to state that there is little likelihood of any rapid change in the opinion of the dominant groups in this land. The reason is obvious. The entire European community has now a vested interest in the maintenance of the colour bar. The European working man, who enjoys the vote and constitutes at least fifty per cent of the entire European electorate in the Union, will not allow the Native and even the non-European to do

any but unskilled work. It is true that some Indians are doing semi-skilled work in Durban at the present time. It is, however, doubtful if they will maintain their present jobs after the war. I am afraid the Indian race in Natal will have to go through great sufferings and privations, and the Indian workman will be seriously affected. Thousands of keen Indian workmen will be thrown out of work and unemployment will be serious. Racial friction will be intensified, and it will be exploited again by racialists who created a serious situation in Durban in 1943 and 1944. It behoves the Natal Indian Congress, and particularly the richer classes among them, to lend a helping hand to our people in distress.

I have had the privilege and pleasure of meeting leaders of the Indian Trade Union movement for three years and I have no hesitation in saying that this section, no less than the Indian merchants, is an asset to the Indian race. The material is excellent, and the Indian intellect which has so far found few outlets for its development, will blossom forth if it is properly developed. The Indian intellect in Natal is in no way inferior to the European intellect, and as the Indian race is determined not to accept segregation and is determined on equality of opportunity for all of its members, it is carrying on its heroic fight against overwhelming odds with a timeless persistence, which will ensure the survival of our race in this province. I have complete faith in its destiny in South Africa. If we glance through the inhuman measures which the independent Natal Government passed against the Indians prior to Natal's entry into the South African Union, we shall find that if these laws had not been vetoed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the progress of our race would have been stifled. When the Indian has surmounted seemingly insuperable obstacles in the past, I am confident that he will emerge triumphant from the crisis which faces him at present. He relies upon his own inherent strength for victory in the present struggle. The Labour Party and the Trade Unions are not likely to render

material help to the community in removing the colour bar. They have not done so in countries which are faced with the same problems. In many cases, the interests of European workmen are in conflict with the growing ambition and acknowledged skill and industry of the Indian workman. The Labour Party's policy is very short-sighted, as increase in the wages of non-Europeans is bound to lead to greater demand for consumer goods, and secondary industries will thereby grow up which will give employment not only to every European workman at his present rate of wages, but also to thousands of non-Europeans who can do semi-skilled work on higher wages.

The European workman is not going to listen to these arguments, which he regards as far fetched, and he prefers the present wages of which he is certain to the distant prospect which to him is problematical. His most effective argument is the argument of the bullet which he possesses in the form of parliamentary and municipal vote, and as he is, or thinks he is, a "practical man" he dismisses these arguments as chimeras. He forgets that his forefathers were precisely in the same position as non-Europeans in the land of his birth. In this land, however, he has become a privileged individual, and is an aristocrat, and has forgotten the noble example of the pioneers of the Trade Union movement in England. He is not prepared to give the non-European a chance, as he thinks that if this is allowed, his standard of living will be permanently lowered. One must sympathise with the desire of the European workman to maintain a high living standard, but he is wholly unreasonable in thinking that his present standard can only be maintained by keeping the non-European on starvation wages.

Of the other classes of the European population, the middle class contains a sprinkling of men of liberal ideas, but they will not go out of their way to fight segregation, as they will thereby incur social ostracism and loss of power and influence. The Dutch Reformed Church has identified the doctrine of predestination with segregation, and

is the bulwark of discrimination in this land. Finally, the entire Afrikaner race, which constitutes nearly sixty per cent of the European population in this land, has been brought up on the doctrine of segregation for a century, and is hardly likely to give it up at a time when it has become an integral part of the policy of South African society. Among the Non-Conformist Churches we have the same desire to accommodate the sacred doctrines of their Church to the existing structure of European society, and if a churchman is bold enough to denounce segregation from the pulpit, his congregation will be exceedingly small.

I come to the conclusion that unless there is a determined movement against the colour bar, and the major powers take definite steps against it, the colour complex will continue to vitiate the atmosphere in South Africa. There is no evidence that the feeling against colour is diminishing in South Africa. It must be said to the credit of the people of Asia and Russia that they have been singularly free from colour prejudice, and the natives of Syria, Lebanon, Asia Minor and other countries in the Near East have never discriminated against darkskinned people of southern Asia. Both Christianity and Islam gave complete equality to converts and abolished all distinctions based upon pigmentation of the skin. India herself has been most liberal on this question, and in the extreme north of India, such as Kashmir, one finds hundreds of thousands of persons who are proud to call themselves Indians who are whiter in complexion than some champions of white supremacy in South Africa. The Moors, who ruled Spain for eight hundred years, were darker-skinned than northern Spaniards, yet hundreds of thousands of Spaniards married into Moorish families. It is true, that Moorish rulers married many women from families in northern Spain, as they had a white complexion, but this did not produce colour bar or segregation of the modern type. Rome and Greece never tolerated it, and it was status, slave or free, and not colour or race, that mattered. When Aristotle declares in his *Politics* that some

persons would be slaves everywhere and some nowhere, he does not regard colour or race as badges of slavery. It is only in the nineteenth century that the doctrine of colour was built up in Europe, and has been applied in modern times in a series of laws in South Africa which are without a parallel in the history of any country in the world.

Human nature in the East revolts against such discrimination, and there have been heart-rending scenes during the present war, which are the strongest condemnation of this system. The refugees from Malaya who arrived in Durban sometimes went through strange experiences, which I need not discuss here. In 1942 and 1943 I had to deal with many cases of highranking Indian officers in His Majesty's Service, who passed through some ports of South Africa and were subjected to the horrors of colour bar and discrimination. These were some of the most painful cases of segregation with which I had to deal in my official capacity, for the colour bar was applied not merely to Indians resident in the Union, but also to the flower of Indian leadership in the Navy, Army and the Air Force. It was only with the greatest difficulty that I was able to restrain the indignation at the insult offered to them in hotels, cinemas and other places in Durban and Cape Town.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, society was moulded by religion, as it is still moulded in Asia, and not by colour, and the triumph over the Moors in Spain was the triumph of the faith, and not of white men over coloured men. The Portuguese followed the same example and the fervour of their soldiers was nourished on religion, and both Spaniards and Portuguese freely intermarried with the indigenous inhabitants. The Arabs in Africa and elsewhere followed precisely the same practice, and once the native was converted to Islam, and was a free man, he had equal rights with the Arabs and other Muslim. Inter-marriage with slaves was frequent, and the progeny of such unions were free men with equal rights.

Russia has supplied a noble example to the world in modern times and has abolished all distinctions based upon race, colour or religion. Any one who discriminates on grounds of race or colour is liable to prosecution.

The metaphysics of colour was developed in the nineteenth century and was elaborated with characteristic Gallic precision and logic by Arthur de Gobineau in the years 1853-5. From this time onward, the descendants of the three sons of Noah have had strange vicissitudes—the happy lot promised to Shem has rarely come his way; probably Japheth is in more comfortable circumstances; while Ham has been the greatest sufferer of all the three brothers, as metaphysics, biology, distorted views of the Christian creed as well as anthropology and sociology, have been requisitioned, both in the deep South of the United States of America, and in South Africa, to prove the Negro's organic incapacity for progress. How long poor, forsaken Ham will wander in the wilderness, nobody can say, as he is treated at present simply as a child, and self-appointed guardians are anxiously supervising the health, morals and intellecutal development of their ward.

Vested interests have been inevitably created by the perpetuation of this creed, and they now serve as the mainspring for the rationalisation of all the complexes of racial superiority. The Latin nations have proved more liberal in their treatment of indigenous inhabitants, and even the Germans in Latin America have assimilated more readily than Anglo-Saxon races. German bachelors in some of the South American republics have married into native families; while the English were unable to enter social life in Latin America without difficulty. In the Portuguese colonies coloured men are given full rights, while in French colonies some Negroes have achieved high positions. The Negroes who are thus gallicised are, however, a loss to the Negro race, as they are integrated with the political and economic framework of the French colonial system. The Dutch, too, have been most liberal and far-sighted in their treatment of Javanese, and some fami-

lies have inter-married into leading Javanese families.

I have given this brief analysis of the colour complex to show that it is only in the British Dominions and Colonies that the colour problem has been intensified. It exists, of course, in other parts, but not to the same degree or on the same scale. It is less acute in Kenya than in South Africa. In fact, South Africa is the only country in the world where the colour theory has been developed on a scale that is truly appalling. Had South Africa pursued a liberal policy towards her Natives and Indians, she would have built up a solid basis for leadership of the whole of Africa. At the present time, its supreme leaders are busy passing a series of discriminatory laws against the Indian race; they are simultaneously enumerating in same breath high moral principles for the post-war world, and organising a Pan-African Conference. The inner contradictions of this programme will be clear to any one who has had experience of South Africa's treatment of non-Europeans, and the latter have unequivocally declared that they cannot acquiesce in the Pan-African movement proposal which will subject them to the appalling discriminations upon which the structure of South Africa is built up. South Africa should first set her house in order, and not only preach but also practise those virtues to which her supreme statesmen do lip service at international conferences. The Indians and Natives of Africa have understood clearly the implications of this movement, and they made this clear in the Kenya Legislative Council when they voted against the proposal. The champions of this movement have completely ignored the wishes of the Natives and Indians, and are speaking on behalf of a small number of Europeans in these colonies. There are only 20,000 Europeans in Kenya, 13,000 in Northern Rhodesia and about 65,000 in Southern Rhodesia and a handful in Uganda. What the proposal implies is that millions of Natives in these enormous areas should be brought under the leadership of South Africa and receive the benefit of her discriminatory legislation.

India is deeply interested in the Pan-African project, as she has had one thousand years of commercial and cultural contact with East Africa, and Indians are not prepared to accept South Africa's leadership unless South Africa repeals her discriminatory laws. Nor is India prepared, under any circumstances, to allow the status of Kenya Indians to be lowered to the level of South African Indians. It would be a calamity if Indians in East and Central Africa are subjected to South Africa's leadership, until and unless South Africa repeals her oppressive laws and shows by her deeds that she is prepared to concede elementary rights of citizenship to the Indian race. I am afraid there are no signs of any change of heart. Her supreme leaders have frequently expressed lofty sentiments on the question of segregation, as was done in 1942, yet they have immediately followed this declaration by passing some of the most inhuman laws, such as the Pegging Act of 1943, a year after the declaration of the new liberal policy. If South Africa makes a radical change in her policy towards non-Europeans, promotes racial goodwill, and gives facilities to non-Europeans for rapid advance in important spheres, she will acquire the leadership of Africa with the goodwill and active help of every element of the population. I am forced to say that at present I see few signs of any striking change, and I do not think His Majesty's Government will be justified in implementing resolutions based on the project of a Pan-African Conference to which India, no less than millions of Natives, are strongly opposed. The conception of the place of indigenous inhabitants in their native land has undergone a profound change during the last twenty-five years.

The positive contribution of Russia to the solution of the racial problem must be studied by every statesman throughout the world, as the new doctrine has been a remarkable success in Asia and has given new life to millions of Asiatics. One can appreciate the contribution which Russia has made to the solution of the racial problem, without being a communist, and many of those who have

studied this experiment are not communists at all. The transformation of two-thirds of Asia into an industrialised area which is pulsating with life and energy cannot be dismissed as an abortive nightmare at a time when the Russian army has proved itself the spearhead of freedom.

I am conscious of the fact that Africa presents many special problems, and the mental and political climate of Africa is not suited for the immediate application of Russian principles. It must be admitted that it is not feasible to apply Russian principles to any part of Africa, and vested interests in Africa are too strong to permit of a change in the structure of colonial policy. This is admitted by all practical administrators, and they are, in my opinion, right. This does not, however, mean that we are justified in organising a Pan-African Conference at the present juncture when the major powers are sacrificing their life-blood for the destruction of Nazism in Europe. Such a conference will have the effect not merely of perpetuating conditions which it is the avowed aim of this war to eradicate, but also of dragging all the Natives and Indians in other parts of Africa to the level of South African policy and practice. The major powers will be perfectly justified in saying that this is done to present them with a *fait accompli* precisely at the moment when they are engaged in a death-grip with a ruthless enemy.

Having dealt cursorily, I am afraid, with the problems of the Indian community in the past, let me now deal with the future programme of the Natal Indian. My experience of the Indian in all parts of Natal has convinced me that the race is on the eve of a change in its internal structure, and in its work and policy in Natal. It will go through an acute crisis, immediately after the war is over, as it will be confronted with the problem of unemployed Indians, who will be discharged from skilled and semi-skilled jobs when the soldiers return home. The Indian is again watching, as he watched during the first world war, for signs of what war and victory will mean to him in terms

of opportunity and freedom from segregation and colour bar, in the land which his genius has converted into a garden. A great deal depends upon the changes that will be introduced in Natal's industry after the war. If the Indian is given a chance in the new industrial structure which may be established in Natal after the war, he will prove a most industrious and efficient workman. This implies the relaxation, if not the abolition, of colour bar in industry. If there is no relaxation, but the tightening of colour bar, then the position of the Indian will deteriorate, and thousands will be thrown out of employment. The mechanisation of industrial processes and development of technology will intensify this conflict, for Indians will have to leave their semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, if mechanisation is speeded up and the colour bar is rigidly maintained. It is hardly likely that the Natal European will lose confidence in the theory of the European Caste which gives reason and meaning to his ascendancy in the province. The theory, it is true, has been discredited now, and the development of science, no less than the phenomenal progress of Indian, who is making gigantic strides, in spite of a campaign of silence and secrecy against her, have destroyed the foundations of the doctrine. The world purpose, too, is against privilege and caste, and the post-war world is not going to tolerate a repetition of the glittering promises of the first world war, and will demand performance. This means that the racial beliefs which defend caste in Natal will be torn away, though it may take some time.

The Indian race, I feel, has passed the most critical stage in its development in this land, and though further trials and tribulations may divert its course, now and then, they will, under no circumstances, prevent its onward march. As a reaction against recent happenings in Durban, the Indian community has become race conscious and is proud of its blood and culture. Every Indian in the province is nourished on the same principles, and the result is a racial unity among Indians, and a conscious pride in the development of their glorious land, which would have been

deemed incredible by many persons before 1940. As the energies of the Indian people have hitherto been directed to sheer struggle for survival, it is impossible for science or literature or fine arts to be produced, and they have been ignored as being irrelevant to the struggle for survival. The Indian community has not had time to achieve stability or security. For the same reason, the British Dominions have made no outstanding contribution to literature or science, in spite of their social, political and economic security. How then could a poor community which was struggling and is still struggling for its existence, find time and energy to cultivate scholarship or make discoveries in science? The Indian community in South Africa has the nucleus of excellent scholars and scientists, but it cannot and will not develop these talents unless the doors of opportunity are thrown wide open. As practical men, it would be best if Indian leaders concentrated on the political and economic struggle which faces them at present. Scholarship is the result of leisure and security, and it will certainly be cultivated by the Indian race, once it is free from anxiety about its fate in this land.

What then should be the policy of the Natal Indian Congress? It should have two aspects, one, an immediate programme, the other, a long-range policy. The long-range policy must aim, ultimately, at equality with the European and abolition of all forms of discrimination. Independent India will not tolerate any segregation or discrimination, in any shape or form, against her kith and kin in South Africa. This is axiomatic, and South African leaders realise it vividly. When India insists on freedom for the Indian race in South Africa, she is not using the language of superior wisdom or conscious virtue. It is the language of necessity. Some Australian and South African publicists have been tactless enough to say that the grant of Dominion status to India will expose these two countries to serious risks. These gentlemen ignore the fact that India has never pursued any imperialistic programme in

the past, and has consistently pursued a pacific policy in Malaya, Java, Burma and Siam, through her cultural and spiritual contact in the past.

The war has destroyed the mental and spiritual boundaries of Asiatic countries and industrialism is breaking up the barriers of caste in India. India's freedom must depend wholly upon Indian energy and capacity for sacrifice, and both these qualities have been forthcoming in abundant measure during the last fifty years. It follows that once our motherland organises her industrial and intellectual resources, she will naturally insist on humane treatment for the Indian race in the Union. This is only fair and just, and nobody can quarrel with this policy. This is, and must be, a long-range policy. As practical men, however, we must also deal with the present and our policy should be practical enough to enlist the sympathy and support of at least a section of the Natal Europeans. While Natal Indians should never lose sight of the fact that their mother country is watching them from afar, and will do what lies in her power to safeguard their position, they must realise that they have to live and die in this land. They have to deal, in countless ways, with Europeans, who have certainly given them better living conditions, though they have been secured in an atmosphere of segregation and colour bar. The only secure basis for the future growth and prosperity of this province is co-operation between the two races in this province. Unless this is achieved, Natal will rapidly lose her position in the Union. Indians should make it clear to the Europeans that they wish to live as good citizens in this land, and are not keen on constantly invoking the help of India in their daily troubles and anxieties. Constant references to India are likely to antagonise the European element, and may present an insuperable obstacle to racial harmony and goodwill. In defence of Indians, it may be pointed out that the independent Natal Government entered into agreements with the Government of India before the latter allowed the immigration of Indian labourers into Natal.

Under these agreements, a Protector of Asiatic Immigrants continues to function, though his duties have changed considerably. Again, there are several hospitals in Natal for Indian immigrants which were established in conformity with these agreements. All these obligations were naturally taken over by the Union Government when the Union was formed in 1909. Hence the Government of India, and through the Government of India, the people of India, have a perfect right to insist that the civic and political status of Indians in 1945 should not be worse than it was at the time of their arrival in this land. It was under the guarantee of the Government of India that these persons came to this land, and the Government of India is legally bound to see that the terms of the agreements are carried out. Moreover, under the Cape Town Agreement, the Agent was explicitly given the right to discuss most of the points covered by the Agreement, and the raising of the office of the Agent to that of High Commissioner for India has not made substantial difference in this land. Again, whatever the duties of their High Commissioner may be, the legal right of the Government of India under the agreements entered into between the independent Natal Government and the Government of India remains, and this can be exercised independently of the powers and duties of their High Commissioner. It follows that the friction and disagreement with India will continue, as long as justice is denied to the Indian race in Natal. My advice to the Natal Indian Congress would be to build up a reservoir of goodwill and trust between the European and Indian races in Natal and effect an honourable settlement of the Indian problem.

What should be the basis of this settlement? I am not discussing here the question of long-term policy of the Congress, as the issue can be discussed only when India achieves her independence. My concern is with the immediate present, so that a feasible plan may be evolved which will give peace and quiet to this province. In my

opinion, the only basis for a satisfactory solution of the present impasse is the unconditional repeal of the Pegging Act, and the vetoing of the three Ordinances which were passed last November by the Natal Provincial Council. When this is done, voluntary arrangements should be arrived at between the leaders of the two races, and a definite understanding reached whereby Indians would promise not to penetrate into European areas, provided the Durban Corporation allots for the Indian race suitable areas in healthy localities. If Indians are given such areas in Durban, very few Indians would like to "penetrate" into European areas. If, on the other hand, they are compelled by law, as is now done by the Pegging Act, not to reside or own particular localities, they will spare no effort to defeat such laws, and will continue to mobilise India's support for their fight. India connot turn a deaf ear to the appeals of members of her race, and the Pegging Act will continue to serve as an irritant and will remain an insuperable obstacle to the restoration of good relations between the two countries.

A voluntary agreement between the two races on the vexed question of occupation in European areas will, I feel convinced, be observed by the Indian community, provided Indians are allotted adequate land for economic and sub-economic housing schemes. The voluntary agreement may be helped by a board on which both Indians and Europeans are represented. Such a board could deal with marginal cases and other points which may emerge in working the agreement. The Indian community must also be given franchise on a common roll in the municipalities of Natal as well as in Parliament and the Provincial Council. The Indian community should avoid a separate register, as it has worked havoc in East Africa, particularly in Kenya, and is likely to widen racial cleavage and intensify racial hostility. The proportion of Indian voters may be restricted to a definite percentage of European electors, so that European fears of being submerged by an overwhelming mass

of Indian voters may be removed and a foundation may thus be laid for racial co-operation. I should be prepared to accept much higher qualifications for the Indian voter, so as to reassure the European voter, and will be quite content if Indian voters constitute, for the present, one-fifth of the joint electorate. It must, however, be understood, from the outset, that this is only an interim arrangement, and the long-term policy, for which naturally no date can be fixed beforehand, will aim at raising the percentage of Indian voters on the common roll, until all differences in the franchise qualifications of the two races are removed. This will naturally take time and may appear utopian to many persons. I confess that to me also it is at present an utopian ideal, as I cannot conceive how it is possible for the Indian to attain complete equality within the next five years. We must, however, remember that the world is progressing at a rapid pace in modern times, and Russia has accomplished for herself, as well as for her Asiatic subjects, in twenty years what would have taken old Russia to realise in one hundred and fifty years. The pace of Africa's advance may be slower even than that of Asia, and it would be rash on my part to hold out promise of complete equality in the near future. But it must always be prominently kept in view as a long-range policy, at which all Indians must aim. The Indian community must, however, concentrate its energy on the solution of problems which are insistently claiming its attention. I have suggested the unconditional repeal of the Pegging Act and the grant of franchise on a common roll, on a restricted basis. There is another measure which is vital for the Indian community, and this is the abolition of provincial barriers. The Indian community is cooped up in Natal, and Indians do not possess one of the rudimentary rights of modern society—freedom of movement. The provincial barriers must be removed, if the Indian problem is to be solved. If this is done thousands of Indians will go to the Cape and will carve out careers for themselves. They have the initiative and enterprise of pioneers, and as they have now



Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan talking to the Belgian Minister, His Excellency Moularet, *doyen* of the South African Diplomatic *Corps*, at a party at Pretoria, in 1945

sufficient experience of this land, they will be able to adapt themselves to the mental and political climate of each province. If there is strong objection to the influx of Indians in the Transvaal, then a beginning may be made by confining their freedom of movement to the Cape Province. The addition of about 25,000 Indians to the Coloured community of 700,000 in the Cape will not make an appreciable difference, while the emigration of this number from Natal will ease the atmosphere in this province. The Indians, too, will benefit by this change, as there will be more openings for Indian youngmen in other parts of the Union, while those who remain will not be exposed to the severe competition of their countrymen and will be able to raise their standard of living by "trekking" to the Cape.

These three measures will, I am convinced, provide a sound basis for an interim solution of the Indian problem, and this may also pave the way for a permanent settlement, which India as a Dominion must ultimately make with the Union of South Africa. The three Ordinances which have seriously disturbed harmonious relations between the two countries must, of course, be vetoed, and no measures affecting the Indian race should in future be introduced unless and until the Natal Indian Congress has been consulted.

The Durban Corporation has not distinguished itself for its sympathy with the legitimate desires of the Indian community, and its record during the last two years has exposed it to criticism by all impartial men. One has only to study the manner in which it dealt with the question of the Indian Technical College and the Bluff site to become convinced of the necessity for a change in the tone and temper of this body in its handling of the Indian problem. I am afraid it must be admitted that the Indian community has lost confidence in the impartiality and equity of the Durban Corporation, in its attitude towards the Indian community, owing to causes which it is unnecessary for me to discuss at this stage. Whether it will be able

to organise a comprehensive scheme for Indian housing is doubtful, and even if a scheme is promised, there is no assurance that the promise will be redeemed in the near future. I am inclined to suggest that a new body should be created, charged specifically with the task of launching housing schemes for the two races. Such a body will be autonomous, and will carry out the instructions of Central or Provincial Housing Boards, and the latter should delegate to it powers adequate for the purpose in view. Such a body will be on the lines of Improvement Trusts in Bombay and Calcutta, which have done excellent work in these cities. I was an active member of the Allahabad Improvement Trust for nearly five years, and I can testify from my experience of the working of this Trust that it did excellent work in the city. This proposal is likely to be objected to by some persons as being inconsistent with the powers and functions which have been expressly conferred upon the Durban Corporation. I am aware of the criticisms to which this proposal is exposed. It will be urged that the creation of an independent body will undermine the foundations of self-government in the cities of South Africa and will impinge upon the cherished rights and privileges of citizens. There is a great deal of force in this contention, and I agree that we should subject proposals of this nature to very careful examination before they are acted upon. Unfortunately, the experience of the last twenty years has convinced the Indian community that unless an impartial and independent body of this kind is established, there is little likelihood of any appreciable progress being made by the Durban Corporation in housing the Indian community. There are some excellent men in the Corporation, and the Mayor of Durban, who is a nephew of a life-long friend of mine, Sir Frank Brown, of the London Times, towers above his colleagues. His character and ability have made him the best loved citizen of Durban both among Indians and Europeans. Many reasonable and moderate Europeans realise how difficult it is to get any ameliorative scheme for the Indian community

accepted against the campaign of rabid racialists, some of whom are members of the Corporation whose leadership has been built up on racial strife. There are many level headed, moderate men in the Corporation, and the Indian community will be most foolish if it ignores the services and belittles the work of such men. Their position is, however, delicate, and their leadership of their own race is consequently precarious. Indians ought not to expect too much from them, as the democratic process in South Africa has so far evolved no satisfactory alternative to the counting of heads. Naturally, liberal Europeans are chary of expressing their sentiments to European extremists, as they fear social ostracism, and they have so few contacts with Indians that many of them salve their consciences by expressing liberal sentiments to the people affected, and hasten to join the winning party lest they should bear the odium of being pro-Indian, and be eliminated from public life.

Of all the Cape Liberals who have maintained the old tradition of toleration, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Union Government, is undoubtedly the ablest and the most influential. I may quote here his reference to the Pretoria Pact, from the Hoernle Memorial Lecture delivered by him at Cape Town on January 18, 1945: "Within the last year we have seen how the Pretoria Agreement—a sincere and honest effort to find a solution of the problem in its most important aspect that is, in so far as it affects Natal—has been shipwrecked as a result of a display of mass intolerance, which is one of the least creditable episodes in our history". Mr. Hofmeyer went further, and declared that "if we justify—as we do—our participation in the war on the ground that the conception of the 'Herrenvolk' is a dire threat to Christianity and to human welfare, we must not fail to ask ourselves to what extent a similar conception prevails in our own midst".

Dr. Malan has travelled farther from the stage which marked the signing of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, yet the Indian community has a respect for him for his

integrity and sincerity in agreeing to the principles of the Cape Town Agreement. It is true that the Cape Town Agreement has not yet been implemented, and was merely a gesture; still, it is grateful to men who had sympathy and imagination to suggest a solution of the Indian problem.

While the Indian community is grateful to many Europeans for their support of its legitimate claims, it must rely mainly upon its own strength to get its grievances redressed. It has been hardened by the experiences it has gone through, particularly during the last two years, and I have no doubt whatsoever that it is prepared to carry on its struggle for freedom in a spirit of sweet reasonableness. The struggle must be conducted in a constitutional manner, and any policy that aims at the employment of unconstitutional methods must be opposed. The Indian community is not in a position to defy the constituted authorities by resorting to direct action and must achieve its object by its organising prudence, and should not alienate moderate and sympathetic elements of the European population. It must never indulge in threats and should eschew talk about reprisals and retaliation. India can afford to do it, and will be obliged to do it, if all other methods fail, but the Indian community should in such cases exercise the greatest restraint and self-discipline. It is natural that Indians should view with glee India's sympathy with her kith and kin in their recent sufferings and misfortunes, but in the quarrel between the two countries Natal Indians should maintain an attitude of neutrality. I know this is impossible in times of excitement, but I am certain that the Indian race has sufficient wisdom and statesmanship to follow the precepts of prudence in this matter.

The Indian community must also make it clear that South Africa is its homeland, and it is loyal and devoted to the country of its adoption. Politically, there can be no double allegiance, though spiritually and culturally the ties which India has forged among Indians in this land are too strong to be broken. If South Africa had

accorded to Indians in her midst the same liberal treatment which has distinguished the United States of America in her treatment of white immigrants, Indians here would have ceased to call to India for help in their troubles, and would have become loyal and enthusiastic citizens of the Union. South Africa has, however, chosen a different path and the result is that the Indian has reacted, and will continue to react, violently against the humiliation and disgrace to which his race is subjected. He has consequently become race conscious, and differences of class and religion have been forgotten in the passionate determination to achieve racial survival and freedom. This feeling should not be carried too far, for Indians, who have infinite faith in the future of their race, must discourage racial pride equally among Indians and Europeans. We shall play into the hands of fascists if we encourage racial arrogance among members of our own race. We know, of course, that the future is with India, China and Russia, and these countries are going to mould the world, if not during the next five years, then during the next twenty years. No power on earth can deprive India of her freedom, and no promise about the future will be worth the paper it is written upon until it is redeemed. Pronouncements and promises, declarations and communiques have been poured upon India in bewildering confusion during the last twenty five years, and have produced nothing. This game can be played no longer, as every person is disillusioned, and India herself has been so thoroughly educated by experience of the last two decades that she knows what she wants, and loves what she knows. Her future depends upon her inherent strength, and not upon vague promises, and she knows that her future is, and must be, glorious. She knows that she has in herself the potentialities of a great power, and she is determined to develop her latent resources. India's race consciousness is, and must be, essentially defensive in character. It has developed out of persistent fight for national freedom since 1885, and is not the result of an imperialistic policy. Hence India can afford to wait for the flowering of her ability and

character, as she knows that the future must bring her the fruits of her long struggle. Though the fight for freedom has now been changed into a fight against the Axis powers, she is confident that radical changes must be made in the structure of her Government and administration, if the living standards of her common people are to be raised.

Indians in South Africa are naturally inspired by the prospect of the mighty changes which our great and noble country will undergo in the immediate future. They must, however, grasp the elementary fact that their salvation in this land must depend ultimately uopn their own exertions. If India succeeds in persuading the Union Government to repeal obnoxious laws and grant franchise on a common roll, she will have done her duty to her sons and daughters in this land. If Indians are freed from humiliating and discriminatory laws and are able to start their life on an even keel, they should then be able to build up their economic and political structure on a basis that will endure. It must fit into the political and social framework of the Union, and the community must then be prepared for integration into the South African society. While there is little likelihood at the present time of the Indian race being assimilated to the European population, there is no reason why equal, though parallel, development of the two races may not ultimately pave the way for a satisfactory adjustment of issues which have so far produced discord and racial strife. The Indian community is essentially a youthful community, and nearly forty three per cent of its members are under 13 years of age. It is a growing community, and with the rise in its standard of living, it is bound to play an important part in the life of Natal. This will, of course, take time, and will demand eternal vigilance and readiness for sacrifice.

Imperialism in Natal, as elsewhere, rests mainly upon monopoly, capitalism and segregation, and it is now absolutely certain that this war will accomplish what the first world war failed to achieve. It will eliminate colonial

imperialism. This may not be immediately effected, but it is bound to have this result. The Indian community will naturally gain by this movement for freedom. It would, however, be fallacious to assume that all these benefits will fall to it like a ripe fruit, and that all that it has to do in the meanwhile is to wait with hands folded and pray for the auspicious day when these blessings will be conferred upon it. Nations are not made by such an attitude of passivity, and the future will demand the maximum effort from all its sons and daughters. India will be exceedingly busy with her own problems, for she will devote herself to the task of reconstruction, with the chief aim of alleviating the lot of the common man and improving his living standards. She will then not be able to give active help to Indians in this land. If she succeeds in securing for the Indian race political freedom, and repeal of discriminatory laws, Indians ought not to expect any further help from India in future, nor will India be justified in interfering in the internal policy of the Union. The sovereignty of the Union must be respected by India no less than by other countries, and India connot, consistently with her newly-acquired freedom, interfere in the domestic policy of an independent country. It is essential to point out, however, that India's right, and the right of her High Commissioner in the Union, to make representations to the Union Government on the condition of the Indian community, will continue to be exercised until and unless the Pegging Act is unconditionally repealed, the Natal Ordinances are vetoed, Provincial barriers are abolished, and franchise on a common roll is granted to the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. I realise that such representations are resented by the South African statesmen, but the remedy is in South Africa's hands. If she concedes these rights to the Indians, India will scrupulously refrain from any representation to the Union Government concerning the Indian community. India's spiritual ties with South African Indians will not be weakened by this process, but they are not likely to impinge upon the political relations of the Indian community

with the Union Government. The cultural and racial ties of Natal Englishmen with England have been strengthened, instead of being weakened, by the political solidarity of Natal Europeans and their loyalty to the Union. The Greek colonists who left the sacred shores of Attica to found colonies on the coast of Asia Minor took with them their household gods, the sacred fire, and other essentials of Greek culture. However, once they had settled down in their new settlements, the sacred fire was extinguished, new gods were incorporated into the Greek pantheon, and the only symbols of Greek unity and culture were the Olympic Games. Once the Indian race is enfranchised in this land, the differences between the two races will tend to diminish, and Indians will depend wholly upon their inherent strength for their progress in this land.

I have deemed it necessary to deal with this point at somewhat great length, as I feel that the Indian community is likely to rely too much upon India, and too little upon its own effort and strength, on issues which vitally affect its development in Natal. In its present state it is obliged to do this, as it is disfranchised and exhibits the futility of a society honeycombed with segregation and discrimination which refuses to freedom that social context, both national and international, from which alone it can derive inspiration and energy.

The liberation of Eastern Europe from the blighting influence of Nazism, the inevitable liquidation of colonial imperialism in Asia, the pervasive influence of India's movement for freedom and its epic progress during the last ten years, render it imperative that the promises which the Allies have made to nations which are heroically fighting for their freedom should be redeemed. Mr. Sumner Welles, one of the most experienced of American statesmen, sketched a world organisation in his work, "*The Time for Decision*". "The peoples of Asia, of the Near East and of Africa are waiting to see what the victory of the United Nations is going to mean to them.....The determination of some of these peoples to secure their freedom

can no longer be thwarted." He contends that the United Nations must not evade this problem as the Allied powers evaded it in 1919 by creating on paper a mandate system and then washing their hands of all further responsibility, and suggests that a superior agency of an International Trusteeship should be established, which will organise in every region where there are dependent peoples a Regional Council which will be responsible for keeping in touch with all developments affecting the dependent peoples within its territory, and will have permanent advisers in each territory. The International Organisation would determine broad policies for the welfare of the dependent peoples, and will decide when they are fitted to exercise partial or complete autonomy.

It may not be possible to realise the ideal which Mr. Sumner Welles has sketched for the new international organisation, and the experience of the last twenty-five years has disillusioned many of those who had believed implicitly in Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. It remains to be seen whether the new international body will have sufficient authority to enforce its decisions on its constituent members. Everything will naturally turn on the members who compose this body. If Russia and U.S.A. take an active part in its proceedings and support the new body, then its success is assured, as their record in Asia has been magnificent. Russia's participation in the new international organisation is essential; nor will it inspire the confidence of millions in Asia unless India, Russia, China and U.S.A. are active members of this body.

India's present political and physical encirclement is temporary, as her leaders are determined to make India's influence felt in the new world, and she will not deviate from her path by the conspiracy of silence which has been skilfully woven during the last three years. Nor will anti-Indian propaganda in the United States of America, which, be it noted, dates back to the time of Miss Mayo, who wrote her notorious book "Mother India" in 1927 under some mysterious influence, prevent the freedom-loving American

people from doing justice to the Indian cause.

These are the factors in the international situation which may improve the lot of the South African Indian after the war, and my advice to the people in the Union would be not to lose hope, but to go on striving for freedom. I must, however, utter a warning. Freedom is not a gift which can be conferred by one people upon another; it must always be taken, and the only guarantee of the maintenance of a nation's rights is eternal vigilance and sacrifice. Unless the Indian race in India and overseas makes a vital response to the challenge of the new ideas, which have been fermenting in men's minds during the last twenty years, throughout the world, the race will lag behind other nations of the world and will occupy an insignificant position in the comity of nations. Hence, if the Indian community wishes to extend the frontiers of freedom, and develop its potential resources, it must bend itself to the supremely important task of reconstruction. It has not yet got rid of the habits and prejudices which it brought into this land nearly half a century ago. Its outlook on the world must be western, and it should be its chief aim to assimilate western culture in its comprehensive aspect. It is not enough to imbibe western thought and combine it with a mode of living which, judged by European standards, is unhygienic. We have to admit that parts of Asia have lagged behind in those elements of modern civilisation which have given Europe her mastery over nature. The application of science has revolutionised every aspect of life in the modern world, and the diffusion of new knowledge of nutrition, housing, public health and disease has given Europe her ascendancy in the modern world. Asia has made great strides in the assimilation of new knowledge, and has adapted herself quickly to the new tempo. It is your duty to learn the lesson of experience, give up practices and customs which incapacitate the people in their struggle against disease and poverty, and thereby contribute to the progress of this land. South Africa's greatest contribution consists in the

high standard of living which she has established for the European population. Unfortunately the standards of the non-European population have not been raised *pari passu*, and we have, as a result, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy, The enormous gap in the standards of the two races, combined with the rigid application of segregation in numerous shapes and forms, has made the lot of the Indian in this land unenviable. It is necessary for the Indian to put his own house in order, and instil in the mind of his compatriots the vital necessity of imbibing the benefits of European culture in its application to health and hygiene, while he rightly demands freedom from segregation and discrimination. The progress made by the Indian community during the last eighty years has been sufficiently rapid to justify the hope that the new generation will spare no effort to mobilise the spiritual and intellectual resources of the Indian community for constructive work.

Let me say a few words about the Natal Indian Congress. The original Natal Indian Congress was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. It had a chequered existence, owing to causes into which it is unnecessary to enter, and it declined rapidly after the Mahatma's departure from South Africa in 1914 for India. Mahatma Gandhi's Congress was revived in August 1943, when the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress, which existed in 1943, were dissolved, and the present body was formed. I am not exaggerating when I say that the present body has rendered indispensable service to the Indian race. Had the two bodies, which were dissolved during 1943, continued during the crisis through which the race passed last year, the Indian community would have split up into innumerable fragments and the Indian race would have suffered a setback from which it would have taken the community at least a decade to recover.

I had carefully studied the disastrous effects of division and disunity in the Indian community on my arrival in South Africa in November 1941, and for a year and a half during my stay in this land. The present Natal Indian

Congress has passed through most difficult times. No other organisation of the Indian community has ever dealt with more momentous problems affecting the Indian community, nor has the community passed through a more serious crisis in its history in this land. But for the leadership of the Congress in 1944, the Indian community would have lost all political vitality, and the Indian people themselves would have ceased to play any part in the political life of Natal. The Congress leaders are to be sincerely congratulated on the work they have done during this period. I take this opportunity of placing on record my appreciation of the services rendered by Advocate Godfrey, its President, as well as by Mr. A. I. Kajee, the Chairman of the Committee, by Mr. P.R.Pather, a devoted and self-sacrificing worker for the Indian cause, and Mr. A.B. Moosa who has acted as Secretary, along with Mr. P.R.Pather. It would be invidious for me to mention other members of the Executive as well as of the General Committees. All of them have worked with zeal and ability. The team spirit has been wonderful and this has maintained the solidarity of the Indian people in Natal.

The work of the Congress in presenting the case of the Indian community before the Broome Commission has been of the highest quality and the memoranda prepared by it on housing, education and other subjects have been most useful. I hope these memoranda will prove useful later on when the Indian race gets an opportunity of presenting its case in a calm atmosphere. While I have praised the Congress for what it has done, let me say some thing as to what it has omitted to do. One of the most important objects of any political body is to educate the masses and explain to them the implications of the Congress policy and of the measures broached by the Union and Provincial Governments. The Congress has toured some places on a few occasions, and has occasionally addressed a few meetings. However, it has not done this on a co-ordinated plan or on a systematic basis. Unless your organisation keeps up contact with the masses, it will become merely

a body for passing resolutions and preparing memoranda. I realise that the Congress had a difficult task to perform, and would undoubtedly have contacted the masses frequently if it had not been faced with supremely important issues.

I am glad to note that elections to the Congress are going to be held next month. Elections serve a most useful purpose to the Indian community by educating the electorate, and making the Indian public aware of the gravity of various problems with which it is faced. Without elections a body becomes moribund, and the electorate loses interest in the life of the community. I am of opinion that elections should be held according to the terms of the Congress constitution, every year, and few deviations from the constitution should be permitted. I repeat what I stated in my address which inaugurated this Congress in August, 1943. Unity is essential for the survival of the Indian people in this land, and discipline is no less vital. All decisions of the Congress must be accepted by every member, and no opposition should be organised outside, against any proposal which has been duly approved by the appropriate committee of the Congress. Attempts to persuade the members the Congress to modify such decisions are legitimate, provided these attempts are made inside the body which makes this decision, and not outside. Hence, it is inconsistent with constitutional procedure to organise mass meetings against resolutions of the Executive Committee or Working Committee of the Congress, if the organisers of such demonstrations are members of such bodies. I hope that elections will be conducted in a constitutional manner, and personal, class and religious differences will not be exploited by rival candidates for their own ends. While an election is an indispensable instrument for the political education of the masses, it can also be converted into an instrument for misleading the masses. You should beware of the danger latent in its abuse.

I hope that the few prominent Indian leaders such as Advocate Christopher and Sorabjee Rustomjee, who have done yeoman service to our race and who have so far

not joined the Congress, will come forward and help the Indian community at this juncture, as the community needs their experience and will benefit by their advice. The Indian community has shown its capacity for political work by organising this body and making it a success. I am of the opinion that the Congress should contain representatives of every element of the Indian community and all sections, classes and interests should be represented in its deliberative and executive bodies. The resolutions and decisions of the Congress should be a synthesis of the views of different sections of the Indian people as a whole, and should give effective expression to the needs and aspirations of the Indian community.

The Government of India should not recognise any other body in Natal as an organ of the Indian community, and it should be the constant endeavour of the High Commissioner to maintain and extend the unity and solidarity of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress. No insubordination should be encouraged, on any occasion, nor should rival bodies in either province be countenanced or recognised, unless the two provincial Congresses cease to represent important elements in the national life of the Indian community in the three provinces of the Union. I am convinced that unless the Indian community achieves its freedom now, at the end of the present war, it will not get another opportunity for several decades.

The Indian, in his homeland, is determined to live as a free man in a free country, where his people will be able to build their own future, in strict accordance with their needs. As the English author, R.H. Tawney puts it, "Either war is a crusade or it is a crime. There is no half-way house." General Chiang Kai Shek is constantly telling the Chinese people that they must face ten thousand changing circumstances with an unchanging self. With the erosion of belief in the promises made during the first world war, cynical and disillusioned men are following the line of their predecessors. If the same technique is followed in the present war, and the promises made in the Atlantic Charter

are forgotten at the end of the present war, the demoralisation of the world will be complete, and the embalming of obsolete ideas of privilege and racial superiority are bound to lead to a third world war which may end civilisation altogether. I refuse to believe that the same phenomenon will be repeated in this war, and am firmly convinced that the new process which will emerge from the crucible of suffering will be a fertilising and fostering process, and the soil of Asia will be impregnated with the knowledge which has raised the living standards of millions in Europe and America, and given hope and faith to millions throughout the world. The Indian community is bound to share in this co-operative process. I have no doubt that if called upon to do so, it will contribute its quota to it. After three years of constant association with the Indian community in South Africa, I am convinced that the Indian will continue to fertilise South African soil by his industry, perseverance and fortitude—qualities which have ensured its survival in this land.

When we survey the work of the Union Parliament during the last twenty five years, we are forced to the conclusion that most of the discriminatory laws that have been passed against the non-Europeans in general, and Indians in particular, were passed after the enunciation and acceptance by European powers of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the glittering promises that had been made of a new world after the first world war. It is clear from the mass of legislation passed against the helpless, voteless and disfranchised Indian community during the last two years that the promises of freedom were soon forgotten after the end of the war, and the struggle for which millions had sacrificed their lives was robbed of size and force and meaning for the whole human race.

I have not discussed at this stage the methods used by the Union Government, as well as by the leaders of Natal Europeans, to violate an agreement to which the Government of India had accorded their moral sanction. General Smuts had informed His Excellency the Viceroy

of the signing of the Pretoria Pact, in April, 1944, and he soon after went to London to attend the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions which was held in May last. He was hailed in the London press as a liberal and sympathetic statesman, who had done justice to the Indian community. During his absence, Mr. Hofmeyer, the Acting Prime Minister, spared no efforts to get the Pretoria Agreement implemented, and I would like to express my conviction that if the matter had been left in Mr. Hofmeyer's hands, the Pretoria Pact would have been implemented. About the end of July, the Prime Minister returned to South Africa and the situation soon deteriorated. For three months in 1944—August, September and October—the Indian community in Natal was subjected to attacks in the press, on the public platform and in the City and Provincial Councils of Natal on a scale which is unparalleled in the chequered history of Natal.

The following extracts from the memorable speech of the Hon'ble Mr. J.H. Hofmeyer, Deputy Prime Minister of the Union Government, at the Hoernle Memorial Lecture at Cape Town on January 18, 1945, are an eloquent commentary on South Africa's racial policy:

"The 'herrenvolk' doctrine was not confined to Germany. When the war was over we might find our own national life deeply infected with the germ-cells of Nazism intolerance, racial prejudice, thinking with the blood.

"In the field of relations between Europeans and Asiatics, South Africa's record would scarcely bear examination. The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa; self-interest has sought to get rid of him from the country; self-interest, in so far as this cannot be achieved, is determined to keep him in what is regarded as his place.

"We are not just dealing with a quarter of a million residents of South Africa—80 per cent or more of South African birth—but also with an Indian nation or national group of about 400 millions with a great cultural tradition and the prospect of playing a very important part in the

future world.

"The imposition of sanctions by the Indian Government, the wild and whirling words used in the Indian Legislature, had caused understandable resentment in South Africa, but it was also understandable that India should not feel able to disinterest itself from the grievances of the voteless descendants of the Indian whom it was importuned by South Africa, against its better judgment, to allow to come to our land. And its attitude was strengthened by the recognition of its interest implied in the agreement reached at the Round Table Conference."

South Africa launched an anti-Indian policy in 1919, immediately after the glittering promises made in President Wilson's Fourteen Points. During the last twenty-five years, the severity of the laws passed against the Indian race in the Transvaal and Natal is inconceivable, and a highly gifted race has been subjected to a treatment which reduces it to the level of semi-slavery. It is now clear, from the passage of the Natal Ordinances, that the Indian race will have another instalment of discriminatory legislation at the end of the present war, as she had at the end of the last war. The disregard of the rudimentary principles of human freedom and fraternity which has been expressed in the violation of the Pretoria Agreement and the passing of the three Ordinances last November by the Natal Provincial Council is without parallel in the annals of civilised intercourse in the present century. The idolators of segregation policy harp with amoebean ardour on the beatific vision of the Four Freedoms on the one hand, while with an almost infantine audacity of awkwardness they justify the most reprehensible measures that could be devised against the social rights of a highly gifted race in Natal. South Africa's discriminatory legislation against the Indian race since the last war shows an unfaltering subtlety in the anatomical demonstration of every process through which the soul of a nation can pass in the course of decomposition, and it would be difficult to find a more thorough and triumphant exposition of spiritual decay than the Pegging

Act of 1943, the violation of the Pretoria Agreement, and the passing of the three Ordinances by the Natal Provincial Council last November.

The Indian problem is not only South Africa's great failure but also South Africa's incomparably great opportunity for the future. If South Africa follows the deepest convictions of her noblest sons in the past, and effects a regeneration of values and a revaluation of concepts which have isolated her from the comity of nations, her power and prestige in the world would rise immediately. If she persists in organising a new pattern of life for the Indian race, on the lines of the three Natal Ordinances and the Pegging Act, not only will Indians oppose it with determination, with the limited resources at their disposal at the present time, they will also help in eliminating that pattern when they are masters of their own destiny and are free in their own homeland. If South Africa gives to the Indian her own faith and her own freedom, and follows the advice of some of the old Cape Liberals who have passed away, the dream of great pioneers of her freedom would come true. The Indians are sick of promises which have not been redeemed during the last twenty-five years, and the only test which the community is now prepared to apply is deeds. It is for South Africa to decide whether she is prepared to help in building a new society which will give freedom to a people which has done more to develop Natal then any other element in Natal's population, or will go on passing discriminatory laws precisely at a time when the major powers are engaged in developing the implications of their promises to the proples of Asia, Africa and Europe.

SECTION VII

LAND TENURE BILL

In the beginning of this year, the situation in South Africa deteriorated and the Indian community was apprehensive of the future. Rumours of another Bill against the community were published in India, and forecasts of the proposed legislation alarmed the friends of South African Indians in this country. The issue was raised at an important meeting of the South African Indian Congress at Cape Town, and a deputation of Indian leaders waited upon Field Marshal Smuts, and urged him to defer the introduction of the Bill in the Union Parliament, and refer it to a Round Table Conference of Indian and South African leaders in order that a settlement honourable to both the parties could be broached. The Prime Minister rejected this proposal, and the racial cleavage was widened by the irresponsible statements of some, though happily not all, South African newspapers. The South African Indian Congress, at its meeting at Cape Town, resolved to send two deputations—one to India, and another to England. The deputation to India was led by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee and included Mr. Albert Christopher, Mr. S. R. Naidoo, Mr. A. S. M. Kajee, and Mr. A. A. Mirza. The deputation to England included, Mr. Ashwin Chowdhry, and Mr. P. R. Pather. Indians of all sections accorded enthusiastic reception to the members of the deputation, and all political parties—the Muslim League, the Indian National Congress and others—associated themselves with the demand for a Round Table Conference for the solution of the Indian problem.

The greatness of Mahatma Gandhi's work in South Africa in the hour of the deepest tragedy for the

Indian race had been thrown into a nobler perspective by the depth and breadth of his sacrifices. None has given the Indian race in South Africa deeper inspiration. None has shown a greater power to triumph over immense odds. For more than twenty years the great leader of Indian revolt has walked on the edge of an abyss; and he had to fight not merely his enemies; he had to fight, with equal determination, his over-enthusiastic friends. It was only in the hour of responsibility, when in 1908, after the breakdown of his negotiations with General Smuts, that the most difficult task in history—that of infusing into a disorganised community faith in its destiny—fell to him. The tremendous potential forces within him were fused into a single idea, the freedom of the Indian race, and in carrying it out amidst overwhelming odds he achieved the greatness which was innate to his genius. He did not fully develop his powers in the beginning of his career in South Africa. When the foundations of freedom had been shattered in their homeland, and India had been reduced to subjection, through the incompetence and venality of her leaders in the last century, the Indian immigrants carried India in their hearts and in their heads wherever they went, and spiritual affinity with their motherland expressed itself in their language, their prayers and their ritual. Just as the Jew in the East End of London still prays for the dew in the summer and rain in the winter, and his seasons and festivals are all Palestinian seasons and Palestinian festivals, so the Indian at Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town constantly thinks of India, follows Indian customs, and passionately longs for a pilgrimage to the mother country. In the beginning of the twentieth century Mahatma Gandhi's personality emerged into the broad stream of national energy which fertilised the movement for freedom, and moved onwards and upwards into regions of high statesmanship among the great figures of the modern world. When he attained the sovereignty of his powers and launched his memorable *satyagraha* campaign, the flame which had begun to smoulder in

Natal burst forth into a blaze in the Transvaal, and his voice, which now became the interpreter of a people's soul, in its resonance and earnestness, its clarity and precision, inspired the simple labourer, no less than the prosperous merchant. A people had awakened, and set about taking its fate into its own hands on the advice of the leader whose words inspired action. The road that traverses the historic sites of Volksrut, Laing's Nek, Newcastle and Donhauser is sacred not merely to the Afrikaners but also to the Indians. It was at Laing's Nek that the Afrikaners, a race of long-bearded men, half-peasants, half-prophets, with their amiable, broad welcoming smile, first dared and did what gave them the priceless boon of freedom. They fought and won their freedom at Laing's Nek and Majuba. To the Indian, the picturesque towns of Newcastle, Dundee, and Donhauser are associated with the memorable march of the Mahatma's *satyagrahis*, when he led his followers across the frontief of Natal into the peaceful town of Volksrut. At Volksrut the place where his heroic followers stayed is still shown to the visitor, and a detailed account of his prosecution was given to me at Johannesburg by a gentleman who represented a daily paper at his trial in this town. In all these places, I met old men who proudly narrated to me their sufferings in the first great campaign of non-violence which the Mahatma had launched to build up a race. The place was outwardly perfectly courteous, though highly charged with a concealed current. Neither Natal nor the Transvaal recognised the Indians' profound repressed power which disclosed itself only in the hour of the extremest danger. The Mahatma appraised his own work as objectively and unconcernedly as if it were assessed by a person unknown to him, and this astounding sense of his own dimensions and of the limitations of the *satyagraha* never deserted him. The *satyagraha* in South Africa was not merely an expression of the passionate desire for freedom; it was a functional emanation of the Mahatma's whole being, and he can proudly claim that

during his stay in South Africa there was not a day when his effort had not been dominated by his dream.

Most people will agree that the Natal of today is the outcome of the Indian's devotion, and few will deny that the Natal of tomorrow will be the outcome of his faith in the garden province. The number of Indians in the province, who have been given an opportunity of developing the potentialities of their nature, is exceedingly small. In every crisis of South Africa's destiny, promises were made to the Indians as well as to the Natives of a new world, but many of the causes which destroyed the faith of non-Europeans in the promises made in the first Great War are in full operation in 1945-'46. Though Indians in South Africa shared in the noblest enthusiasms of the war period, they were disillusioned by the agitation which was organised against them in the Transvaal by the Anti-Asiatic League in 1920. This was followed by laws which the Union Parliament passed against them, in 1932, and 1939. Segregation in various spheres was extended, and industry, education, and social life were subjected to discrimination on a scale which would have been inconceivable to those who had shed their blood for President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and Mahatma Gandhi have promised the fullest support to the South African deputation and the South African Indians have the enthusiastic support of India in their campaign for justice to our brethren in the Union. It is impossible for me to deal fully with the measures which have been taken by the Government of India, and the main elements of India's national life on the question.

The Government of India decided to apply economic sanctions against the Union of South Africa, and their decision was announced in the Council of State, by the Hon'ble Dr. N. B. Khare, Member, Commonwealth Relations, on March 12, 1946. A similar announcement was made in the Legislative Assembly by the Secretary, Mr. R. N. Banerjea. The announcement is as follows:—

Dr. Khare said: "The House is aware of the grave uneasiness in the country caused by the proposal of the Government of the Union of South Africa to introduce new land legislation which is to make the Pegging Act permanent. I would, therefore, like to make a brief statement on the latest developments in this matter. As the House might have noted from the proceedings of the adjournment motion passed by the other House on the subject on February 4, our High Commissioner had been instructed to carry on certain negotiations with the Union Government. We have now had a report from our High Commissioner on the results of his discussions with the Union Government. Our main instruction to our High Commissioner was that he should urge upon the Union Government to discuss the Indian question at a conference with Indian representatives with a view to exploring some alternative settlement and that pending the results of such a conference the legislation should be postponed. Our High Commissioner made personal representations to the Prime Minister of the Union Government to this effect. It is with very deep regret that I have to state that the Prime Minister has rejected these proposals. There is thus little doubt that the Union Government have decided to proceed with the draft Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill. The door seems to be banged against further negotiations.

"The Government of India have always recorded their protest against statutory segregation of Indians and they cannot, therefore, consistently with their moral responsibility for the welfare of their nationals in the Union, acquiesce in this discriminatory legislation which will gradually relegate the large and progressive Indian population in the Union to a position of permanent inferiority. In view of the attitude of the Union Government and their decision to proceed with the legislation, the Government of India have conveyed to the Union Government a message on the 9th of this month that the Government of India now consider themselves free to take counter-measures against

South Africa. As such counter-measures are likely to affect India's trade agreement with the Union, the Government of India have also informed the Union Government that they propose to give the prescribed notice for the termination of India's trade agreement with South Africa. Formal communication of such notice is being made."

In reply to Mr. Thirumal Rao's question, Dr. Khare stated that the period of notice was three calendar months.

The members of the South African Indian deputation, on their arrival in India, enlisted the support of the most influential persons in India, and waited in deputation on His Excellency the Viceroy, on March 12. The deputation was led by the Right Hon'ble His Highness the Agha Khan and included, besides members of the South African Indian deputation, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Opposition, Indian Central Legislative Assembly; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who represented the Indian National Congress; Sir Homi P. Mody, representing the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association; and Mr. M. H. Hashmi Premji, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber. The members of the South African deputation submitted a statement to His Excellency which dealt with disabilities of Indians in the Union, and all the Indian leaders who were associated with leaders from South Africa supplemented the statement by urging His Excellency to take prompt action in the matter.

In South Africa, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, made it perfectly clear that the Indians were prepared to launch a concerted struggle. He pointed out that, under the Bill, Indians "will be reduced to a state of helotry in South Africa by the proposed Ghetto Bill, and their economic extinction will be only a matter of years. The Indian people are prepared and willing to forego all food commodities and textiles from India rather than submit to a criminal injustice and national dishonour. We are prepared to fight tooth and nail against repressive measures and for our elementary democratic rights." His Excellency the Viceroy, who has played a supremely important part in the efforts of the

Government of India to preserve intact Indian rights, assured the deputation of his sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of Indians in the Union. Those who have had the privilege of serving the Viceroy, know what an important part he has played in the negotiations that have been conducted between the two Governments. Dr. N. B. Khare has spared no efforts to vindicate national hohour and maintain India's prestige in the Union.

The statement of South African Indians, reproduced below, is a clear and concise analysis of their grievances. The Appendix to the Statement, which gives specific instances of segregation, supplies significant facts on the actual working of segregation, and will be read with the deepest interest. Qaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah fully sympathised with the demands of the deputation.

"We, the undersigned, Sorabjee Rustomjee, Sooba Rama Naidoo, Azumshah Ahmad Mirza and Ahmed Sadeck M. Kajee, delegates of the South African Indian Congress, duly appointed at its Seventeenth Session of the Conference held in Capetown from the 8th to 13th February, 1946, together with members co-opted, being South African Indians at present in India, under authority of the Resolution of the Conference, respectfully beg to submit to you this Statement on the proposed legislation, as announced by Field Marshal Smuts, in the Union Parliament on 21st January, 1946, when he made known the intention of the Union Government to introduce legislation this session adversely affecting Indians in Natal and the Transvaal.

2. We are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for receiving us at short notice in spite of your multifarious preoccupations.

3. The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the

Indians in Natal but also on the Mother Country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape had practically no Indian question worth the name. Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The "location" system, later known as segregation, had its rise there. The Whites in Natal had deliberately and for their own sake invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations and other industries. In their wake followed the trader and others, and the Indian population today is therefore a composite one.

4. One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the union of all the races of South Africa, *i.e.*, the African (the Bantu), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians.) What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world. But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine, and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants, as will be clearly seen by reference to the Appendix "A" hereto attached.

5. We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts, which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa, is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. The wedge has now extended into all-round inequality and inferiority. Thus, there are zones of segregation, one of which the Whites are reserving for themselves in order to force by legal compulsion the segregation of the other races. God has made man "one great human family". The White races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts based on colour.

6. Bad enough as the threatened land legislation is, the prospective franchise legislation is worse. It is a mockery of franchise and a poignant reminder of the low status to be accorded to us, so low that we are not to be deemed even fit enough to choose one of our own as our representative.

7. We have come all the way from South Africa not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the Mother Country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the Field Marshal himself.

8. It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then, may we ask whether it is not Your Excellency's double and special duty to enunciate your stand in favour of equality and, so far as possible, enforce it in no uncertain terms?

9. The announcement of the intention of the Union Government to introduce legislation so alarmed the Indian community that the South African Indian Congress at its Conference aforesaid resolved to send a Deputation to Field Marshal Smuts. This Deputation made representations to him not to proceed with the intended legislation, and to convene a Round Table Conference of the Union Government and the Government of India in fulfilment of the recommendation of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission made in March 1945. This request was refused by him, whereupon the Conference, after deliberating at great length, adopted the following resolution:—

CAPETOWN
12th February, 1946

'This Conference of the South African Indian Congress, after having heard the Report of the Deputation that waited on the Prime Minister, expresses its grievous disappointment at his refusal to abandon the proposed legislation and to convene a Round Table Conference between India and South Africa.

This Conference interprets this refusal as the very negation of the principle of solving human problems by negotiations and mutual discussions and as indicating a legislative design of repressing the Community and settling its fate at the altar of political expediency and sacrificing it to appease extreme White reactionaries in this country. The legislation dealing with land tenure and communal representation, to be introduced by the Prime Minister, which is totally unacceptable, is an insult to the national honour and dignity of the Indian nation.

This Conference of the South African Indian Congress, having regard to the Prime Minister's refusal, resolves to mobilise all the resources of the Indian people in this country in order to take every measure possible to secure the lapsing of the Pegging Act and to oppose the proposed legislation of the Government by:

1. Sending a deputation to India:
   (*a*) To urge the Government of India for the convening of a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa.
   (*b*) Failing which to request the Government of India:
   (*i*) to withdraw the office of its High Commissioner in South Africa.
   (*ii*) to apply economic sanctions against South Africa.
   (*c*) To carry out a campaign of propaganda

in India to secure the fullest support of India's millions.

(*d*) To invite Indian leaders to come to South Africa.

2. Sending deputations to America, Britain and other parts of the world.

3. Proceeding immediately to prepare the Indian people of South Africa for a concerted and prolonged resistance, the details of which this Conference instructs its Executive to prepare for submission and action to its constituent bodies.

10. We would, therefore, ask Your Excellency to use your influence to secure the holding of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to settle, in the words of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, "all matters affecting Indians in South Africa". But should your efforts in this connection unhappily fail, then we ask, in terms of our Resolution herein-before embodied, to withdraw the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter-measures will cause us hardship. But our loss we would count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement of the sanctions.

Dated at NEW DELHI this TWELFTH day of MARCH 1946.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's obedient servants,

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE—*Leader*
S. R. NAIDOO
A. S. M. KAJEE
A. A. MIRZA

CO-OPTED MEMBERS

Swami Bhawani Dayal, Mr. Essop Mohammad Randeree, Mr. Mohanlal R. Parekh, Mr. V. N. Mohammad, Mr. D. Mancherjee, Mr. Govindram Hassaram, Mr. I. E. Kosadia, Mr. E. I. Mayet. Mr. S. J. Mehta, Mr. A. S. Bhabha, Mr. K. J. Tavaria, Mr. N. M. D. Raja, Mr. A. E. Jina, Mr. M. I. Mahomedy, Mr. E. M. Vaid, Mr. H. B. Kazi, Mr. R. V. Parekh, Mr. M. J. Naran, Mr. M. L. Patel, Mr. C. R. Parekh, Mr. B. D. Patel, Mr. E. Mancherjee, Mr. P. K. Desai, Mr. V. V. Gokal, Moulvi Ismail Y. Gardee, Mr. G. M. D. Seedat, Mr. Mangalbhai, V. Patel, Mr. B. U. Master, Mr. B. A. Gokal, Mr. I. A Moola, Mr. I. A. Essack, Mr. M. H. Patel, Mr. N. R. Patel, Mr. I. S. Mayat, Mr. A. R. G. H. Bassa, Mr. .M. H. Bismillah, Mr. S. M. Osmani, Mr. M. D. Desai. Mr. Ramdas. D. Mistry, Mr. S. H. Vaizie, Mr. M. K, Lodhia, Mr. R. V. Patidar, Mr. Kamaluddin Choudri, Mr. M. H. Shaikh.

APPENDIX 'A'

Before 1893 Indians enjoyed in Natal both parliamentary and municipal franchise equally with Europeans. They were first deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1893, with the exception of those who were already on the voters' roll. But Indian protest was heeded and it (the Franchise Act) was vetoed by London.

Indians were successfully deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1896 on the ostensible ground that they did not enjoy the privilege in India. They were deprived of the Municipal franchise in 1924 with the result that they ceased to influence Central, Provincial or the Municipal Administrations. Indian residential localities in Durban and elsewhere have consequently been grossly neglected by the local authorities.

Separate schools are maintained for Indians and in a few places separate hospitals for Indians and Africans.

No Indians are admitted to the Natal University College.

In Railway trains Indians can generally only occupy special coaches reserved for them with Non-Europeans, and in Government offices such as the Posts and Telegraph Offices, and Railway Booking Offices there are separate counters for Non-Europeans. This method of discrimination is applied in Courts of Justice also.

Indians are almost completely debarred from employment in Government and Municipal services, except in a menial capacity. There are, however, Indian teachers in schools etc. exclusively intended for Indians and so are employed Indian interpreters in some law courts.

One of the few privileges which Indians enjoyed until recently in Natal was the freedom to purchase and occupy landed property in urban and rural areas, but the "Pegging Act" of 1943 has severely restricted the exercise of this privilege. Field Marshal Smuts has now made an announcement in Parliament that he would introduce new measures affecting Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal.

(a) In Natal the new legislation, which is to replace the "Pegging Act" lapsing on the 31st day of March, 1946, will prohibit the acquisition or occupation of properties by Indians, except in certain specified areas.

(b) Whilst the "Pegging Act" is limited in its operation to Durban only and restricts transactions of fixed property between European and Indian only, the new legislation is to apply to the whole Province of Natal, both in urban and rural areas, and totally prohibits such transactions not only between European and Indian, but goes further than the present "Pegging Act" by making it unlawful for any such transactions between Indian on the one hand and Non-Indian on the other, *i.e.*, European, Coloured, Bantu, Chinese, Malay and other Non-Indian races.

(c) In the Transvaal, under the new legislation, areas are to be set apart for Indians both for residence and trade in cities, towns, and villages, the effect of which will be

to restrict, if not, totally confine trading activities of Indians to the areas assigned to them. Thus being removed some distance away from commercial centres and being out of touch with all other sections of the population with whom they have hitherto been transacting business, the Indian traders will face ruination.

Moreover, in regard to trade the Licensing Laws in the Transvaal operate very harshly against Indians. In that province the Licensing Boards have absolute power to refuse license to Indians without assigning reasons therefor. The same is applicable in the case of transfer of Licenses from one person to another.

In Natal, as well, administration of Licensing Laws operates harshly against Indians, all based upon racial considerations.

(d) Indians in Natal and the Transvaal are to be allowed representation in the Union Legislature on a "racial" basis, similar to that applicable to the Bantus and other natives of South Africa. The Indian community is to be represented *by three European members* elected by them in a House of more than One Hundred and Fifty (150) members.

These proposed measures will, if they become law, constitute a breach of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 between the Union Government and the Government of India, and will be a violation of assurances and pledges given from time to time.

Note:—The Appendix takes note of some of the legal disabilities, both in Natal and in the Transvaal and by no means exhausts the catalogue of our disabilities, grievances and hardships. The other disabilities reflected in the conduct of the Europeans in various walks of life, though galling, have been purposely avoided.

Mahatma Gandhi has helped the deputation with his advice and has taken the deepest interest in its activities. In an issue of the *Harijan*, dated March 24, he attacked the proposed legislation, and pointed out that by pursuing the path which he proposes in the Bill, Field Marshal Smuts will undermine the prestige of the ruling race in the Union. Gandhiji writes: The "Course of events has raised the question of South African Whiteman's policy to the highest level. Unseen it holds the seeds of a world war. The threatened Land and Franchise Bill which has brought the South African Indian delegation to India, though superficially it affects the Indians of Natal and the Transvaal, is in effect a challenge to Asia and by implication to the Negro races. India in her present exalted mood can view it in no other way.

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core, but being also an internationalist he has made us used to looking at everything in the international light instead of the parochial. India, weak physically and materially but strong ethically and numerically, has proclaimed from the house tops that her independence would be a threat to no one and no nation, but will be a help to all noble efforts throughout the world and a promise of relief to its exploited people. Therefore, India regards the contemplated measure of the Union of South Africa as an insult and challenge to them.

"The Indian deputation sees in the present measure not merely an assault on Indian property rights but also on their status as free men. They do not want merely to exist in South Africa. They need not have sent the deputation all the way to India for that purpose. They want to be in South Africa as equals of the European settlers of South Africa. They know that today they are not. But they must stop deterioration and hence move forward. In that forward march India will help of course. Indeed, all the moral forces will be at their call. The brunt, however, will have to be borne by them. They rediscovered the force of truth (Satyagraha) and that will

be their only and ultimate source of power. Time for it is not yet. Let us hope, it will never come. They have to try to gather together on their side all the moral forces of the world. They will have to clear the ground of all the weeds, all sordidness, all personal ambition which always and everywhere creeps in. If sleepless vigilance is not kept on the watch tower, imagine the plight of a poor barque sailing when the beacon light in front has gone out.

"They must be prepared for accidents and consequent suffering. If they are in earnest and hardy enough to brave the worst, they are bound to come out the best in the end.

"What about the Whites of South Africa? They invited the Indians in the first instance. If they thought the invitees would always be like slaves or that they would not be followed by their free brethren, the Whites were soon undeceived.

"Does real superiority require outside props in the shape of legislation? Will they not see that every such wall of protection weakens them, ultimately rendering them effeminate? The lesson of history ought to teach them that might is not right. Right only is might. Field Marshal Smuts is a great soldier statesman. Will he not perceive that he will be taking the whitemen of South Africa down the precipice if he persists in the policy underlying his measure? Let him take counsel with the Allies to whose victory on the battlefield he contributed not a little. He will surely throw away its fruits if he persists in his plan of protecting the civilization of the West by artificial means"

The loss to South Africa through rupture of her trade with India is by no means negligible. It is estimated that 58 million grain bags were imported from India in 1944. They are essential for handling maize, wheat and sugar crops. Imports from India in 1944 were valued at £10,809,163 and constituted 13.4 per cent of the total South African imports. At the same

time, £ 10,608,761 of merchandise were exported to India.

The South African delegates addressed a Press Conference at New Delhi, on March 12, 1946, at which the leader of the delegation, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, and Mr. S. R. Naidoo, stated their case and expressed their reaction to the Government of India's decision to apply economic sanctions against South Africa.

I reproduce the following account from the Indian Press:

The real cause of the Union Government's new land legislation, according to Mr. Sorabjee, was General Smuts's desire to forestall the action a free India would take. The South African Premier, fearing that a National Government in India would force his hands to deal fairly with Indian nationals, wished to make a law which would make Indians in the Union citizens of South Africa on the same status as the natives of that country. After achieving this legal transformation General Smuts would tell the Government of India to mind their own business and not interfere with the internal affairs of the Union.

Mr. Sorabjee ascribed the continuously deteriorating position of Indians in South Africa to the weakened attitude of the Government of India. He and his colleagues wanted economic sanctions to be applied and the immediate recall of the High Commissioner in order to lift the issue to international plane. He added: "We will chase away the High Commissioner if he is not recalled."

The Last Straw

As regards the Indians in South Africa they considered the proposed legislation "the last straw on the camel's back" and Mr. Sorabjee declared that they would launch a campaign in South Africa according to the advice of Mahatma Gandhi whom they would meet in Bombay this week. He added: "General Smuts is called gray steel. He once bent before our Mahatma Gandhi. God willing, he will bend again"

Mr. Sorabjee recalled how a Japanese cruiser once came into the Union waters and how its crew was insulted at Cape Town. Shortly afterwards the same crew when it touched Durban was given formal reception by the Mayor of Durban. That showed the force of an independent Government. He had no doubt that if India's Government backed them and sincerely applied economic sanctions, the Union Government would be forced to hold a round table conference and not disregard the unanimous recommendation in favour of such a conference made even by their all-white Judicial Commission.

Why Racial Prejudices?

Tracing the history of Indians' plight, Mr. Naidu stated that the Whites of South Africa wished to treat Indians as labourers. At the time of the Cape Town Agreement they asked Indians to adopt Western standards; now when they had done that the Whites declared in horror that Indians had become their rivals in the commercial and economic field. Racial prejudices were roused merely to keep Indians down and prevent their moral and material progress. "We were told that the Cape Town Agreement was meant to 'uplift' us. We have been 'uplifted' to the status of the natives. We are to have the same franchise as they and, like them, to be represented by three Europeans in an Assembly of over 150 members"

Giving an explanation as to why Mr. Jinnah did not join the deputation to the Viceroy, Mr. Sorabjee said that it was due to certain principles of the League which stood in the way of Mr. Jinnah joining the Delegation. What he did not say, or probably did not divine, was that the League Fuehrer's prestige was involved and he did not wish to be led by anyone, not even by the Agha Khan.

The *Associated Press of India* adds:

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee said that though it was good

that within 24 hours of the delegation's arrival in Delhi, the Government of India had taken action against South Africa, the delegation was not entirely satisfied.

"To my mind, the Government of India is not speaking in a strong enough way," he went on. "The Viceroy told us this afternoon that the withdrawal of the High Commissioner will be considered later on. I entirely differ from that point of view.

"We have been sent from South Africa to see that our demand is backed up by 400 millions of India and that the High Commissioner's office is withdrawn immediately on the passing of this new legislation. Our fight is not for existence in South Africa. As human beings we can live and die in any place. Our fight is for the honour of the Indian nation, and if we are not to be treated as dogs in South Africa and if we have not got that spirit that Mahatmaji showed us, then let us die as dogs, but let not India be a party to it."

Cold Feet At Delhi

Mr. Sorabjee added that every High Commissioner from Mr. Srinivasa Sastri downwards, when legislation like this was passed, and when they saw the intolerable conditions of Indians, said it would be a good thing if this office was closed. Sir Shafaat Ahmed's Punjabi blood boiled at conditions in South Africa but there seemed to be someone in Delhi who did not have the Punjabi blood.

Explaining how the enforcement of economic sanctions would affect Indians in South Africa, Mr. Sorabjee explained that during war, when there was scarcity, India exported large quantities of piecegoods but at the same time owing to restrictions on foodstuffs India closed her export of rice and other foodstuffs. Substitutes were found for these by South African Indians. The piecegoods market was available to India only so long as piecegoods were not sent by England or America. So soon after the end of war, piece-

goods from England and America had already begun to come into South Africa.

White Exploiter Will Suffer

"Indian merchants will not lose anything particularly, because of stoppage of trade between the two countries. Perhaps, the loser may be the sugar exporter—White exploiter of the poor labourer in the sugar industry—because he wants gunny bags from Calcutta.

"But this procedure of three months' notice will give them time for the building up of three years' stock from India. Things may not also go direct to South Africa from India but may for instance go to Portuguese East Africa and be secretly transported from there to South Africa.

"Unless there is the spirit of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye, and unless sanctions are applied honestly and vigorously, there is no use talking of economic sanctions."

"It is not because we want to hit South Africa that we are asking for the enforcement of economic sanctions" said Mr. Sorabjee, in reply to a question. "By enforcing economic sanctions and withdrawing the High Commissioner, you lift the whole struggle from the inter-Governmental plane to the International plane. Short of war, economic sanctions are the next best instrument to use."

Asked about the future plans of South African Indians, Mr. Sorabjee expressed reluctance to discuss them. He was anxious to avoid giving the Union Government an opportunity of saying that Indians were holding out a threat.

"Even now or even after the Bill is read, there is just a possibility of a Round Table Conference." he added.

The delegation, Mr. Sorabjee said, were going to Bombay on Wednesday to meet Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee and plans would be made in consultation with them.

After explaining why Mr. Jinnah or other representatives of the Muslim League was not on the deputation which waited on the Viceroy, Mr. Sorabjee said that Mr. Jinnah had explained to the delegation that on principle the League did not want to go to the Viceroy with any deputation. Mr Jinnah therefore was sorry he could not accompany the delegation but assured them that he and other members of the League were with the delegation in this hour of trial and would assist them to the best of their ability.

Mr. Sorabjee explained why General Smuts was keen to bring this new legislation "before India gets her freedom. He wants South African Indians to be assimilated in the South African population by giving them the native franchise so that when India talks of any rights, she can be told they were not Indians but were South Africans."

Mr. Sorabjee cited the example of men from a Japanese cruiser who on landing in Cape Town were refused drinks in a restaurant. The Japanese captain threatened to open fire on the restaurant keeper, who thereafter offered drinks. The Japanese did not accept it but protested to the Mayor and Government saying the Japanese navy had been insulted. This happened on a Saturday. On Monday the Japanese were given a reception in Durban and marched to the City Hall with band playing and were guests of honour of the Whites of Natal.

Mr. S. R. Naidoo, a member of the Broome Commission, attributed the trouble to European mental attitude, namely, that the Indian having been brought as a labourer must always remain a labourer. Any educational or economic advance by him was something abhorrent to the European.

The Bill was introduced by Premier Smuts in the House of Assembly on March 15, for the first reading. The main provisions of the Bill are as follows:—

In addition to controlling permanently the acqui-

sition and occupation of land in the Transvaal and Natal the Bill provides for Indian representation in the Senate, Assembly and the Natal Provincial Council.

The land tenure provisions are applicable to Asiatics generally, but the franchise provisions are applicable to Indians only, an Indian being defined as "any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in India or Ceylon".

Indians will be represented in the Senate by two Europeans, one of whom will be elected by the Transvaal and Natal Indians and the other nominated by the Governor General. In the Assembly Natal and the Transvaal Indians will be represented by three Europeans. Natal Indians will be entitled to elect two members to the Natal Provincial Council who may be Indians or Europeans.

The Parliamentary and Provincial Council representatives of Indians will be elected for a five-year period and will not be affected by any dissolution of the Parliament or Provincial Council for general election.

The control of dealings in and occupation of fixed property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics applies to the whole of Natal, whereas Pegging Act restrictions applied only to the Durban area. Asiatics will be entitled to buy or occupy property outside specified exempted areas only on the authority of a special permit issued by the Minister of the Interior. The occupation provisions and not the acquisition provisions of the Bill will apply to the Transvaal's acquisition of property in the Transvaal laws designed to tighten the control.

The Bill will enable properly designed townships to be established on land assigned by the Parliament for the purpose. Under the Transvaal Law of 1885, Asiatics may only own or occupy land in areas specially set aside for them in already established townships. To enable local authorities and private persons to make adequate provision for the housing of Asiatics in townships yet to be established, the Bill provides for the assignment of

land outside the existing townships in which Indians may own and occupy property.

The Bill also enables Parliament to assign other areas whether or not intended for townships for occupation by Asiatics.

On March 25, the date of the second reading of the Bill, the Government of India gave formal notice to the Union Government terminating the Trade Agreement between the two countries. The termination of the Agreement is subject to three months' notice and the agreement will, therefore, end on June 25, 1946. A complete *hartal* was proclaimed by the Transvaal Indians and all Indian business premises closed as a protest against the introduction of the Bill. The African peoples' organisation in a statement from Durban, dated March 27, declared that "the Bill is a flagrant breach of faith with the coloured people. Time and again coloured people have been assured by the present and previous South African Governments that no measure would be adopted without prior consultation with them. As such, the Bill must be resisted, whatever the cost, and it will be the duty of all responsible coloured people to co-operate in launching a national movement against not only the Bill, but also other discriminatory laws in South Africa."

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress discussed the South African issue at its meeting at Bombay on March 15, and declared that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. It called upon the Government of India to withdraw their High Commissioner if the Union Government refused to suspend the proposed legislation pending the convening of a Round Table Conference to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth. The resolution is as follows:—

"The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity

and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to the Viceroy of the Indian deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race, a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malaye" and of broken promises and declarations. The civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

"The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth. "The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field-Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed Anti-Asiatic Bill as a domestic affair the right of the Indian Government and by parity of reasoning of the other Allied Powers of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different states with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a state.

"The Committee venture to advise the victorious allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the

Government of South Africa inasmuch as the war would have been fought in vain if the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa of colour bar against Asiatic races and coloured peoples inhabiting the sub-continent is maintained.[1]

"To the Indian deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they, the Committee and indeed the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realize that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

"The Committee would, however, fain hope even at the eleventh hour that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would listen to reason and accept the appeal of the moral laws by which mankind lives."

Hon'ble Dr N. B. Khare declared at Nagpur, on March 22, that "the United Nations Organisation could not succeed in its principal objective of ensuring peace and harmony among the nations if it took no notice of the racial conflicts which were inevitable after the passage of such discriminatory measures directed against Asiatics, Indians and Chinese, residing in South Africa." He continued, "We are dealing with a powerful adversary (F. M. Smuts) on a moral plane. The issue raised by our decision to impose economic sanctions against South Africa is essentially moral. What poor consolation would it be to us," he asked, "if we were still treated in one of the Dominions, even under the changed world conditions, as mere chattels with no political rights and if we are to continue to be victims of

racial discriminations?"

Mr. R. N. Banerjea, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department, declared in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, on March 26, that "the Government of India had been seriously considering for some time past the question of placing the South African Indian question before the United Nations Organisation, and they were likely to take a decision in the matter very soon." He added, "the Government of India have been examining the matter for some time and will decide in what manner it should be brought before the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation." The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the first Indian Agent to the Union Government whose sad demise in April last has left a gap in the public life of India which cannot be filled easily and one of the framers of the Cape Town Agreement, denounced the Bill in strong lines. The message, written from his sick bed, was delivered to Mr. S. R. Naidoo, one of the delegates, at Madras on March 20. The message reads: "The original Cape Town Agreement, which Field Marshal Smuts would never accept as an understanding between two honourable peoples has now been all but repudiated. The Indian community will now be segregated as to location, purchasing and occupation of property and, therefore, also as to trade and other means of livelihood. This would complete its ruin.

"Although there would be some White settlers who would think the measure unworthy of civilized rule, there is no doubt, it would meet with the general wish of the dominant community. Never was there, and we trust never will be, such naked and unashamed use of political power—that the new world, reborn after the terrible struggle of the past few years should witness and quietly tolerate as its monstrous progeny—is a tragedy of the blackest order.

"I cannot but think that this fact should be made known to the United Nations in its hellish charac-

ter and their intervention invoked in all solemnity. The Field Marshal and his sonorous hypocrisy should be exposed to the gaze of all honest men, and that section of the British people who have made themselves responsible for this outrage on all that is redeeming in their character, and must be disowned, lock, stock and barrel, not only by the inhabitants of the British Isles, but by all that is progressive and upward looking in the world.

"I had a share, of which I am not ashamed, in the framing of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. In my closing days, I seem to be punished by events for an act of virtue. If this be freedom and the happiness of the new regime, may mankind be saved from them.

"The Government of India are now summoned by the inexorable logic of facts to use all their striking power, although it may largely react on themselves. The Indian community is now fighting for the last time with its back against the wall, and will be fully justified in seeking honourable suicide in preference to ignominious surrender.

"They say there is no human situation without hope. The next few months will test what truth there is in this optimistic view of the way the world is going."

Field Marshal Smuts moving the second reading of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill in the House of Assembly on March 25, stated:

"We want to see fair play and justice for Indians, but we do not want to injure the structure of our South African society and to have developments here which might in the end jeopardize the structure we are building. Neither European nor native African culture would be fostered by such a development. We do stand for human rights. We are determined to discharge our human duties in a fair way to all sections of our community and to Indians also, but we are determined that we must preserve the European organization of our society

and not switch over to Asiatic culture That is the fundamental issue in this Bill."

There was a movement abroad to exploit the international implications of the Bill and magnify its importance. He heard that an attempt was being made to frighten and stampede the South African public against the measure. "I am the last person to minimize the importance of this Bill from an international point of view, but essentially it is an internal measure—an attempt to provide social peace and a good ordering of our society in South Africa and we are not going to be frightened by any movement, any propaganda which may be intended to frighten the people of this country."

He denied that the Bill was an insult to India or a challenge to Asia. Whatever its implications might be in other directions, it was a domestic question, a question for South Africa to solve. "If the Indian problem, which has been drifting for many years, be allowed to drift further, South Africa might drift on to the rocks. The problem might become a first class international issue."

The Bill was an attempt to limit the mischievousness of a historical mistake made many years ago. "As innocent victims today, we should try to deal with it in a spirit of justice and fair play for all." Both Europeans and Indians would have to contribute towards the solution.

Referring to the introduction of Indian labour in Natal in 1860, General Smuts said that 40 years after that, a similar mistake was made in the Transvaal by the introduction of Chinese labour for gold mines. If that attempt had succeeded, South Africa might have been hopelessly compromised and a situation would have been created which would be beyond repair.

"Fundamentally, the principles of separate land tenure and residence and political representation for Indians are

the same in this Bill as in the case of natives in native legislation already in force. I do not see how Indians can consider that as an insult to them, rather their objection is an insult to the native population. No insult whatever, is intended".

The Government considered the land tenure and franchise proposals as inseparable and would not agree to one part being passed and the other dropped. The Government insisted that the Bill be passed as a whole. In the past when the land rights of natives were limited, it had been absolutely necessary to give them political status. In the same way, now when land rights of Natal Indians were being limited it was only fair that they should be given some political status. A Round Table Conference was not a feasible solution. Firstly, it was too late. The Pegging Act expired on March 31. There was no time for lengthy exploration by a Round Table Conference.

In view of the urgency of the matter and the need for a practical solution a Round Table Conference was a "counsel of despair." The matter was essentially a domestic question for South Africa. More than 80 per cent of Indians were South African citizens. They insisted that they were South Africans. Therefore, how could South Africa call in another Government to help her find a solution? "Our Indian citizens will have to make up their minds whether they are citizens of South Africa or India."

The Indian constitution recognized separate communities and the whole social system was one of segregation. He would not argue whether that was a mistake, but that was the system in India. India had community franchise and no common franchise. "I think, therefore, that it does not lie in the mouths of Indians to say that the separate electoral system of South Africa will be an insult to them. It is not an insult in India and it is not an insult to our natives here. Why should it be an insult to Indians?"

Under the Bill, ownership and residence by Indians would be restricted to "free areas". No attempt was made to interfere with the status quo.

What was being done was to halt the mischief of intermixture of residence and ownership. Vested rights would not be touched. Part of the work of declaring "free areas" had already been done. A board of two Europeans, two Indians and a European chairman would be constituted in the terms of the Bill and would survey further areas for demarcation as "free areas." The Bill applied to the whole of Natal. In Natal, in future, there would be separate areas. Indians would have full scope in scheduled areas set aside for open occupation and purchase.

Complaints had recently been made to the Government from various quarters that the door to indiscriminate purchase of land by Indians in the Transvaal and Natal having been closed, there were very clear indications of attempts at penetration in Cape Province. "I want to utter a warning note to our Indian friends in Cape Province to be careful about this. They precipitated a crisis which led to the Pegging Act. But for large-scale penetration into Durban during the war, our troubles might have been very different, and might have taken a much milder form."

"Despite the present Indian opposition to this Bill I have no doubt, a time will come and perhaps sooner than most think, when Indians in Natal will recognize the solid advantages they will derive from this measure." The Government were determined to see that Indians received a square deal in every direction, even beyond the area covered by the Bill. The Government had in mind the establishment of an advisory committee consisting of Europeans and Indians to advise the Government through the Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs on all matters affecting the welfare of Indians.

The Opposition leader, Dr. Malan, moved an amend-

ment declining to pass the second reading of the Bill unless the Government agreed to refer to a joint committee of both Houses the colour question in all its aspects, including Indian question, such committee to have power to draft and recommend such Bill or Bills as were deemed necessary, and further that the operation of the Pegging Act (concerning Indians in Natal) be extended for two years.

Dr. Malan said that the Opposition accepted that part of the Bill which dealt with land tenure restrictions.

Colonel Stallard, Leader of the Dominion Party, said that he supported the principle of zoning of occupation and ownership in the Bill, but he could not support the franchise proposals. He opposed it on "constitutional grounds," as continued representation of racial groups by special franchise of this character was an invasion of the Union's constitutional system of government. He could not close his eyes to the fact that in South Africa Indians were an unassimilable element. The House should, therefore, pause before introducing Indians into the parliamentary system and giving them power to frustrate and hinder the actions of Europeans before they had won their aims. As to what these "aims" were, the gallant Colonel failed to clarify. Mrs. Ballinger, an able and fearless champion of the rights of non-Europeans in the Assembly, who had opposed the Pegging Bill in 1943 in a brilliant speech, and is a representative of natives in the Assembly, declared that she approved neither the franchise clauses nor the land tenure clauses. She did not believe that the Bill in its present form would establish conditions in which people could live peaceably together. The native legislation of 1936 introduced with the same objective had not succeeded. The principle of segregation had been harshly applied to the natives, and Europeans and Africans today were more divided than ever before. The fear complex dominated every individual and group, and race prejudice

had become more deeply embodied in national life and thought. Today the African and European populations stood regarding each other with growing surliness. The Bill made no provision for poorer Indians; there was no social plan for the uplift of most of the Indian people. She added that in the Bill were sown seeds of endless friction and trouble and growing animosity between Indians and Europeans. The type of franchise proposed in the Bill would not satisfy any body. She hoped that General Smuts would substitute the type of franchise recommended by the Broome Commission.

Mrs. Ballinger's speech put the point of view of the non-Europeans with great clarity and vigour, and suggestions for the consideration of the recommendations of the Broome Commission were most helpful. Had General Smuts acted upon the recommendations of a Commission which his Government had appointed, the present unedifying quarrel between the two Governments would have been avoided, and the issue would have been considered in the detached and impartial atmosphere of a Round Table Conference of leaders of the two countries. Mr. Madeley, leader of the Labour Party in the Assembly, wholeheartedly supported the land tenure proposals of the Bill, but opposed the franchise proposals. The Nationalist members, on the other hand, opposd it, and declared that they will not be "blackmailed" by the land tenure restrictions into voting for franchise proposals. A Nationalist member, Mr. Leroux, declared that the only solution of the South African Indian problem was to transfer all South African Indians to India. "Previous atempts at repatriation had failed," but the times had changed and the seriousness of the position was now better understood. Mr. M. Kentridge, a Liberal and a front bencher of the Government Party, like a typical Liberal, opposed it on "principle" and "viewed it with distaste," and was prepared to swallow it with "reluctance". He preferred action along the lines recommended by the Broome Commission as it was

still possible to get an agreement. Having declared his objection to it "on principle," Mr. Kentridge said that "he would vote for the Bill". This amazing *volte face* by a Liberal, who belongs to the persecuted Jewish community, shows the impotence and futility of Liberal parties all over the world. Mr. Kentridge has generous instincts and has lent a helping hand to the Indian community in the past. On this occasion, however, the disintegration of General Smuts' party in South Africa has compelled his Liberal followers to come to his rescue and discard the lofty cloak of Liberalism in which they had wrapped themselves. This is the chief reason for the curious change in the policy of South African Liberals. Hon'ble J. H. Hofmeyer, Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, supported the Bill. He explained that he opposed the communal franchise, but welcomed the Bill, because communal franchise was better than no franchise. He saw no chance of fighting the issue of the communal franchise successfully now, and accepted the Bill, "as the second best." Mr. Hofmeyer hoped that the Indian community would come to see the matter in that light and appreciate that recognition of their citizenship in the Bill was a very important step. "Under the old Natal constitution, Indians were entitled to political rights on the same basis as the Europeans, but first parliamentary and then municipal franchise had been whittled away. Now the process had been reversed, and the Union was starting to give back the right that had been taken away." Mr. Hofmeyer is one of the ablest statesmen of the Empire, and his sacrifices for non-Europeans and the persistence with which he has fought for the rights of Indians, have endeared him to all sections of non-Europeans. Indians regard him as their champion in the Cabinet, and he has helped the community in many crises. He is held in great esteem not only in South Africa, but also in East and Central Africa. He has maintained the noble traditions of his great family, and has fought for the principles of

his uncle, a Cape Liberal of outstanding ability and character, with a courage that is rare in these days.

His admirers, however, noticed a change in 1943, when he supported the Pegging Bill for Natal, but opposed its extension to the Transvaal. Unfortunately, the speech strengthened the hands of the Government, though this was not Mr. Hofmeyer's intention. He was probably opposed to the Bill on principle and would have been glad if it had not been sponsored by the Government. His speech on the Land Tenure Bill shows that there is no change in the policy which had led him to defend the Pegging Act for Natal in 1943. While he wanted the Transvaal to be exempted from the Pegging Act three years ago, he sees no objection to its enforcement in Natal as well as the Transvaal in 1946. It would be unjust to criticise Mr. Hofmeyer for the change, as he is compelled by the deterioration in the situation to accept the inevitable. Nor should the Indian community be ungrateful to a man whose services to the Indian race are substantial. It is, however, worth noticing that Mr. Hofmeyer presumably accepts all the provisions of the Land Tenure Bill except those which deal with the communal franchise. Even the latter is accepted "as the second best." He presumably accepts under protest the principle of social and economic segregation which is implicit in the Bill. To take away the economic rights of a proud race which it has enjoyed for eighty six years, and give in return communal franchise, whereby Indians will elect Europeans as their representatives, is to make a mockery of democratic theory and practice. When a people's economic life has been shattered, is it a consolation to it to have the right to elect Europeans who will express its grievances in a wholly White parliament? Mr. Hofmeyer's speech shows that the Liberals, subdivided by disaffection within their ranks, and threatened with extinction, not only in South Africa, but also in England, India and other countries, are obliged to apply the precept *Primum Vivere Deinde Philosphare.*

They must attend to their survival, and manage to exist somehow, and leave moral crusading to happier days. The Liberal reserves in South Africa were depleted in quantity and impoverished in quality by the rising tide of segregation. The Cape Liberals suffer from the tragedy of once-advanced party overtaken by more advanced ones. Moreover, in a House in which segregation has been raised to the position of a fundamental creed, which loaded the dice against them, they had not the courage to be their true selves. It is not, therefore, surprising that a Liberal's life in Parliament should be shaped by a hard struggle for life, and is determined more by opportunity and existing possibilities rather than by conformity to Liberal ideology. The South African Liberals encountered another difficulty. The native Representatives are greater champions of non-Europeans than Liberals, and their authority is derived from the mandate which the natives have expressly given them. Hence in their advocacy of non-Europeans, the Liberals are regarded as a more mildly pink replica of native Representatives, in which anomalous situation they found themselves constantly overtrumped, outbidden, and outmanoeuvred by the enthusiastic European spokesmen of natives in Parliament. A great political party may be jealous enough of its tradition, moral integrity and basic policy to sacrifice political power to principles, but the Liberals of South Africa, as of other countries, know that their days of conquest are past, as their wild oats had long been sown. It needs a powerful crew to row against the tide, and the force of the adverse tide has compelled many a Liberal in India, England and South Africa, to do lip service to the Liberal tradition, and make occasional professions of faith on solemn occasions. The speech of its leader, Colonel Stallard, on the Pegging Bill, as well as the speeches he has made on the Land Tenure Bill, this year, show clearly that the doctrine of racial supremacy has undergone no change in the present war, and they cling tenaciously to the

perquisites and privileges of office.

'It is unnecessary to state that these remarks are not applicable to Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer and other leading Cape Liberals, whose record of service to Non-Europeans is one of which any political party may be legitimately proud. They are applied to the rank and file of the party who have been steadily losing their identity through lassitude and timidity and merging into the Dominion Party. The Dominion Party is the fullest incarnation of racial supremacy in Natal, and its leaders have distinguished themselves in every parliamentary session by violent attacks on the Indian race. Of the South African Labour Party, it is sufficient to state that their actions often contradict their most brilliant and emphatic precepts. The South African Labour Party followed a retrograde policy on the Bill. The party is not based on the principles and practice of socialism, and is essentially a trade union organisation, whose avowed object is to maintain "white-supremacy" in the skilled and semi-skilled grades of South African Labour force, and demand high wages for skilled and semi-skilled white workmen. The nerves of the Parliamentary Labour Party would be shaken if a charge of socialism is brought against it, and its leaders in Parliament are constantly looking to the Dominion Party and the Nationalist Party in the House for letters patent of orthodoxy and sound judgment on the question of segregation of the coloured workman. If there is a trace of socialism in its programme, it is in the narrow sense that the white workman must have a lion's share of the "surplus value." General Hertzog won over the Labour Party by enforcing the "civilised labour" policy in all government departments. Thousands of non-European workmen were discharged from offices, as a consequence of this policy, and the Labour Party, through the Trade Union Organisation, has insisted on strict enforcement of these laws. One example will suffice. In 1944, the Durban Corporation framed a scheme for the construction of a

few houses for the natives as part of its housing scheme. The white Trade Unions insisted on the employment of "white labour" for the construction of natives' houses, and launched a strong protest against the employment of native skilled and semi-skilled workmen for building houses for men of their own race. As the wages of a European workman are nearly ten times those of a native workman, the expenditure on the wages of white workers was therefore increased sevenfold. The Corporation demurred, but the matter was taken up by the Trade Union Organisation, and native houses were constructed by white workmen.

The Indian workman is a dangerous rival to the European worker in all grades of work, and he showed his capacity in the war when the stringent regulations that governed the white Labour Party had to be relaxed, to speed up production. The South African Labour Party has rigidly maintained its policy against the Indian worker and the enormous gap in the incomes of these two classes of workmen is due wholly to the vested interest of the Labour Party in the maintenance of white supremacy in industry. Had the talent, power and skill of the Natal Indian been utilised by the leaders of industry, Natal would have become a highly industrialised province by now. This was pointed out to me by many prominent industrialists in South Africa. The Trade Union movement in South Africa has therefore obstructed industrial enterprise, and productive activity, when it feared that a new enterprise might give an opportunity to non-European worker for technical training in skilled and semi-skilled industry. When such enterprises were mooted, and the employment of natives was suggested, Trade Unions launched a vigorous agitation against them, and the project was dropped. The identification of its policy with the maintenance of monopoly has seriously retarded the industrialisation of the country. The white workman in South Africa is one of the highest paid workman in the world. His wages are higher even

than those of the Australian workman, while the quality and output of his work are immeasurably below those of the English, Australian or Continental worker. The cost of production of a South African article, of which the wages of the white workman are a most important element, is fantastically high and it has consequently little chance of competition against the highly finished products of England and U. S. A. The enforcement of a standard rate of pay for the white workman, its incorporation in the laws of the country, and the reservation of all skilled and semi-skilled work for the European, have eliminated all healthy competition and isolated him from the stream of new ideas and improved technique. Hence, foreign technicians have to be imported periodically into the country to train the South African worker. Those who wish to study this question further may refer to Lord Hailey's *Survey of South Africa* where the problem is discussed in a scientific spirit, while the *Black Man's Burden,* published by Gollancz London, gives us the viewpoint of the non-Europeans.

Mr. Madeley's remarks in the Assembly on the Land Tenure Bill must be studied in the light of facts cited above. The South African Labour Party which must be clearly distinguished from the Socialist and Communist parties of South Africa—in the speeches of its leaders as well as in its manifestations—has supported a succession of discriminatory laws which have been passed against the non-European during the last twenty years, and it has sometimes flavoured its programme and the speeches of its leaders with the dogmatic imperialism and crude jingoism to which Rudyard Kipling and Cecil Rhodes gave characteristic expression. The party includes some able men who have a record of service to non-Europeans of which the Labour Party is legitimately proud. It will, however, be admitted by all who have had an opportunity of studying the policy of the party during the last twenty years, that the rank and file have solved the contradictions inherent in a multiracial society by organising the party as

a close oligarchy for the maintenance of the white labour supremacy with an infantine pertinacity which makes co-operation among workmen of different races almost impossible. Moreover, the highest place in the service of the party is filled by persons who, for all their qualities, cannot be regarded as pre-eminent in intellectual power or strength of character. Mr. Madeley clarified the attitude of his party in the amendment which he moved on April 15 to delete from the Bill the clause giving Indians representation in Parliament and the Natal Provincial Council. He declared that, "whatever the consequences, he would press the amendment to a division, because he believed that this provision was the beginning of a set of operations which must inevitably endanger European civilisation." He adduced four reasons for the amendment. In the first place, he said, the Government was putting the cart before the horse by giving Indians franchise, instead of first trying to improve the economic conditions of the vast masses of Indians in South Africa. Had the leader of the Labour Party opposed with determination the clauses relating to economic and social segregation which the Bill perpetuates, this plea for improvement in the economic condition of Indians would have been backed by responsible elements of Europeans and Indians. Progressive European capitalists, as well as Indians, in the Union know, however, that the Parliamentary Labour Party—as distinguished from Socialist parties in the Union—has maintained its ban on Indians who wish to enter the skilled and semi-skilled industries, and has wrecked many promising industrial enterprises which farsighted industrialists wished to launch as it feared that they will allow non-Europeans to work in grades of work which are earmarked for Europeans. Monopoly capitalism in South Africa, curiously enough, is a less serious obstacle to racial harmony than the habit of mind partly engendered by "industrial segregation" and partly idiosyncratic to the Labour Party, which prevents the

under-privileged from enjoying equality of opportunity, and having channels of energy in industry and civic life.

Mr. Madeley's second argument was that Indians themselves did not want franchise. This is a gross misrepresentation of the Indian case. Indians are keen on franchise, but it must be on a common roll, and not on a separate register.

Thirdly, the public of South Africa had not had an opportunity of giving expression to their views on this matter. Fourthly, Indian Representatives would create another racial bloc in Parliament. It is needless to discuss these two reasons, as Mr. Madeley felt convinced that if the European voter had been called upon to decide on the question of franchise, racial passions could have been aroused, and fanatics would have had no difficulty in vetoing the proposal. Nothing is easier than to arouse racial passion, and nothing is more difficult than to control a mob that is excited with racial frenzy.

Mr. Madeley's speech would convince everyone of the fact that the splendid traditions of the South African Labour Party, which had been maintained by a succession of able men, have been forgotten by its present day leaders, and, in dealing with the Indian problem, the party has lost tact, taste, and common sense altogether.

Premier Smuts' speech on the second reading of the Land Tenure Bill, like his speech on the second reading of the Pegging Bill, distinctly fell short of moral grandeur. The very attempt to justify a measure which threatens the social life of the Indians in Natal proved how far the mind even of the greatest statesman of South Africa is removed from the severe simplicity that gave its strength to the life and thought of the noble line of *Voortrekkers* who have created modern South Africa. The Premier has moulded the policy and directed the mental force of three generations of South African statesmen. The new form of relationship which the Bill proposes to impose upon the Indian race in Natal and the

Transvaal will bring about an economic revolution twice armed with efficient and expanding technologies; and the enforcement of the Act will impair the social fabric of the Indian race in the two provinces, though there may be a time lag between the first scratch and the deep thrust. South African policy on the Colour question has "biases", and "imperatives" of its own, and even a world-statesman is not strong enough to rise so high above the storms of vociferous self-assertion and racial superiority that he can afford to smile down upon them. In the performance of a most unpleasant task supreme forensic skill is imperative. Dialectic must be plied to satiety; resort must be had to fine shades and a delicate poise; the precious national gift of equivocation must be carefully husbanded; the cutting of Gordian knots on the Indian issue should be avoided, if segregation is to remain carefully wrapped up in the lofty cloak of the Atlantic Charter. In the first World War, Field Marshal Smuts lived in the hearts of the underprivileged throughout the world. His name was then the watchword of their freedom, and his vision of the new world that would emerge out of the war sustained their spirit in 1914-1919. Students of my generation in England read his speeches on the post-war problems with breathless interest. The youngmen of those stormy times read in the peaceful English countryside some of his orations on the height and depth of man's mixed nature; the drama of human destiny before the throne of God; into the sphere of thoughts like these, vivid and solemn, transcending the region of sense, and carrying the mind away to a spiritual world, were the impressionable minds of young men in 1914-1918 thrust, and we dwelt with passion upon vague and misty thought that gave illimitable scope to the fiery young men. In the second War, the Atlantic Charter was invoked whenever a crisis disturbed the racial peace of South Africa, and this technique proved an excellent means of avoiding the delicate issue of equality in a multi-racial country. This method

placed the Atlantic Charter so far beyond the range of human practice that at that dizzy height all the inner contradictions which the social policy of the Durban and Johannesburg Corporations involved vanished into thin air, and racial storms in Durban became caressing zephyrs. Because of the inadequacy of his technique to meet the deeper wants of the underprivileged in the Union, the forces of the nation, both creative and receptive, are exhausted in the vain effort to clothe segregation in a decent garb. While the technique is familiar to Indians in the Union, the latter were not prepared for the display of energy by the Premier on such an issue. The Atlantic Charter and President Wilson's Fourteen Points proved invaluable in the war period, and it would be idle to deny that by raising hopes amongst Indians at a time when production of munitions of war was essential for success, it tended to maintain tranquillity at critical stages of the War. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was the greatest exponent of this art, and having given up Socialism as a practical proposition, he broadened all social questions until everybody agreed, and raised contentious points until they reached somewhere in the clouds or stratosphere where they disintegrated into nothingness. He was fond of embellishing his mystical discourses with nebulous though pleasing phrases on the 'World State,' 'World Culture' "the spiritual implications of human personality" with something of the flame of the Tribune. It must be confessed that his speeches, which had a Salvation Army ring about them, did not communicate a new impulse. Mr. MacDonald's enemies described his orations as a "powerful edifice of fog solidly founded on a bedrock of mist". The studiously vague and deliberately mystical style had been used by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald at a period when his vitality was still vigorous but when he had lost all capacity for centralised action and clear thinking. England then saw the anomaly of consummate ability and unrivalled knowledge of the world existing without deep political faith. The Labour Party

was helplessly adrift upon a sea of contradictions and of doubts which MacDonald wrapped up in sonorous orations until, as it were, the soul abandoned sense, and left the actual world behind to seek her freedom in an ethereal region. Socialism, Liberalism, Philanthropy and the fundamental policy of the English Labour Party alike submitted to the alchemy of his imagination.

Smuts' mind is cast in a different mould. Tested by the sufferings he underwent as a valiant fighter for the freedom of his race, his sound sense, the sense of a leader destined to rule his people, gathered energy and grew in solid strength. Yet enough remained of his youthful enthusiam to operate as a motive force in his famous scheme for the League of Nations which he propounded with consummate ability; enough survived from the idealistic phase through which he had passed in the first World War to make him comprehend that the agony, suffering and sorrows of the post-war world should form the vestibule to a life of opportunity and endeavour. His critics have asserted that his devotion to the League of Nations and the Atlantic Charter is in reality the masterful *Voortrekker* spirit of the last century masking its grasping ambition for the domination of Africa under the guise of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter. His admirers—and they are legion—tell us that in all his varied experiences he tried the temper of his own character which was really not that of a poet or a mystic, but of a sagacious man of action, and he fulfilled his mission by having conquered both mysticism and idealism in domestic policy, at the outset of his stormy career. His treatment of Rand miners in 1919-20 was a further stage in the evolution of his iron character from romance and mysticism into political sagacity. The contrast between MacDonald and Smuts, the two great Calvinist Premiers of the Commonwealth, in the thirties of the present century is overwhelming. Though speeches of both the leaders read at times

like Salvation Army sermons, Smuts built up his leadership in a hundred ways, by precept, by patience, by persuasion, by attention to the physical and pecuniary needs of his followers, by words of warmth and wisdom, by direction of their conscience, and by his profound and intense sympathy with Afrikaners who wished for a new impulse, which a new genius equal at least in power to that of the *Voortrekker* might have communicated, and could have given a fresh direction to the declining enthusiasm for segregation in an age of Marxian Socialism. He transferred the spirit of his *Voortrekker* ancestors from the sphere of combat with the forces of evil to the sphere of intellectual warfare against malnutrition, disease and illiteracy among the underprivileged. MacDonald destroyed his own party and was left in mournful isolation; suspected by his old followers, and unsustained by any sympathy and without a programme or a watchword. Smuts, on the other hand, maintains his masterful hold on his followers, and has a vivid apprehension of human life which gives its vigour to the reawakened impulses and positive ambitions of South Africans. The world of South Africa, and, through it, the ideals and ambitions of his party are so much with him, so much to him, that he would not lose their grasp of them—in death, or willingly exchange them for MacDonald's supernatural world. The peculiar complexion of South Africa forces one to the conclusion that the United Nations Organisation will remain an exotic in that land. Its Government is, of course, a member of the U.N.O., but the Atlantic Charter cannot possibly be the spiritual sustenance of the ruling race.

General Smuts' speeches to Indians proved wholly inadequate to meet the deeper wants and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the underprivileged in South Africa. The roots of freedom among these people, while they seemed to take hold slowly, had struck deep. The ruling class in South Africa might fancy that they were supreme, as men felt that they had left no part unpenetrated,

while the Indian race in Natal and the Transvaal, like Gulliver in Lilliput, was tied down by a thousand threads of segregation, each almost imperceptible, but so varied in quality and so subtly interwoven that to escape from the network was impossible. Wise statesmanship would have shown sympathy with the intellectual movement of the Indian race. It could have freed a highly gifted race gradually from a number of obnoxious laws which discriminated against it, and the Indian would have been enabled to play a constructive part in the post-war policy of South Africa. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald could hold an audience enthralled by widening a controversial subject into a mystical discourse on eternity. In Field Marshal Smuts' philosophy there are no intermediate zones which can lead his followers successively from beetroot culture and scientific cultivation of mealies to the growth of a culture state. MacDonald would have discoursed eloquently on beetroot as a symbol of some inner meaning, the shrine of an in-dwelling spirit nobler than itself. By deliberately transporting himself to the stratosphere, and seizing the fugitive and transient phases of emotion, and gradations of interest and prejudice, and inventing an elastic medium of expression, MacDonald had managed to keep the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal members in his composite administration. General Smuts' technique is wholly different. There is not the least connection between his discourses on international affairs and his policy towards Indians. There is an unbridgeable gulf between the two, and segregation is ready to emerge at any moment when the strain of nobler enthusiasm of international affairs is relaxed. It must be said in his defence that the Premier was obliged to frame the Land Tenure Bill owing to the insistent demand of his party. The United Party of which he is the leader is no longer united. The Labour Party seceded from it last year; while the Dominion Party, which represents the extreme element of Natal's Political Party, has also left. The Pegging Act passed in 1943 will expire this year, and legislation on the subject is impera-

tive, if racial peace is to be preserved. General Smuts' critics ignore this aspect of the problem, and justice demands that this factor should be taken into account in assessing his policy. If Smuts refuses to take action on this issue, he will disappear from the political life of the country. This is a perfectly valid argument, and the Premiers' critics, who have brought many charges against him, ought to consider it dispassionately. His policy must be viewed in the context of South African policy and tradition. In reply, it may be pointed out that Dr. Malan achieved a remarkable success in a not entirely dissimilar endeavour. The Predikant achieved a triumph where the Premier only suffers a defeat; and yet the aim of both is almost identical. So different is genius guided by principles derived from the mechanical carpentry of Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Four Freedoms.

General Smuts was regarded by many as the man who, by his experience and ability, could establish and secure equilibrium between the new conception of freedom and the old conception of segregation. Many people believed confidently that the Premier will sway, with the vast prestige of his international position, the intellectual destinies of Europeans and non-Europeans and, trained in the common discipline of humanistic studies, he will accurately represent the main tendencies of the Atlantic Charter by repealing the Pegging Act, and providing opportunities for social advance to millions of underprivileged in South Africa. Unfortunately the phraseology which is used in 1946 in dealing with the colour question is precisely the same as in 1919, when the League of Nations was established. Those who wish to study the policy adopted by colonial powers towards Asiatic races will find plenty of material in Colonel Bonsal's account of the League of Nations in 1919, in his work entitled "*Unfinished Business*". Colonel Bonsal states how the awkward question of racial equality, which was raised by Japan, was opposed with determination by representatives of Australia and other countries. Another example

may be cited here. When Woodrow Wilson was the hero of the hour, and nations hung on his lips, the Government of Russia, which had been recently established, sent a Note to U.S.A. through the Norwegian Embassy immediately after Germany's surrender. The Note is unique in diplomatic history for its pungency, sharpness and frankness. I reproduce one paragraph from this unconventional document, which was addressed to President Wilson. "You demand the independence of Poland, Siberia, Belgium, and freedom for the people of Austro-Hungary. But strangely we do not notice in your demand any mention of freedom for Ireland, Egypt, India or even the Phillipine Islands". Here is another picture of European diplomacy. I quote it from Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson (see his Life, by Callwell, Page 223)—"It is amazing to see the Frock mind. In St. James's Palace is sitting the League of Nations, their principal business the limitation of armaments. In Downing Street is sitting the Allied Conference of Lloyd George, Miller and Nitti and a Japanese, who are feverishly arming Finland, Baltic States, Poland, Roumania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Persia, etc." This was written in 1919.

The Prime Minister's speech on the second reading of the Bill is not distinguished for clarity or impartiality, but it is necessary to refer to it, otherwise the position of the Indian race is likely to be misunderstood. He declared "Fundamentally the principle of separate Land Tenure and residence and political representation for Indians are the same in this Bill as in the case of Native legislation." The Native legislation to which the Premier referred has been criticised by some of the most impartial persons in the Union, and the methods adopted by General Hertzog to get it passed are hardly likely to appeal to persons who have gone through the agony of two World Wars, and have been sustained by the hope that the rigours of segregation will be gradually relaxed. The history of Native legislation in the present century is a prolonged, solemn,

and inexpressibly heartrending tragedy. The less said about the Native legislation in South, East and Central Africa during the last thirty years, the better. It follows that General Smuts' defence of the Land Tenure Bill is exceedingly weak, as Native legislation is not an achievement of which South Africa can be proud, and it is not an ideal which a South African statesman should set up for the Indian race. The policy of Indians on the issue is clear. Indians do not wish to create a higher caste of their own among non-Europeans, and they have insisted on the necessity of Natives being raised to a higher level. Both Natives and Indians expected that the Premier will redeem the promises made to them in the second War and express the new spirit by modifying the Native legislation and repealing the Pegging Act. Unfortunately, the proposed Bill, instead of improving the social status of Natives, relegates the Indian race to the position to which the Natives were relegated in the Hertzog administration. These laws deprived them of many rights, and left them a helpless and an underprivileged race. Smuts dismissed the idea of a Round Table Conference, though the proposal was made by the Broome Commission, which had been specially appointed by his Government to suggest a solution of the Indian problem. He acted promptly on the recommendation of the Broome Commission, and passed the Pegging Bill into law, in 1943, when it suited the purpose of his Natal followers. They refused to act on the recommendation of the Broome Commission in 1941, as it destroyed the foundation upon which the Interim Act of 1939 rested.

The Interim Act of 1939 was the product of fear complex, and the Union Government announced in 1939 that a Commission would be appointed to inquire into the extent of penetration by Indians into European areas in the Transvaal. The Commission published its report in 1941, and the material collected by it showed conclusively that the evidence on which the Interim Act of 1939

was passed was exceedingly weak. The Commission showed that there had been no undue penetration by Indians in European areas in the Transvaal. The Interim Act ought to have been repealed after the publication of the Broome Report in 1941. The Union Government, however, ignored the recommendations of the Commission on that occasion, and the Interim Act of 1939 was incorporated in the Pegging Act of 1943. I have given these examples to show the manner in which the Union Government have passed these discriminatory laws. They have used the recommendations of the Broome Commission, when it suited their purpose, as they did in the Pegging Act of 1943; they have acted against the express recommendations of the Commission, when they wished to placate their Natal supporters in the Assembly. Had General Smuts taken the advice of the Judicial Commission presided over by Justice Broome, which published its Report in 1945, on this issue, the unfortunate controversy in South Africa would have been avoided in 1946 and the occasion for the Land Tenure Bill would not have arisen. The Premier asserts that the question is a domestic one, and India has no right to intervene. Indians deny that this is a domestic question for South Africa. The relationship between Indians and Natal was determined by a number of engagements into which Natal, which was then independent of the rest of South Africa, entered with the Government of India from 1863 to 1909. These undertakings were implemented by the Natal Government by the appointment of a protector of Asiatic immigrants and the institution of an elaborate machinery for the purpose. Indians exercised parliamentary franchise till 1896, and municipal franchise till 1924. They had complete freedom to purchase land and property in the rural and urban areas of Natal till 1943, and their right to purchase house property in Durban remained unrestricted till 1943.

The Union Government is not justified in repudiating the engagements of the Natal Government with the Government of India with a stroke of the pen, nor is

it justified in cancelling all its engagements from 1863 to 1911 without the consent of the Government of India. Such unilateral action is bound to worsen relations between the two countries. General Smuts says that Indians are South African citizens. Had Indians been given municipal and parliamentary franchise, they would certainly have been entitled to South African citizenship. In their present helpless condition, they are not citizens of South Africa. It is true, they have been given the communal franchise under the Bill, but instead of viewing it as a boon, they regard it as a stigma on their race and have unanimously opposed both the franchise and the land tenure clauses of the Bill. Moreover, the Government of India have the right to inquire into the condition of Indians in the Union by virtue of the agreements entered into with Natal from 1863 to 1911.

The Prime Minister defended the communal franchise which he has proposed for Indians in the Bill on the ground that "the Indian constitution recognised separate communities and the whole social system was one of segregation. It does not lie in the mouths of Indians to say that the separate electoral system of South Africa will be an insult to them." The account which the Premier gives of the Indian system is not in accordance with the facts of India's national life. In the first place nobody in India has defended the communal franchise on principle. It has always been the aim of communities which exercise this right at present to replace it by joint electorate. It is a temporary arrangement designed solely with a view to giving every community representation in the legislature through its elected representatives. The system proposed in the Bill is fundamentally different from the communal electorates which are guaranteed to minorities in India. In the former case, the Asiatic race as such is segregated from European voters, and is debarred from electing representatives of its race to the legislature. In India, meticulous provision is made for the representation of every interest and

community through its chosen leaders. In the proposed Bill, colour is a positive disqualification for representation in the Parliament. Communal electorates in India will disappear in the immediate future, owing to the welding of communities on the basis of economic interests.

The Premier's statement that India's "social system" was one of "segregation", is at variance with the facts of Indian life. Those who live in India know that social segregation is being destroyed by the forces of production with a velocity which is incredible to those who have never visited this country. Again, the social segregation in India is functional, and is confined to persons who are engaged in the most menial and degrading occupations such as sweepers, etc., and is in full force only in an exceedingly small section of the Indian population. The segregation which the Bill advocates is racial in character and involves the segregation of Indians as Indians. Under it all Indians, and not merely those who are engaged in the most menial occupations, are segregated socially, politically and economically, so that gifted Indian scientists, merchant-princes, professional men, intellectuals and labour organisers, whether they are Muslim, Hindu or Christian, are legally prohibited from the social, political, economic and intellectual life of their land, solely because of their colour. Such a system warps the tendencies and restricts the energies of the most artistically sensitive and the most progressive of the existing races of Asia. India's social system is disintegrating as India is firmly convinced that to preserve an archaic system in its integrity is inconsistent with social development, and the law of motion in society. The law of the country does not recognise social segregation in those spheres of national energy which are vital for a dynamic society. No Indian in British India is subjected to penalties for purchasing land in any area, unless that area is under a cantonment authority, and all Indians, without distinction of race, class, colour or creed, can occupy high public offices, if they are fit. They can enter

legislatures, work as skilled or semi-skilled workers, and in short do hundreds of things which an Indian is prevented from doing in South Africa solely because he is an Indian. The Premier's reference to India's social system is so misleading that it is surprising that a man of his experience should have failed to notice the difference between the two.

Moreover, an Indian in South Africa is not allowed to enter places of entertainment, hotels and restaurants, engage in semi-skilled and skilled work in factories, be a member of the Municipal Board, join the defence force as an armed combatant, serve on the jury, and have equal civic rights with other elements of the population. An Indian cannot do these things in Natal. How can the social system of India, which has undergone radical changes in this century and is based on occupation, and not the race, of the victim and is the relic of feudalism which is fast disappearing, be compared to segregation which has been deliberately planned, organised and elaborated by a series of laws and regulations passed by various bodies, legislative and municipal, of the Union of South Africa? The discriminatory laws in force at the present time are the fullest expression of a creed which the rugged *Voortrekkers* believed was enjoined by the Bible. Their successors have rationalised these beliefs, clothed them in the garment of modern diplomacy, and justified them on biological, hygienic and economic grounds. They have never, in adherence to the creed, through arguments used at present, derived their authority from the commandment of God. While India's archaic social system is in process of dissolution and the forces of production will soon make it a relic of the past, the segregation policy of South Africa has been developed and extended to all spheres of life, particularly in the period, 1919-1946.

It will be clear from the above that the Premier was not fair in his description of India's social system. The speech shows that General Smuts has not understood

the implications of the movement for Indian freedom. Had he been in close sympathy with our aspirations, he would have hesitated to sponsor this measure. If India is to live as a free nation, if her mental climate is ready for adjustment to quick changes, then the revival of her energy will strike roots wide and deep in our national life. India's moral unity has never been stronger, and Indian culture has received a specific mould from her diversified life. To those who love truth, it seems astonishing that false statements should be made to mislead world opinion. India's social life is, and has been, a model of courtesy and kindness. The social culture which has developed in northern India has endured to the present day, and it is a culture of which every Indian is proud. Those who, like myself, have been brought up in an Indian home, know the virtues of the Spartan discipline which the Indian youth undergoes. The austerities of our faith are harmonised by the warm affection of one's relations, but the discipline of religion, whether Hindu or Muslim, hardens the fibre of our youth and prepares him for the struggle of life. The family life in India is the real training ground for a virtuous life, and it embodies stern moral principles which have profound significance in the life of the Indian youth. Civilisation is self-discipline and the advance of civilisation is measured by our progress in self-mastery. This was taught by Buddha nearly two thousand five hundred years ago, and has been reinforced by Hinduism and Islam in India at the present time. Self-discipline and self-mastery have toughened the mental fibre of the Indian people and public opinion represents the condensed sagacity of the race, and is a necessary check on emancipated lusts and sensualities. India has provided in her healthy homes a type of social life which is without a parallel in any other country, as only the family could impart spiritual stability at a time when India was broken up into a thousand fragments. The Indian home supplies our people with a perfectly consistent and clear intelligent code of moral

behaviour, which has served as a bulwark against moral disintegration and decay during the period of her deepest dejection. Without the historic defence mechanism of the Indian race, Indian society would have been reduced to its elements. She would have been incapable of organising the elements of her greatness and resuming, in modern times, the traditions of her splendid past. It was primarily her military virtues which saved her, as it is the combination of wealth, intelligence, valour and enlightenment of Indian leadership that will give her political freedom. India never cultivated despair or a spirit of defeatism in times of her greatest tragedy, and she never translated the principles of public morality into terms of materialism or imperialism. The religious differences which her enemies are fond of publicising have never interfered with her intellectual and moral energy. The various communities have lived side by side for centuries, and while it is true that many politically backward communities have now become self-conscious, this does not mean that they are not passionately desirous of her freedom. India's opponents are never tired of exaggerating political differences, but they paint a deliberately misleading picture of the political situation.

Till 1919, the history of modern India is the history of the Indian middle class. Indian leadership had hitherto been supplied by scions of aristocracy and in all countries the upper class had been the natural leaders of society. In India unfortunately our upper class in the beginning of the last century was saturated with feudalism, and had not yet emerged as a vital factor in mobilising the energies of the people, and infusing among the masses pride in their race, and faith in the destiny of their land. The princes, being bound by their allegiance to the Crown under the treaties, were powerless, and their position of abject dependence and ultimate annihilation was referred to in the following terms by Malcolm after the pacification of Central India. "There are many

causes which operate to make a period like this one of short duration. It is the hour in which men awake from a dream. Disgust and discontent succeed to terror and admiration; and the princes, the chiefs and all who had enjoyed rank or influence see nothing but a system dooming them to immediate decline and ultimate annihilation." Our aristocracy being deprived of power and influence, the burden of leadership fell upon the landlords. Unfortunately the latter class proved wholly incapable of giving a lead to the Indian people in any sphere of our national life. Its tradition was one of subservience to authority, and its dependence upon the latter was assured by the enormous powers vested in the Government over the administration of land revenue. The masses were sunk in ignorance and had neither the energy nor the capacity to rise above their vegetative existence.

In the beginning of the last century, India gave numerous examples of superb leadership in the army, administration, and diplomacy, and nothing is more remarkable than the fullness of life that throbbed in them. There was no limit to the play of personality in action. We may apply to these masterful men what Robert Browning has written of Sordeli's temperament.

> A footfall here
> Suffices to upturn to the warm air
> Half germinating spices, mere decay
> Produces richer life, and day by day
> New pollen on the lily-petal grows,
> And still more labyrinthine buds the rose.

The picture of India's apathy, passivity and acquiescence which some Anglo-Indian writers have painted would prove to be false, if we study this period. India did not live enveloped in a cowl. On the contrary, Indian genius felt confidence in its own energies, and Indian leadership particularly distinguished itself in the sphere of action. The Punjab supplies an excellent example in this period.

In the new conditions in which these masterful individuals found themselves, a new cult of intellect sprang up in the Punjab. Through the length and breadth of the Punjab, memories of ancient greatness and successful wars spurred its children on to emulation. A new standard of achievement was established and personal merit was the passport which secured the highest offices in the land to the meanest peasant. Princes and people, peasants and merchants, Hindus and Muslims, shared a common impulse to do homage to the mental superiority of new leaders who had no claim to notice but their genius. Ranjit Singh's court contained men who had solid achievements to their credit, persons who had freshly awakened to the consciousness of power and achievement, and were anxious to secure for themselves greater scope for the exercise of their latent powers. Unfortunately, Ranjit Singh did not succeed in establishing a solid framework of civil administration, and it remained feudal at his death. The Sikh *Misls* suffered grievously from the lack of a dominating personality in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Had a man of Ranjit Singh's stature appeared on the scene during this period the consolidation of the congeries of warring *Misls* into a compact and well-knit commonwealth would have been achieved without serious difficulty. During this period of prodigious activity the countless *Misls* seemed to be endowed with the instinct for war, and with the capacity for producing military leaders in every conceivable form. The life in the Punjab at this epoch reproduced the atmosphere of the Maharashtra in the eighteenth century. Social habits, ideal of manners, standards of morality, the judgment of men and situations, which the Punjabees formed, were alike conditioned and qualified by the stormy times in which they lived. It must be admitted that there was insecurity verging at times upon anarchy in certain localities. I do not under-estimate the effects of insecurity on the people. There were many compensations, however, even in moments of con-

fusion and turmoil. The period involved the tapping of the stored but previously untapped abilitya nd energy of thousands of men, rough unhewn peasants and sturdy artisans. When one goes through the history of the Rohillas, of the leaders of the Sikh *Misls* and of the Mahratta leaders in the same period, one is profoundly impressed with the springs of the creative resource, the plastic stress and the heroism of self-sacrifice, which hundreds of Indian leaders displayed in this period. Here is an account of a typical adventurer, Amir Khan, the founder of the Tonk State. "The flour of his bread he mixed up on horseback, and collected the wood to dress it with the butt end of his spear, then dropping fire into it from the match of his gun, he toasted the cakes with the same spear, and ate his meal, always ready for the enemy." To use his own words, "I consent to give the horse of my ambition the reins in the field of high enterprise."

Not only was the national genius of our people absorbed in the arts of war and intrigue which was given the high-sounding name of diplomacy, but the impulse to engage in high enterprise, irrespective of its moral implications and its effect on the freedom and independence of India, was subtly and widely diffused throughout the land. A man's life was worth scarcely more than that of a horse. The condition of continued rivalry and incessant warfare accustomed these men to a self-conscious activity, which was greatly reinforced by the rapid mutations of governments. The tragedy of this period of our history was due solely to the absence of the strong Central Government which had disappeared after the death of Aurangzeb, and branches of administration were strained to cracking point by the ambition and greed of adventurers who now began to carve out principalities for themselves, and were not only isolated from, but became actively hostile to, the Central Government. The period demanded an able dictator who could reunite our scattered forces in one Central Government

and absorb them in himself. Such a ruler did not appear on the scene. Had the Pathans been able to unite, they would have succeeded in building up a powerful empire in the most fertile parts of Hindustan. Had the Mahrattas been able to throw up a Peshwa, who could accumulate in his despotic individuality the privileges which his turbulent commanders had acquired by refined ingenuity and heightened terror, India might have built up a powerful state in Asia. Unfortunately for our land, there was no tendency to centralise the whole intellectual activity and enormous material resources which India then possessed, no attempt at the substitution of selfish aims for a patriotic policy. Personal passions, personal aims and dynastic rivalries, excluded all considerations of patriotism. The fermentation of arrogant and self-reliant individualism in the breast of the highest as well as the lowest is evident in the history of our land in the period in which Malcolm and Metcalfe played a leading part. A perusal of the *Life of Metcalfe*, which has been recently published by Edward Thompson, and of another work by Thompson entitled, "*The Making of the Indian Princes*," will convince even the most prejudiced that India as a whole is invisible to the students by reason of the combative and self-centred crowd of turbulent adventurers who clash together in persistent fury, dispute the sovereignty of their petty principalities, and found ephemeral dynasties, which are decorated with gimcrack titles. Their selfish ambitions had been enchained and suspended for centuries by the magic of the Mughal rule, by the immutable laws of our land, by the cohesive force, and centripetal tendencies of a virile tradition. All through this period of moral and political decadence, uneasy, and imperfect memories of Asoka and Akbar had haunted the mind of some of the most selfish adventurers of the period, and even in this hurricane of disorder there were men who had built a sacred and inviolable city of the soul amid the tumult of wars, and the dust and crash of falling cities. The passionate

aspiration, the conscience-stricken desire of some of the greatest Mahratta, Sikh and Muslim rulers of the period found effective expression, in moments of national danger, in projects of confederation, but the sentiment was not strong enough to fuse them into a unity, and they remained incompatible, irreconciliable, eternal in antagonism as the Poles, and the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century was in the same anarchical state which afflicted Germany under the Holy Roman Empire for centuries. The piety and pity for India as a gentle soul who had just lost her freedom, and had thus committed the suicide of her soul, occasionally found expression in the piteous complaints of some disillusioned princes, from whom power, influence, and even honour had been wrested. The stoic-epicurean acceptance of the new order among the princes, the landlords and the middle classes throughout the nineteenth century makes the proud humility and the prostrate pride of India's ruling classes all the more pathetic. Probably they shrugged their shoulders and declared, "*Tempora Mutanter Nos, Et Mutanter in illis.*" In the interval of about half a century Indian freedom had been lost. It is only the desire for freedom which survives in the sanctuary of the Indian spirit. Trusting with infantine pertinacity to the promises of independence, most of these dethroned and discrowned leaders lacked the faculty for centralised or concerted action, and were destitute alike of vitality, sagacity or patriotism. The fact is that with the exception of Ranjit Singh's Punjab, Indian leadership in the first half of the nineteenth century was with certain brilliant exceptions corrupt and engrossed in fantastic schemes of self-aggrandisement.

Mr. Edward Thompson remarks in the *Making of the Indian Princes* that the "Company had practically never come up against patriotism, and in India might be pardoned for foretelling the possibility of its existence." (page 194). The following passage from a letter of Malcolm quoted in this book, tells its own tale of

moral and political decrepitude. "My two assistants, Captain Low and Alexander MacDonald, are actually today with Baji Row, the last Peshwa." The Mahratta campaign had ended in April, 1819, Appa Sahib had found sanctuary with the Sikhs, and Trimbakji, captured in June 1818, had become a life-prisoner of the Company. The Peshwa was still at large and he had been chased like hunted deer by Malcolm. He was cornered at last, and the letter of Malcolm to his wife, dated May 28, which is quoted above, gives further details. "We have got troops all round him, and he can only protract the war by going among the hills, and leading for a period at least the life of a common free-booter. I have a bitter pill to offer him. He must resign both the name and power of a sovereign. After that he will enjoy comfort and affluence and as much liberty as can be granted, consistent either with his good or our safety." Three days later, Malcolm and the Peshwa met. The former informed the Peshwa that he would be Peshwa no longer; a pension of eight lakhs of rupees was granted to him and he lived on for another quarter of a century, "with his Gangese water, buffoons, and dancing girls." The surrender of the Peshwa, the accepted chief of the Mahratta people, ended the power, influence and might of a community which had thrown up a succession of able diplomats, administrators and generals. They held the whole of India in fee at a critical time in her history, and had built up a solid framework of administration in the Maharashtra. Many of the Mahratta leaders were in close sympathy with the masses of the people, shared their enthusiasms, and fostered trade and industry. Both among the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, the beneficiaries were the common people, and the stirring times provided many channels of energey in action to the meanest and poorest peasants of these parts. These men, throbbing with fresh life and overflowing with vitality, clashed in deadliest conflicts for an ascendancy that brought the sternest passions into play and decided the survival of the fittest among hundreds of able and energetic rivals.

There is no dearth of ability, energy and character among men whose passport to success and achievement was not noble blood but ability and character. A weakling had no chance in those stern times. He was either murdered by his family or deposed by his rivals. Only condotiere of iron nerve, superior to moral scruples, dead to patriotism, and devoted to self-aggrandisement could survive and retain their hold in this perilous period. Had either the Peshwa or Mahadji Scindia been able to crush all his rivals, a centralised state might have been built up in northern India and the enthusiasm and energy of the masses might have been harnessed to the task of national consolidation and internal cohesion. But the selfish policy of rival chieftains and the contemptible character of the successors of Nana Farnavis prevented the realisation of this dream. The mental misconception and oblique vision of some of the contestants are borne in upon the student of this period by the study of despatches and the sordid history of negotiations which can be studied in detail in the works published during the last half century. It must, however, be said to the credit of some Mahratta statesmen that they realised the dire straits into which India had fallen through the supreme indifference and selfish policy of her independent chieftains. We read, now and then, strong protests against the mutilation of India from Mahratta diplomats. They alone had the sagacity to probe below the surface and protest against the new system which the folly and incompetence of her rulers had grafted upon her. After 1818, however, all project of concerted action and national unity had disappeared, and the instincts and aspirations of a virile community were buried deep down, below the ruins of a dying civilisation, which had proved inadequate to meet the challenge of the new civilisation. India was torn into ribbons, and there was no alternative left to the princes who had made peace but distinguished somnolence, pathetic contentment with their new subordinate status, and systematic exposition of mediocrity.

The men of this period never fulfilled life; it is rather life that fulfilled them, and they became the passive inheritors of a dying time. There were, however, men even in this decadent age, whose clear genius had not been obscured by the muddy medium of harem intrigues, who conjured vision of a nobler India. Beyond the individual craving for survival among the ruling races, there was also the social group, the people. Says Romain Rolland, "Time is like the sea, sometimes a people is carried on the crest of a wave, sometimes it takes it into an impenetrable darkness." To such men, every defeat meant only a casual failure; it may take even a century to recover, but then "one day the will to live and to create comes back and defeat is transformed into resurrection." The movement for the national revival of India took nearly a century to gain momentum, and it was not till the twentieth century that the Indian masses as well as the classes were roused by the impact of world events and threw up leaders who employed first-rate faculties, of brain and will and bodily powers, in the struggle for India's freedom.

The defeated princes had ruled over the most beautiful of countries; they had gifted administrators and their people were endowed with the highest human sensibilities, yet they failed to turn these advantages to account and ended their days in impotent rage and despair. A century of increasing decrepitude was before them, and Indians must have witnessed with pain the spectacle of descendants of the Sun-God falling uneasily asleep beneath the footstool of the soldier and the priest, while men of mean origin were rejoicing in the culture and science of the west. The civic ideals which had inspired a long line of our able leaders in the past rapidly disintegrated, and India in her person was the symbol of a pelican feeding her young from a wound in her own breast. The history of Indian states for over a century after this period is the history of their princes and not of the people. The people themselves, the living tradi-

tion of the race, led a dull apathetic life, thought grave thoughts and varied their monotony by a riot or a rebellion. A few vigorous rulers busied themselves with the administration of their territories, and watched over the welfare of their subjects with a mixture of affection and hauteur. The narrow class divisions and massive inequalities, which rigidly barred discussion on state matters, inevitably produced stagnation and decay in the councils of their governments.

The Indian people has remained instinctively and persistently faithful to its tradition of valour, which has absorbed into itself the traditions of Pathans, Sikhs, Rajputs, Mahrattas and Gurkhas. India, like China, received the successive hordes of invaders, civilised them, and adopted them as Indians. It is to the variety of conditions offered by India that we owe the unexampled richness of the mental life of our land. Had Indian leadership in the beginning of the nineteenth century shown vision and imagination; had they been in touch with developments in the realms of science, and built up a powerful industrial and military potential; had the social system of India been radically reformed by the eradication of social diseases; had unity been achieved among the discordant elements that were tearing India to pieces, India would have emerged from the fiery ordeal as one of the strongest powers in Asia. Had the Indian peasant been trained in the use of the necessary weapons and machinery, India could have built up a highly cartelised industry with an agriculture which preserved the social outlook of semi-feudalism. India could have created a dual system, as Japan did, in the Meiji era. But India was effete, and was saturated with feudalism of the worst type. It was not till the middle class secured power in India in comparatively recent times that the social system began to be reformed. The following passage from Curzon's *Russia in Central Asia*, published in 1889, will make the position perfectly clear:—"England is far safer in the masculine hands of Sikhs

and Mahrattas and Rajputs, than among her "tenderly reared nurseries of hot-house Babus. England only won India after terrific battles and only holds it by the allegiance of warlike peoples." Curzon was suspicious of Babus, or the new middle-class which was just rising into prominence, as this class was subjecting the social, as well as the political system of India to criticism. He felt at home among the races which had not yet freed themselves from the trammels of feudalism, and the intellect had remained spell-bound during a long night, when thoughts were as dreams and movement as somnambulism. After strenuous activity, the Indian intellect has resumed its activity, and is enjoying the pleasures of unimpeded energy. The Babu class which Curzon attacked in India, during his Viceroyalty, is now in power and another class, the lower middle-class, has become powerful in India's national life and is organising the Indian masses for a radical change in her social system.

The social system to which General Smuts referred is the system which I have described above. To some of my readers the account may appear irrelevant to the issue with which the Premier has dealt in the Land Tenure Bill and details of Indian history may be wearisome to many. I have done it deliberately, as my object is to show that India in 1946 supplies a classical example of "arrested development." Her social system has remained unchanged for centuries, chiefly because she has not had an opportunity of setting her house in order.

Fundamental changes in the social system of India are impending and popular ministers in the Provinces who have taken over charge of provincial administration are convinced that the agricultural system of India, which is based on a poor, ignorant, half-starved and disease-ridden peasantry, holds out a passive threat of crushing the Indian freedom movement by its inertia, its weight, and this can only be done by mechanising agriculture, organising it co-operatively,

and linking up this process with co-ordinated plan of industrialisation. With the advent of popular governments to power, all India is rocking in the dramatic struggle to arouse, modernise, educate and stir the Indian peasant. India must catch up with China and then out-distance her. India can do what Russia has done in twenty years, though it must be admitted that India's problems are infinitely more complicated than those of Czarist Russia. Here is a graphic account of the Russian peasant in 1917 by Dr. E.J. Dillon in the *Eclipse of Russia*, published in 1918...."one was struck with the circumstance that it (the agricultural population) was medieval in its institutions, Asiatic in its stirrings and prehistoric in its conceptions of life. The peasants believed that the Japanese had won the campaign by assuming the form of microbes, getting into the boots of the Russian soldiers, biting their legs, and bringing about, their death. When there was an epidemic in a district, they often killed the doctors for "poisoning the wells and spreading the disease." They will burn witches with delight, disinter the dead to lay a ghost, strip unfaithful wives stark naked, tie them to carts and whip them through the village. Too often the Russian peasant dwells in a hovel more filthy than a sty, more noxious than a phosphorous match factory. He goes to bed at six, and even at five o'clock, because he cannot afford money to buy petroleum enough for artificial light. He has no meat, no eggs, no butter, no milk, often no cabbage and lives mainly on black bread and potatoes." Ten years later, Dr. Dillon, revisited U.S.S.R. and this is what he found in 1929. "Everywhere people are thinking, working, combining, making scientific discoveries and industrial inventions. If one could obtain a bird's eye-view of the numerous activities of the citizens of the Soviet Republics one would hardly trust the evidence of one's senses. Nothing like it; nothing approaching it, in variety, intensity, tenacity of purpose has ever yet been witnessed. They (Russian leaders)

have mobilised well over 150,000,000 of listless dead and alive human beings and infused into them a new spirit. They have wrecked and buried the entire old-world order in one-sixth of the world, and are digging graves for it everywhere. They have shown themselves able and resolved to meet emergency, and to fructify opportunity (Dillon, *Russia Today and Tomorrow*, published in 1929).

Industrialisation is essential for the increased buying capacity and a higher standard of living for the peasant. These are the practical problems with which New India is faced. Had India possessed a national ruler of the stature of Kemal Pasha, or of Emperor Meiji of Japan, had an Akbar the Great appeared on the scene, there would have been a radical change in her social structure long ago. The stagnation and decadence which was the inevitable result of the submission of our princes throughout the first half of the last century would have been transformed into a movement for social change, and the usages, customs and conventions, which have been perpetuated in the laws of the land, and are a positive hindrance to our social growth, would have been liquidated by an able leader of the nation. We find the same world-cathartic agencies to which we sometimes give the name of Fate in operation throughout Asia at present. Indonesia is in ferment; Burma is simmering; the whole of India is ready for an upsurge that will put an end to the injustice and iniquities that infest the superannuated and decayed feudal structure of India. The revolt of Asia has its origin in the unplumbed depths of her being, and is the mightiest driving force in the world of today. The people of Asia are moved by a force which is irresistible almost thumaturgical? India's social development was arrested after the ignominious surrender of India's leaders—in the years 1805-1856. Had even one of the princely leaders of India of those days maintained real independence, his domain would have become the centre of India's revival.

The heroic efforts which Mustafa Kemal Pasha made for the organic ordering of the social whole and the campaign he launched against superstition, illiteracy, malnutrition and inefficiency are vividly described by a talented Turkish lady. In *Turkey faces West*, she shows how the great Turkish reformer cut out the dead wood, removed the effiminate aristocracy, made short work of superstitious monks and clergy of manifold variety and almost incalculable multitude, who had not only forgotten Islam but debased it. We know how the shadow of servitude and corruption, of political stagnation and haughty patronage hung over the Turkey of the Caliphs. A complete antithesis to the medieval ground of thought was necessary, if Turkey was to lead an independent life among the nations of the world. Mustafa Kemal's analysis of the Turkish Revolution will be found in his speech which he took five days to deliver (The English version was published at Leipzig).

India in 1850 was in no way different from Russia in 1917 or Turkey in 1919. Her social institutions could have been easily transformed by a benevolent dictator who had faith in his mission. New environmental conditions would have proved potent in removing the debris of the past. The changes brought about in the social structure of many countries since 1919 show conclusively that among the environmental conditions which go to the shaping of man, those created by social institutions are the most potent and most easily transformed (compare Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op.cit*). The physical and mental characteristics of the Indian at the present time are due almost entirely to the environment in which he lives today. Change the environment, and the result will be astonishing. The social system, instead of being changed by an organised and co-operative planning, has been preserved in its integrity, and India is still groaning under a feudal system in which the living standards of people are appalling, and social change is regarded as a crime.

Until the environment of the people is deliberately changed, and the elaborate planning of the future of Indian economy is accompanied by an equally high standard of execution, there is little prospect of substantial change in the life and thought of India. The leadership of this movement must be supplied by Indians themselves. Foreigners can never lead, though their technical help and advice must be invoked. Without such help and advice India can never progress at all. Indian leaders have never ceased to attack a number of feudal privileges as monuments of folly, which are bound to fall slowly in ruins as useless as Egyptian pyramids. For one whole century the campaign for social reform and political advance has gone on in some form or other by the supreme leaders of India. Had these men been given power, the social system of India would have been changed fifty years ago. What Emperor Meiji achieved for Japan in the last century, an Indian Kemal Pasha would have accomplished about the same time. No people has shown greater capacity for assimilating new ideas and no people in Asia is more endowed with intelligence than the Indian people. Had it been allowed to change its social institutions; had Indian leadership been allowed a share in state power, half a century ago, India, which had aroused the ancient world from lethargy with the voice of science and learning and triumphed over the rude forces of nature, would not have violated the laws of nature and society in her social vices, which drained her vitality in the nineteenth century, and she would not have fallen a victim to the Maenads of recurrent diseases which have made her indifferent to social changes. The social system to which General Smuts referred must be studied in the context of India's tradition and political subjection. It is no use crying over spilt milk, and nothing is more profitless and barren than to speculate on the might have been of history. Only angelic virtues could have persuaded our foreign rulers to draw on the spoils for no more than their legitimate share and

they showed no signs of growing wings. "Stability" and "security" were purchased by India in the last century at an enormous cost. The outworn and anti-social customs of the Indians were perpetuated in the law of the land and India became an agricultural colony of the highly industrialised west, and for more than a century and a half she has been busy exporting her raw materials for imported articles of consumption.

The individual in India is directly dependent upon Nature and its mysterious caprices. As human society develops its productive powers, mankind collectively imposes its will upon Nature, and to the extent that it does so successfully, Nature ceases to be mysterious and ceases to compel "worship". The conception of uniformity, of the working of law in Nature, was first developed by the Hebrews, and this is their striking contribution to modern science. Ancient India had precisely the same conception. The Sibyl of ancient and medieval India kept offering her books in vain to decadent India in the nineteenth century, and urging the latter to conquer Nature, and resume her splendid past. Her efforts proved vain, as India was asleep. Had she been able to maintain her independence in its integrity, she would have transformed her primitive economy into purposeful and dynamic energy. Her agriculture would have been mechanised; her material resources would have been used for national and integrated planning. Indian leadership has made it abundantly clear that a radical change in India's social relationship is essential, if the appallingly low standard of living of the Indian masses is to be raised. India would have produced a Kemal Pasha or a Sun Yat Sen who would have cleared the debris of feudalism. Had Mahatma Gandhi been vested with power along with Muslim leaders, after the first World War, India's evolution to freedom would have been swift, and there would have been a change in the tempo of her social development. She has, however, been denied this opportunity, owing to causes into which it is unnecessary to enter

here. Hence she presents the curious spectacle of a stagnant and primitive economy in which the masses are simply logs in the gigantic machine of semi-feudalism. With the advent of popular ministries in the Centre and the Provinces, in 1946, there will be tremendous changes in her land system no less than in her industrial structure. From 1946, there will be a profound change in the tenancy laws of the country and industrialisation will be speeded up. The feudal rights and privileges which have been perpetuated in this land for centuries will be swept away and the common man, who has so far been the load under the harrow, will come to his own. This will mean the break-up of vested interests, the liberation of mind from an effete and stagnant tradition, and the wide diffusion of a spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm for social changes which as yet had taken no determinate direction, as Indian leadership had few opportunities for the exercise of power in its homeland. This spirit burns most highly in Indian leaders in India, as well as in South Africa. The frank audacity of the reformer and the revolutionary has superseded the cringing timidity, and the somnolent and stagnant acquiescence in tradition. The best minds of the country fret and rebel and are neither indifferent, nor are they satisfied with vacuity.) The moral and intellectual atrophy which destroyed our social life has ended, and we are now surrounded by intellectual and moral forces of recent growth but of great potency. The militant expansive force of the country is expressing itself in the destruction of the decadent feudalism from which Indian society has suffered for centuries; and the whole of India, and not merely a limited section, is determined upon carrying the ardour of social revolution into fresh fields of social change and social theory. The critical spirit which penetrates every branch of national activity is expressed in the determination to make Indian honour and Indian rights respected abroad. Among Indians overseas, who are subjected to humiliation solely because of their race, the new spirit which permeates

India has undergone an incalculable process of transformation. The new spirit is specially noticeable in South Africa where new antagonisms have been evoked by the Land Tenure Bill, and new efforts have been made by the ruling class not only for perpetuating the existing order, but also for extending its scope, and stringing up the provisions relating to segregation.

The Land Tenure Bill must be viewed in the context of India's national movement for freedom. It cannot be isolated from the main stream of her freedom movement. Viewed in this light it is clear that the Bill is bound to render the task of those who love both India and South Africa—and there are thousands of such people in both the countries—impossible. It represents a tendency which is dangerous to racial peace and harmony in Africa. Its fundamental maxim is that a statesman can hold one set of opinion as an enlightened internationalist, and another set as a segregationist. Its motto is the motto of the Jesuits, *Foris ut moris, Intus ut Libet.* It bears out the contention of many profound students of modern society that the new segregationist is but the old Jesuit writ large. The Bill aims at putting back the social clock, and extending the scope of segregation to every aspect of the economic activity of the Indian. Of moral purpose in any sense of the phrase, it has none. Every motive is brought into use that might conserve and consolidate segregation in Natal and the Transvaal with a business-like indifference.

It is impossible for me to trace in detail the progress of the Bill through the Union Assembly, and I will content myself, in the pages that follow, with a brief account of the chief stages through which it passed.

The Committee of the House rejected an amendment moved by a Nationalist member, Mr. Serfontein, to eliminate Indian ownership and occupation of the so-called white areas of Durban by compelling Indians in

these areas to sell property only to Europeans when they disposed of their property. Mr. Molteno, the Native Representative, pointed out that if the Nationalists' amendment were accepted, the coloured races would be unable to buy fixed property and this would create a dangerous precedent. The amendment was rejected.

In the discussion of franchise clauses of the Bill, in the Committee stage, Dr. T. E. Donge moved on April 12, that the franchise should not be given to Transvaall Indians. The Labour Member, Mr. Van Der Berg, declared that the extension of franchise to Indians in the northern provinces represented a breach of faith by Field Marshal Smuts with his co-founders of the Union. One of the conditions on which the northern provinces had accepted the Union was that only Europeans should have the vote. Mr. E.H. Louwe, a Nationalist member, declared that by extending the franchise to Indians, the Premier was contributing to the formation of coloured political front which would be under Communist leadership.

A concerted effort to delete the clauses relating to communal franchise was made by Dr. D. F. Malan, an agreeable man of overwhelming piety, Leader of the Nationalist Party, at the Committee stage of the Bill. He moved that the Bill be divided into two Bills, one dealing with land, and the other dealing with communal franchise for Indians. Dr. Malan said that while nearly all members of Parliament agreed on the provisions of the Bill relating to property restrictions, most of them objected to the proposal to give Indians parliamentary representation. He declared that this was wrong in principle and entirely unprecedented. "General Smuts had affirmed that the Indian question was an entirely domestic one for South Africa alone to settle, yet he was trying to satisfy overseas opinion by making the granting of franchise a condition for the enforcement of segregation." The Leader of the Nationalist Party expounded the principles of segregation in the following words: "South Africa had three hundred years of experience in

dealing with the question of coloured races, and had no reason to be ashamed of her record. The principle of applying segregation to Indians had been accepted in the Transvaal, in 1885, and in Natal, in 1943, with the passage of the Pegging Act. On the other hand, the franchise proposal raised an entirely new principle. Granting of franchise to one coloured race in the northern province would lead to a demand for franchise by South Africa's black inhabitants." It is significant that Mr. W. B. Madeley, Leader of the Labour Party, and Colonel C. F. Stallard, Leader of the Dominion Party, spoke in support of Dr. Malan's motion. His motion was rejected by 81 votes against 51. The second reading of the Bill had been passed on April 2, by 86 votes to 49. Replying to the debate on the second reading, the Premier rejected Dr. Malan's proposal for an enquiry by a joint committee of both the houses, as this would result in several years' delay. He added "The Indian question was more threatening than the Native question in 1936. The Native question had been a purely domestic matter, but the Indian question interested people abroad. Repatriation was entirely out of the question. It had been tried and had ended in utter failure. India was already one of the world's most over-populated countries and simply did not want South African Indians. Indians who had been repatriated under the 1927 Agreement had been bitterly disappointed." The Premier dismissed the talk about "equal rights", as he thought that it made the people forget that there were other questions of greater importance—housing, nutrition and education. "There had been a neglect in Natal and other parts of the country." Mr. Madeley's proposal to delete the franchise clauses from the Bill, which has been discussed above, was rejected by 81 votes to 47. The concluding part of the redoubtable Labour leader's speech, which I have discussed earlier, may be quoted here. "It is well known that Great Britain is desirous of giving the Indian people independence. I agree with that, because I think it is

their right. But it is perfectly clear and has never been denied that when she gets her independence India will go out of the British Commonwealth and then you will have this position. A country which in all essentials will be hostile to the Commonwealth, certainly not friendly—having a large intrusion of its population in one of the bodies of the Commonwealth, namely South Africa. They will be in a position to take part in deciding what sort of life shall be lived in South Africa." He warned the house against the franchise clauses as they might militate against the future development of South Africa.

Dr. Malan's exposition of segregation in the debate on the motion will be read with interest by Indians. South African Indians have a fine appreciation of the human qualities of the Afrikaner race, and they have a genuine regard for Dr. Malan, as he was one of the authors of the Cape Town Agreement. Indians of all classes have paid a tribute to the strict conception of justice which ruled his conduct during his administration of the Department of the Interior, and spared no effort to implement the Cape Town Agreement. Though fundamentally opposed to the Afrikaner's advocacy of segregation, they trusted to his sense of justice in his dealings with the Indians, even though the new ideas of race superiority which had been imported at the time from Germany and had been eagerly absorbed by some of his younger followers had threatened to disintegrate the system of ideas upon which the Afrikaner society had rested in the past. When he signed an agreement, Dr. Malan was not prepared to refine away the obligations imposed upon his Government by distinction, reservations, hypothetical conditions, until the agreement disappeared altogether. Indians, therefore, read more with sorrow than anger his speeches on the Pegging Bill in 1943 and on the Land Tenure Bill, this year, in which he expressed views which were inconsistent with the policy he had pursued towards Indians in the past.

The change is probably due to the pressure of public opinion, but Dr. Malan can plead that he is not responsible for the introduction of segregation in Natal, and the Pegging Act of 1943 was sponsored, not by his Government, but by the present Government. Segregation in Transvaal had been introduced, as Dr. Malan pointed out, in 1885, and it had been gradually modified in some of its aspects in actual working. It did not reach serious proportions until its incorporation in the Land Tenure Bill this year, though the Pegging Act had led the way in 1943. The present Government must be held responsible for the introduction of the most extensive system of segregation to which the Indian race in Natal has been subjected for the last eighty years.

The Government of India had followed the progress of the Bill through the Union Assembly and Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar gave an indication of the future policy of the Government in a statement which he made to the Indian Legislative Assembly on April 16. The statement was greeted with cheers from all parts of the House. Amidst another outburst of cheers, he added "The fact that there is no difference of opinion between the legislature and the Government on this subject will, I trust, give sufficient confidence to the public that every step will be taken which is required by the situation, and is in consonance with the dignity and prestige of this country."

Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar's statement on the policy of the Government of India is as follows: "The Government of India have watched with great concern the deterioration in the situation of Indians in South Africa during the past two years. In particular, they have been seriously concerned with the legislative measure now before the South African Parliament restricting the Indians' rights to residential and business premises.

"The Government of India have directly and indirectly done their best to persuade the South African Government to drop the measure and have conveyed to that Government the intense feeling aroused in this

country, which is shared by the Government regarding the injustice of such a measure. The Government regret to note that in spite of all its efforts the Bill is being rushed through the South African Parliament, and is likely to become law.

"The Government of India have, therefore, to consider what further steps should now be adopted in addition to those which have already been taken or have been indicated. The suggestion has been made that international intervention should now be invoked, and that the issue should be placed before the United Nations Organisation (cheers). In normal circumstances, the Government would be reluctant to indicate in advance of the actual steps taken that the advice of an international organisation like the United Nations is being sought on an issue which is the subject of a conflict between the two Governments.

"In view of the special circumstances of this case and taking cognizance of the very widespread feeling in the country that some indication of the Government's attitude should be given as early as possible, I am authorized to state that the Government of India have come to the conclusion that in the event of the Bill being passed into law, they will take steps to bring this issue before the United Nations Organisation and seek its advice in the matter.

"The Government consider it undesirable at this stage to go into greater detail on this subject, and to indicate the precise form in which the issue is to be raised and any other details regarding it. The fact that there is no difference of opinion between the Legislature and the Government on this subject will, I trust, give sufficient confidence to the public that every step will be taken which is required by the situation and is in consonance with the dignity and prestige of this country."

"DIWAN CHAMAN LAL (Congress): Has the Government of India decided to recall the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa? Sir Râmaswamy Mudaliar said he thought that the Indian High Commissioner in South

Africa would be returning to this country very shortly."

India had been profoundly moved by debates in the Union Assembly, and a Convention of Muslim Legislators held at Delhi in April, this year, passed a strongly worded resolution on the subject. The *Qaid-e-Azam*, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, spoke strongly against the Act, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently strongly supported the policy which the Government of India has been forced to adopt owing to the pressure of public opinion in India. The announcement of its policy by the Government of India has been welcomed by Indians of all classes, and the Government is wholly justified in bringing this issue before the United Nations Organisation. The Indian problem in South Africa was first raised before the Imperial Conference, in 1917, and discussed. Mr. Burton, a South African Minister, gave a vague assurance couched in a phraseology with which South African Indians are familiar. It was discussed again in the Imperial Conference, in London, in 1921, when General Smuts was present, and a resolution was then passed which was wholly ineffective. Since then, the South African Government has made it perfectly clear that it will brook no interference in what it is pleased to call its "domestic sphere". The Act is a negation of the principle of the United Nations Organisation, which "reaffirm faith in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small". Moreover, the Act violates Article I of the Charter, as clause 3 of this Article lays down that "one of the main purposes of the United Nations Organisation is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." It is, moreover, a unilateral repudiation of the engagements entered into by the Governments of India and Natal, of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, and of the Cape Town Agreement.

If Persia can take her case before the Security Council and Poland can raise the issue of Franco's fascist government, India is perfectly justified in raising a much more serious issue before the U.N.O. The issue can be raised before the Assembly, the Security Council, and the Social and Economic Council. The General Assembly seems to be the best forum for the ventilation of this grievance, as it is the supreme organ for the expression of world opinion. Article 10 authorises it to "discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter", while Article 14 empowers it to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation "which is likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations." It is doubtful if the General Assembly will pass a motion brought forward by India, as a two-thirds majority is necessary for the purpose, and South Africa may persuade many Governments to defeat the proposal. Moreover, the question has to be referred to the Security Council for action. Presumably, India could refer the matter to the Security Council under Articles 34 and 35, which provide for investigation of such disputes as are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The denunciation of the Trade Agreement and recall of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa seem to provide sufficient ground for the Security Council to take cognisance of the issue. As the decision of the Security Council is dependent on the assent of the Big Three, the success of India's appeal to the Council ultimately depends upon the policy which the three great powers of the world will adopt). Of these, it is likely that the U.S.S.R. on this matter will support India's case, and will denounce the Bill. Such a development is likely to embarrass members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. While it will be an exaggeration to state that the British Empire will be in the dock if the matter is referred to the U.N.O., it cannot be denied that the position of the British Dominions will be exceedingly difficult.

It is possible that Great Britain may ultimately intervene, and act as an arbiter in the dispute between South Africa and India. The position of an arbitrator who has not been asked to arbitrate by the parties to the dispute is exceedingly delicate, as any action which Britain may take may be misunderstood by both parties. There must, in any case, be an undercurrent of deep anxiety in London on this matter. If the matter is referred to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O., it will be decided by a majority of members present. The Council may take action under Articles 64, and 68, by appointing a Commission or establishing a special Agency with a view to obtain a report about the position of Indians in South Africa, and the implications of the Land Tenure Bill. This will naturally take time, but it may, in the end, prove exceedingly useful, as it will result in the collection of most important data for the study of the problem, not only in South Africa but also in East, West, and Central Africa. Once the matter is raised before the U.N.O., it will be difficult to circumscribe its scope, and it is possible that it may lead to an independent investigation of the ramifications of discrimination in many parts of Africa. The time has not yet come for such a roving Commission, and it is doubtful if it will do good at this stage. In a short time, however, it will become clear to all who study this problem that an impartial investigation into discrimination, in all its forms, in East Africa, the two Rhodesias and other parts of Africa is vital for the social uplift of millions of Natives who inhabit these vast territories.

As strong objection was raised to the franchise clauses, it is useful if details of these proposals are given.

The franchise clauses of the Bill, to which strong opposition has been voiced by leaders of the Nationalist, Dominion and Labour parties in the Union Assembly, are by no means generous to the Indians. They comprise the election of three Europeans in the Assembly, and two in the Senate by Indians who are South African citizens over 21, who have passed the sixth standard of

education and have property of £250, an income of £120,—for the first election, an income of £80 will suffice. Indians can elect two of their own people to the Provincial Council of Natal. A franchise arranged with such meticulous care is not likely to appeal to the Indian people, and insult is added to injury by the disqualification of Indians for membership of the Union Parliament. In India, as in South Africa, the Indian people have a highly developed political consciousness and the genius of the Indian race is even stronger than the character of the state, whether in India or South Africa. There is no dearth of talent among Indians in the Union, and though the mental force of the race has been obstructed by segregation, there is no reason why, given opportunity and training in civic life, Indian leaders in South Africa should not reaffirm their birthright of culture, and enter into the inheritance of political freedom. Indian leaders in Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape, will acquit themselves creditably in the Union Parliament, if they are given a chance. To subject the social and economic life of a community of 250,000 persons, which had maintained its economic freedom in Natal, from the time of its arrival in 1863 till 1943, to segregation on a scale which had never been thought possible in Natal, and to give the Indian race in return the communal franchise is a mockery of democratic government. A community that has been distinguished for its spiritual passion and political energy will offer stubborn resistance to such a measure, and will crystallise the counter-movement of the modern spirit at one point in heroic resistance, at another in a fervent appeal to the U.N.O. for justice, and will achieve a triumph by enlisting the steadily advancing progressive forces of the entire world which are ranged against racial discrimination, and the colour bar.

The Bill passed the third reading by 78 votes to 50 in the Union Assembly, on April 17, after a debate lasting 16 days. An amendment moved by the Nationalist

Party demanding a plebiscite to test feeling on the granting of communal franchise to Indians in Natal and the Transvaal was rejected by 80 votes to 49 as was a Dominion Party amendment that any Bill that linked tenure restrictions with franchise rights was unacceptable.

I cannot discuss in detail the progress of the Bill through the Union Senate, as this will swell the size of the book. I feel, however, that reference should be made to some of the speeches which were made in that august body. The discussion in the upper house was on a higher level, and some of the speeches put the Indian case with great lucidity. The representatives of Natives in that body made a striking contribution to the debate, and India is grateful to them for championing the cause of the Indian race.

I will now trace the progress of the Bill through the Union Senate. According to a cable dated May 1, from Cape Town:— The Minister of the Interior, Mr. C.F. Clarkson, today moved that the motion for the second reading of the Indian Bill should stand down for the time being. As a result Mr. H.M. Basner's motion was given precedence.

Mr. Basner then moved that Mr. Ahmad Ismail, President of the South African Indian Congress, and the four joint secretaries and treasurers of the organisation be given leave to be heard at the bar of the House in opposition to the Bill.

He said: "Is it too much to ask from a democratic body—from the highest body in the land—that before they deal with this large unfranchised community, they give it a chance to state its case before this body?"

Senator E. H. Brookes, seconding the motion, said that the Senate could not suffer from any point of view by approving it.

Mr. Basner's motion was approved by 28 votes to 10, only Nationalist and Afrikaner Party Senators voting against it.

The motion by Mr. Basner that the petitioners be

heard before the start of the debate on the second reading was approved and the Senate agreed on the motion of Senator Clarkson to postpone the start of the second reading debate until Friday. The postponement was granted to enable the petitioners to be present when the debate opened.

Members of the public were last allowed to appear at the bar of the Senate 32 years ago. For the first time in the history of the Senate, the Indians were allowed to put their case at a bar of the South African Senate, on behalf of the South African Indian Congress, on May 3. According to a cable dated May 4, from Cape Town:—Putting the Indians' case at the bar of the South African Senate yesterday, Mr. Mahomed Barmania said that by its nature "As a Senior House and a House of Review the Senate would find it easier to correct any Legislation hastily conceived and designed to take away rights and to place people in a position of permanent inferiority."

The South African Indian Congress contended that even assuming that restriction of the right of land purchase and occupation was valid there was no justification for its imposition on the Indian community.

"There is one continuous and persistent feature about this problem on which there can be no cavil and debate," he said. "It is that from first to last it is a story of a deteriorating situation, of promises made and broken, of pledges given and violated and withering away of rights and erosion of principles."

The South African Indian Congress, he said, asked nothing more than that the Government should implement what had been said by the Prime Minister, General Smuts, in a written note to the Congress in November 1944.

"The Pretoria Agreement having failed in its object, it is necessary to explore a settlement along other lines," wrote General Smuts.

"Segregation and economic discrimination," conti-

nued Mr. Barmania "infringe a term of the Cape Town Agreement. The issue can never be purely domestic which involves a breach of treaty obligations."

A solution based on compulsory segregation which the principles of this Bill embody, can only involve helotry for Asiatics and deterioration for Europeans.

There was no conflict when all advantage was on the side of the Europeans. Conflict arose as soon as Indians learned to take advantage of established financial institutions.

The fundamental issue before Parliament could be described in a single question: Does the European dominant group really want to solve racial strife or does it prefer to establish its own supremacy even at the cost of racial strife?

The Senate is being asked in the Bill to give statutory recognition to the private prejudices of a few Europeans with vested interests. It should not become a party to such a sordid transaction.

"The Indians want only justice. This legislation which we ask you to reject contains all the elements of Hitler's policy applied by a country that was Hitler's enemy."

The Senate was crowded to the utmost capacity to hear Mr. Barmania's address, those present including the Indian High Commissioner, Mr R.M. Deshmukh.

After Mr. Barmania had withdrawn from the bar, the Minister of the Interior, Senator Clarkson, moved that the Indian Bill be read a second time and the debate adjourned till Monday.

A strong attack had been made on the treatment of Indians in South Africa in the *Daily Worker*, London, on April 30:—"At the moment when British Cabinet Ministers are trying to assure India of the advantages of 'voluntary association' with the Commonwealth, the Prime Minister of one of the Dominions is responsible for a 'law which establishes' Indians as second-class human beings," the paper said.

"Field-Marshal Smuts arrives in this country fresh from the enactment of limitations which place Indians in South Africa perpetually in a position of inferiority, so far as land tenure and electoral rights are concerned.

"The prevalence of these abominable ideas of race discrimination among both the British and Dutch in that country is shown further by the support given to him in this measure by the South African Labour party, which has just repudiated its leader for voting against the anti-Indian law. The only political group that has fought unwaveringly against it is the South African Communist Party.

"The treatment of the coloured African inhabitants, to whom the land belongs by birthright, is notoriously far worse. They are denied schooling, medical care, right of movement, a direct share in the Government, opportunities to develop technical skill, share in the courts and even in churches on an equality with the whites.

"All this is in flat violation of the United Nations Charter which binds its signatories to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. And who was the author of this passage in the Charter? That same Field-Marshal Smuts.

The only U. N. O. member which outlaws all practice or preaching of race discrimination in accordance with the principle embodied in the Charter is the Soviet Union. Despite fine words, it remains a fact that the evil doctrine of race superiority—the soil from which spring Fascist ideas and the Fascist claims—still flourishes today in the United States of America and the British Empire."

According to a cable dated May 3, from London: A spokesman at South Africa House yesterday told the Press that General Smuts had refused to receive a deputation of Indians while he was in South Africa and added that it was unlikely that he would receive a deputation of Indians resident in Great Britain.

The request for an interview had been made by Swaraj House, an organisation affiliated to the Federation of Indian Associations in Great Britain, which had asked for permission to send a deputation to interview General Smuts on the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

The National Council of Civil Liberties held a conference in London on May 2. According to a cable published in India on May 4:—The demand that the National Council of Civil Liberties should launch a nationwide campaign on behalf of Indians in South Africa, allied to an appeal for the immediate independence of "subject people" everywhere, was made here last night at a conference of organisations affiliated to the Council.

Fifty delegates passed the following resolution: "This conference, believing all forms of racial discrimination to be alien to the spirit of civil liberty and democracy and opposed to the principles of the United Nations Charter, is profoundly shocked at the racial discrimination revealed in the recent attempts to segregate Indians in South Africa and by the terms of the Land Tenure Bill. In protesting against these measures this Council urges that the legislation be abandoned and that rights of equal citizenship be accorded to Indians in South Africa."

The resolution was passed after the conference had heard a review of the events in South Africa from Mr. Ashwin Choudhree, leader of the South African Indian delegation to Europe and the United States.

Copies of the resolution are being sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, the Dominions Secretary, Lord Addison, and the South African Prime Minister, General Smuts.

At the second reading of the Bill, Senator Basner took a prominent part in the debate and his fearless advocacy of the Indian cause will be appreciated by Indians in the Union as well as in India.

Senator Basner's remarks on the Prime Minister's policy were made in a partisan spirit, and will not be endorsed by those who know the Prime Minister. Senator Brookes' speech was disappointing, though his references to the part which Indians have played in building up Natal's prosperity will be appreciated by the Indian people. His objection to the Indian case being placed before the United Nations Organisation has no force or validity, as the Government of India did their best to get the question settled by direct negotiations between the two Governments. Their representations were ignored, and the Bill was rushed through the Union Parliament. What other course is left to an oppressed community than to present its case before a world organisation, one of whose main aims is to assure the four freedoms to the oppressed nations of the world?

Senator Shepstone's speech was marked by a judicious spirit, and Indians are grateful to him for the service he has rendered to the Indian people. Senator Shepstone has lived the doctrine which he has preached, and his championship of the legitimate rights of Indians is gratefully remembered by the Indian race in the Union. He played an important part in the negotiations that preceded the signing of the Pretoria Agreement, in 1944 and was tireless in his efforts to bring about an honourable settlement of the Indian question in 1944-45. He did not receive the support from the authorities to which he was entitled, and the situation in Natal deteriorated in 1945. Senator Clarkson's speech at the second reading was disappointing. He declared that the Bill aimed at the solution of the Indian question. The Union Government's scheme for the solution of the Indian question in 1946 is different from their plan for its solution, in April, 1944, and Senator Clarkson's speeches on the Indian problem, which he made in 1943, on his appointment as Minister of the Interior, breathed a different spirit. The Indian problem cannot be solved by prohibiting the Indian from inheriting, acquiring and occupying property where-

ever he chooses; nor can it be solved by demarcating for the first time in the history of Natal, areas for acquisition and occupation by Indians. Moreover, it is not a solution of the Indian problem to introduce compulsory segregation for a highly gifted race, and strangulate the Indian community commercially by controlling mortgage bonds. Instead of solving the Indian problem the Bill will aggravate it, as India will not allow the agreements which the Union Government and the Natal Government made with the Government of India to be violated.

I reproduce below a summary of some of the speeches made in the Senate at the second reading of the Bill.

An invitation to the Nationalists in the Senate to co-operate with him and prevent the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill going through this session was made at the second reading of the Bill on Wednesday by Senator Basner, an elected native representative.

Senator Basner explained that the whole object of the Senate was to prevent hasty legislation and for that reason there was no time limit on Senate discussions. No Bill could, therefore, pass through the Senate if a minority determined to stop it. If the Nationalists were really opposed to the Bill and did not merely want to use it as a propaganda for the next election, they could organise obstruction within the rules of the Senate to prevent the Bill going through this session. He declared that he was prepared to do it himself with only a little help.

Senator Basner's appeal was interesting in the light of recent debates in the Senate about "belittling" of the Senate by the Government. The Senators, most of whom are elderly, declared that they were no longer prepared to allow the Senate to be used as a "rubber stamp" instead of a house of review as contemplated by the constitution.

Senator Basner said in 1940 General Smuts had declared that segregation had failed, but in 1946 he said: "we

are going to solve the Indian question on the basis of segregation."

"We have to come to a pass where political duplicity can go no further," said Senator Basner.

The Bill was a deadly insult to the Indian people, he added. When the whole continent of Asia was awakening, was it wise to throw down racial challenge of this kind? Senator Basner asked.

Senator Basner said the Bill was designed to cut Indians off from the land and turn them into slaves.

Senator Brookes, an elected native representative, after complimenting the representatives of the South African Indian Congress on their "vigorous case in a moderate way" at the bar of the House, said that the Indian case had often been spoilt by intemperate language and by running to other Governments, and the U.N.O. He felt distressed over South Africa being held up to the U.N.O. as if it were the only country where there was racialism. He did not think that Indians would have a case before the U.N.O.

On the question of segregation, India would not be able to present an overwhelming case. And would India be able seriously to cite South Africa for giving communal franchise to Indians? Senator Brookes asked.

Senator Brookes said there had been mass hysteria among Indians and something not far from it among the Europeans in Natal. The Pretoria Agreement had been spoiled by the thoroughly unreasonable and irresponsible attitude in Durban, with the result that responsible Indian leaders had been discredited by the fact that their policy of compromise had failed. They had been replaced by ardent leftists.

It was not surprising that the negotiations had broken down and the Indian Bill had come before the Parliament. Indians were not a menace to Natal or South Africa. Without them there would not have been the sugar industry. The coal industry and railways had been built up in the first instance by Indian labour. Indians played

a large part in Natal's economy and should be regarded as fellow workers for whom a place must be found, said Senator Brookes.

Senator Shepstone, who had been closely associated with the negotiations of the Pretoria Agreement and all subsequent representations to General Smuts on the Indian question, said that since the Cape Town Agreement, under the uplift clause, the Indians had uplifted themselves, but in doing so had incurred the wrath of the Europeans.

The Indian had a *prima facie* case when he said for the past 50 years his position had been deteriorating. In Natal today the Indian felt himself friendless and politically powerless. He demanded full equality, whereas the European was demanding complete segregation. What was the Government to do in that situation? Referring to the criticisms of Indians for appealing to India, Mr. Shepstone said as all channels open to all other sections in South Africa were closed to the Indians, it was essential that they had some franchise to establish a status in the country and to protect themselves.

Mr. Shepstone said land provisions could be made to work with the co-operation of the Indians. If they would co-operate it could be most beneficial to them and promote harmony with the Europeans.

The Bill passed the second reading in the Senate by 22 votes to 13, after a five day debate in which 32 of the Senate's 44 members spoke.

A cable from Cape Town, dated May 24, stated that more than eight weeks after it began its stormy passage through the Union Parliament, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill entered its final stage in the Senate yesterday with the opening of the debate on the third reading.

The debate lasted all day and was adjourned till to-day. Almost the entire afternoon was taken up by the most vigorous opponent of the Bill, Senator A. M. Basner (native

representative), who spoke for three hours and 45 minutes and was eventually ordered by the President to take his seat on grounds that his speech had become irrelevant.

Senator C.A. Van Niekerf, leader of the Nationalist Party, moved an amendment, demanding a referendum or a general election, on the subject of the Bill.

Senator E. T. Brookes, one of the four Native representatives, said that Nationalists, in opposing all political rights for non-Europeans in South Africa, were standing against a tide which would sweep them away.

South Africa, he declared eventually would have to give citizenship rights to non-Europeans and the best thing was to make friends and not enemies of them.

Senator Brookes said that his chief reason for opposing the Bill was his burning conviction that it would have the gravest national and international consequences. The House had no idea of the consequences of driving Indians into the arms of the Natives on the basis of common hatred of Europeans.

If Indians, he said, launched a passive resistance movement, they would start something the consequences of which everybody would regret. World opinion would not at this stage of history allow white South Africans to deal with non-Europeans as they wished.

The Senate passed the third reading on May 24 after a stormy passage through both Houses of Parliament. The Nationalist Party's amendment demanding a referendum was rejected by 22 votes to 10. The Nationalists fought the Bill mainly because it granted communal franchise in Natal and the Transvaal to Indians.

The heroes of the debate in the Senate were undoutedly the Native representatives in the Senate, and the Indian race in India and South Africa is grateful to the Native representatives in general and Senators Basner, Shepstone, and Brookes for their heroic fight for the Indian people. Senator Basner has emerged from this debate as an outstanding champion of the under-privileged and Indians will recall with gratitude the services which he,

Mrs. Ballinger and other selfless champions of non-Europeans have rendered to the Indian community.

It is a tragedy that such a Bill should have been passed at a time when India is considering the Report of the Cabinet Delegation to our country. In a few weeks, Indians will assume control of all the departments of the Government of India.

A conflict between India and South Africa is likely, though I hope and believe that such a conflict will be avoided, and a way will be found for an honourable settlement. The prospects of such a settlement, after the passing of the Bill through the Senate, are remote.

However, there is still time for reconsideration, and the Governor General may reserve his assent, with a view to exploring the possibility of accommodation. It must, however, be confessed that the prospect is gloomy, and a clash between the two Governments seems inevitable.

India has expressed unambiguously her opinion on the Bill and the Government of India has now taken it to the bar of world opinion, and appealed to the nations represented in the United Nations Organisation for justice. The racial discrimination which South Africa has legalised in many spheres of activity would have remained unnoticed, had South African statesmen been content with the status which had been fixed for the Indians before the War. The Acts that had so far been passed against the helpless Indian community had not applied to Natal, and the Indian community had so far been free from the evils of economic segregation to which the Transvaal Indians were subject since 1885. It was reserved for Premier Smuts to introduce segregation by the Pegging Act of 1943. The present Bill ensures the economic strangulation of the Indian race in Natal by the thoroughness with which the economic activity of the Indian race is restricted, the serious proportions of racial discrimination in Natal, and the discourteous manner in which the protests of the Indian community and the Government of India were rejected.

The United Nations Organisation is bound to institute an enquiry into the grievance of an under-privileged race in the Union of South Africa; and the investigation will ultimately lead to a dispassionate examination of the laws which have been passed, not merely against Indians, but also against the Natives of the country. Nor is this all. South Africa is the leader of Africa, and the ruling class in Kenya, Tanganyika, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, is unitedly a community of interest, common culture, and unity of policy on the colour question, which is based on the instinct of self-preservation. An enquiry into the colour problem of South Africa must lead eventually to the study of this issue in East and Central Africa. The whole question of the non-European races in Africa is bound to be discussed, when the United Nations Organisation takes up this issue. It may, indeed, be asked by the sincere friends of South Africa whether it would not have been prudent to accede to the reasonable request of the Government of India for a Round Table Conference on the proposed Bill? One may also pertinently enquire from the Union Government whether any harm would have been done if they had acted on the recommendation of the Broome Commission which had been specially appointed by them to suggest ways and means of settling the Indian problem? Why was the recommendation of the Commission ignored? Moreover, in preparing the Bill, not a single organisation of the Indian community was consulted, and the Union Government violated well-established conventions by not communicating in advance details of the Bill.

Those who have had the privilege of friendship with South African leaders know their sterling qualities. They have the deepest respect for their creative worth in that wonderful country and an abiding affection for South African leadership in politics, industry, administration and culture. Nor should the Indian people be ungrateful to the land of their adoption for what it has done for them.

It has raised their standard of living above the Indian standard; it has given them training in discipline and organisation; it has freed them from gross superstitions and caste and class prejudices which they had brought with them from India. It has impressed upon them the importance of science in modern life, and they have become aware of the fact that the mental and physical health of the community or a person in modern society can be effectively safeguarded by discoveries which science has made in nutrition, public hygiene, industry, medicine and clothing. India was too engrossed with "spiritual meditations" and metaphysical speculation, to find time for shaping the material world. She was in the same position in which Europe found herself for more than a thousand years. South Africa came to the rescue of the Indian immigrant, and injected currents of energy into his lungs. This is the glory and pride of South Africa. Those who have enjoyed the friendship of eminent South African leaders, and have discussed the problems of the post-war world, have retained a feeling of the deepest respect and affection for its present day leaders. South African leadership in industry, politics, administration and culture has an exceptionally high standard, and in discussing international problems, its outlook is singularly free from prejudice, and is distinguished by a frankness that is in refreshing contrast with the views of leading statesmen in European countries. The standard of South African journalism is exceptionally high and none, who has met the leading journalists of South Africa, can help being struck with the intellectual calibre of editors of influential dailies in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. In order to become acquainted with the grandeur of the land and its people we must leave Johannesburg, the industrial heart of South Africa, ascend the heights, and accustom ourselves to the austere climate of the Cape. The great Afrikaner race, which knew, by the instinct of genius, that it was destined to rule South Africa, started from the Cape on that long *trek* which hardened its

fibre and prepared it for its heroic struggle for freedom. All who have read the epic story of their wanderings in the classic pages of Teal's *History of South Africa* will remember that the *Voortrekkers* wandered restlessly through the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, incapable of settling down in communion with any one of the established forms of English ascendancy at the Cape, and will recall their desperate struggle with nature and man. Like David, the sturdy Boer guerillas refused the armour of Saul and fought Goliath with his stone and sling. Nourished on the stern theology of Calvin, these rugged peasants showed uncompromising hostility to tyranny, and they meted out the same treatment to their political foes which Calvin had dealt to his theological opponents, *Valentino Gentile* whom he drove to death on the scaffold, *Simone, Alciati Gribaldi* and *Biandrata*. Only those who have had the privilege of knowing its leaders can appreciate the qualities of the Afrikaner race. The polite refinement, the disciplined passions, and the creative vigour which the race has shown in a century of organic activity in the three provinces of the Union have made the Afrikaners the true leaders of South Africa.

Natal offers a contrast to the rest of South Africa. It is pre-eminently the centre of English culture and refinement, and the ruling race has all the solid qualities of the English people. The serenity of undisturbed security, the luxury of wealth amassed in industry and liberally spent abroad, give a physiognomy of ease and proud self-confidence to her citizens. The grace and charm of English culture, and the glory of the British Commonwealth of Nations find their meeting point in Natal, and live as the spirit of Athens lived in Pallas Promachos. In every home, on every side, above, around, wherever the eye falls in those beautiful towns which are studded all over Natal are seen the deeds of Britain. Imperialism is the faith, not only of Senators and captains of industry, but also of working men and post-

men. The grim and anxious struggles against Chaka have left no mark on Durban. The Englishman in Durban is a more vigilant custodian of English prestige and English honour than the Englishman in London, and he has all the qualities of a great people. South Africa has all the grace, spaciousness, and culture of the southern states of America which Lord Bryce vividly described in the *American Commonwealth*.

However, side by side with this cultured and self-complacent society, there is the Indian community, segregated from the social life of ruling class, and the community differs in its internal type no less than in external conditions. The mutual attractions and repulsions that presided over the growth of the Indian community have given it specific qualities which are reflected in its customs, language, policy, and institutions. Scowling at one another across the barrier of segregation that divides the two races, the two clash together in persistent fury. To the Indian, it is the struggle for survival, to the European, it is a conflict for ascendancy that must be maintained at all cost. I am convinced that the Bill does not represent the mature thought of South African leadership and is the product of the peculiar political conditions which exist at present in South Africa. Enlightened leaders of South African thought are basically opposed to the principles underlying the Bill, and are firm supporters of the doctrine of Indo-European co-operation in Natal and the Transvaal.

The Indian community in South Africa is preparing plans for a determined opposition to the "Ghetto Bill". According to a Reuter's cable from Johannesburg, which was published in Indian papers, on April 23rd this year, "four thousand Indians at a mass rally in Johannesburg on Sunday resolved to undertake a campaign of non-violent passive resistance against the Indian legislation." The resolution declared "we hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit meekly to the policy of segregation that is causing disaster

to our people." The movement in the Transvaal is being led by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, who told the meeting that henceforth "it would be his foremost duty to resist the Bill and, if necessary, give his life for its cause." The meeting resolved to set up a Council of fifteen to direct the struggle. Dr. Dadoo warned the audience that the struggle would be long and bitter and would entail much hardship and suffering. The enforcement of the new Bill in Natal and the Transvaal is bound to embitter the relations between the two races, and it is possible that the feeling of frustration may result in passive resistance by the Indian masses.

It is clear that the Soviet Union will fully support India if the issue of the Ghetto Bill is raised in the United Nations Organisation. The support of the Soviet may prove as embarrassing to India, as it has proved to Indonesia. It may stiffen the attitude of other powers on the sole ground that the cause is backed by the Soviet.

I am confident that other powers will not adopt a hostile attitude for this reason, and the issue in question will be considered on its merits. India has a very strong case, and the statesmen of the world will consider the South African Indian issue dispassionately. The comment of the Moscow Radio on the Indian issue is as follows :—

A strong and outspoken attack on the colour bar policy of South Africa was made by Moscow Radio in two separate commentaries. The first commentary by Peter Orlov reviewed South Africa's racial discrimination policy in its historical perspective and described in detail all colour bar laws passed by the Union Government during the last 50 years.

In the second commentary, which was of a more political nature, Moscow Radio gave a clear and authoritative indication that the Soviet Union will fully support India if the issue of the "Ghetto Bill" is raised in the U.N.O.

In this commentary Moscow Radio said : "A South African united committee of Natives and immigrants

from Asia has just published a declaration addressed to the nations of the world protesting against the system of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. This committee represents eight million people, that is to say an overwhelming majority of the population in the Union who for reason of their non-European origin are without the most elementary civic rights.

"The policy of race discrimination and the colour bar limiting participation of the Native population in industry and agriculture is opposed to the principles of the United Nations Charter, one of the declared objects of which is to develop respect for the rights of men and fundamental liberties of all without discrimination of race, sex, language or religion. If the United Nations Charter is to be carried out colour bar must be immediately abolished.

"But the supreme irony of the situation in South Africa is that the Union Government is carrying out a policy of race discrimination not only with regard to native Africans, but also against Indian citizens living in South Africa—people from a country which is also a member of the United Nations."

The policy of Kenya regarding the immigration of Indians into Kenya is disclosed in the draft of a Bill which was published at Nairobi on April 27, this year. Under the Bill if an immigration permit is sought for any post which a suitably qualified resident can occupy, the permit may be refused. Presumably, Tanganyika and Uganda will follow suit, and a uniform law will be passed in all the three colonies.

This is only the thin end of the wedge, and its object is to restrict, and, ultimately, to prohibit the immigration of Indians into these colonies.

To those who have been privileged to work with the ruling race in South Africa the Bill is a cruel disappointment. They admire their sterling qualities, and have nothing but respect and affection for the manner in which its members have developed the intellectual and material resources

of their country. It is an achievement of which they are legitimately proud. They have justification for their pride, and the practical, positive spirit of the race is expressed in economic and cultural institutions which have won the admiration of all impartial men. Unfortunately, the ruling race has based its policy towards the Indian race on racial discrimination in an exaggerated form and it has hardly occurred to the members of the Union Parliament how a gifted race, with a great reservoir of character and ability, can tolerate a measure which combines all classes in a common heroism and animosity. The men in power have their back on the ideal of a united country, to which the Indian could devote himself, and which should absorb the dispersed forces of the land. In place of the desperate remedies suggested by the dread of fierce competition with the Indian people, the Union Parliament would have changed the atmosphere by repealing the Pegging Act, and repaid the devotion of a sensitive race by strength in Union. The ruling race in South Africa has failed to observe New India in which political and intellectual forces are at fullest strain, an India in combat with feudalism, engaged in the formulation of a policy which will reveal the Indian community to itself by the force of its instinctive will which will be a phase of the larger, more magnetic life of the Indian people, a phase which may be compared to the new youth of the eagle. Wise statesmanship would have prescribed powerful and drastic antidotes to social poisons; the imperative need for the maintenance of neighbourly relations between great countries, should have induced South Africa's statesmen to expose the extravagances of segregation which owes its crudity and coarseness to the contradictions of her society. It is not surprising that the Indian community in South Africa is penetrated with the rancour of rebellion. It is the revolt of the will against inhuman restrictions, the reassertion of natural liberty, emboldened by the publication of the Atlantic Charter and the establishment of the United Nations Organisation, embittered by more than half a

century of discriminatory legislation. It is not surprising that the Indian community in the Union is resisting the impact of segregation which is inherent in the Bill, proposing stubborn resistance to a measure which will undermine the foundations of its economic life, as it regards the Bill as the fullest and most representative expression of colour bar. In this clash of principles, the noble tradition of Cape Liberalism ought to have played the part of a mediator. Its force consisted in its humane policy towards the coloured races, and the sagacity with which it used the most efficient means for realising its ideals. It has its own philosophy of life, which had been tested in the hard school of experience, its own clairvoyance, its own good sense. It was a seed which had been cast into the then fertile soil of the Cape, which bore fruit a hundred-fold in mutual good-will and trust. Unfortunately, on the present occasion, it refused to perform its office, and threw in its lot with the fervid champions of segregation in division lobbies. Its cold acquiescence in the discredited theory of segregation, which had been evolved in a recognised state of social anarchy in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and with many a blundering divergence into the uncongenial provinces of compulsory labour for Natives, and other similar measures, have bound a dynamic and freedom-loving race against the tyranny of colour bar. The massive fabric of Liberalism in Natal and the Cape has broken up into fragments and the vast edifice of heroic self-sacrifice which a long line of missionaries and reformers had reared in South Africa for over a century has been undermined by men who had the energy to free themselves from the tradition of colour bar, but lacked the strength of character, and spiritual sympathy, to mould the thought of the new age.

The above was written on May 31st. At the time of writing many people in India believed that the Governor General of South Africa will reserve his assent to the Bill, so that a way will be found for a settlement of this issue. The sincerest friends of India and South Africa

were grieved to hear that the Governor General gave his assent to the Bill on June 3rd, and the Bill is now law. A cable from Cape Town announced the names of the European members of the Asiatic Land Tenure Advisory Board, which has been established under the Act.

The land tenure provisions of the Act came into force immediately, but the franchise provisions will come into operation at a date to be fixed by the Governor General in the Government Gazette and the first elections under the Act will coincide with the next general election.

The South African deputation to India returned to Durban at the end of May, and delivered messages from Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in which these great Indian leaders have advised the Indian community in South Africa to launch a campaign of mass civil disobedience against this iniquitous law. The National Government will soon be formed in the Centre, in India, and it is probable that the new Government will be called upon to formulate a definite policy on the question and devise measures against the Land Tenure Act.

The Natal Indian Congress launched mass civil disobedience against the hated Land Tenure Act in Durban, on Friday the 14th June. The Indian race in Natal has the unanimous support of India in its noble fight against an iniquitous measure, and the Congress Working Committee accorded its support in a resolution passed by the Working Committee on the 15th June. In this campaign, the Natal Indian Congress has the enthusiastic support of the whole Indian community in the Union of South Africa. It is the duty of the United Nations Organisation to do justice to a helpless, and voteless race and vindicate the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Those who have studied the problem are convinced that no other choice was left to the Indian race in South Africa. All well-wishers of South Africa will regret this development, and their regret will be intensified by the fact that the movement has been launched at a time when Field-Marshal Smuts, one of the greatest exponents of the

Four Freedoms, and one of the founders of the League of Nations, is the head of the Union Government.

India has decided to lodge a complaint with the U.N.O. against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Moreover the movement against the Land Tenure Act has gathered momentum and hundreds of Indians are offering themselves for arrest. The entire Indian community in South Africa has been roused by the noble deeds of these heroic men, whose sacrifice and suffering have infused a new life into the Indian race in the Union of South Africa. It is a struggle for the survival of the Indian race as a self-respecting community in the Union and India has the deepest sympathy with the movement and trusts that the United Nations Organisation will do justice to the Indian community. India hopes that technicalities of procedure will not be used to stifle the legitimate desire of South African Indians to free themselves from the status of servitude which the Land Tenure Act has imposed upon them.

The memory of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha is the inspiration of the Indian race in the Union at the present moment. The truth of the common man lives in him. The most brilliant leaders of the people are now rotting in Natal jails. Leaders of the calibre of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Dr. Naicker, Dr. Kaisbal Goonan have been sentenced to hard labour, and hundreds of Indians are being imprisoned, every week. About 500 Indians have already been imprisoned and the enthusiasm of the people is marvellous. The whole community is inspired by a noble resolve to maintain its freedom, and resist the Land Tenure Act with all the spiritual resources at its command. It knows that material resources are arrayed against it in overwhelming strength, but it remains undaunted, as its spirit is unconquerable. It achieved its unity in August, 1943, when the two Indian political organisations, the "Natal Indian Congress" and the "Natal Indian Association", which had carried on a factious fight for years, were dis-

solved, and the Natal Indian Congress founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 was revived. Readers will find my Inaugural Address to the new body in this book. The office-bearers who were elected in August 1943 proved unsatisfactory, and were rightly turned out by the new and vigorous leaders of the Congress in 1945. The unity and solidarity, which the Indian race had lacked for years, were achieved by the new body, and the strength and vitality which the Indian people had shown are due to the unity which they attained in 1943, and to the dynamic leadership of the office-bearers who came into power in 1945. Unity was achieved also in the Transvaal, and the Indian community is consequently in a stronger position than ever. The South African Government is not a real leader of the South African Europeans on this issue. The white race in the Union is endowed with radiant gifts of nature, and I shall always retain the deepest affection for it. Its best elements are against the policy embodied in the Land Tenure Act, but they have been silenced by the agitation of a handful of European politicians whose political life depends upon the maintenance of anti-Indian agitation in Natal. It is on this plank that most of the Natal members have been elected to Parliament. General Smuts can no longer look on this movement with business-like indifference. His consummate ability and unrivalled knowledge of the world ought to convince him that South Africa's Indian policy is hopelessly adrift upon a sea of contradictions and of repression, that the Indian problem cannot be solved by sending thousands of Indians to jail, that South Africa and India are destined to remain neighbours for centuries, and the discussion of the issue by the U.N.O. is bound to affect South Africa's position in the comity of nations. It is better to settle this issue directly, without the intervention of an international organisation.

Statemanship demands that he should take the lead in suggesting a Round Table Conference of leaders of both countries, when the Indian question could be dis-

cussed in all its aspects. My faith in the co-operation of Indians and Europeans has been strengthened by the present movement. Natal's future depends upon the co-operation of the two races, and it is the turn of Europeans to offer the hand of co-operation at this juncture.

APPENDIX A

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

August 14, 1941

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policy of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world:

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4. They will endeavour, with due respect to their existing obligation, to further enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms, to the trade and the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford an assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, and air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential.

They will likewise aid and encourage all other practical measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

APPENDIX B

SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

June 26, 1945

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and,

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the

United Nations and do hereby establish an international organisation to be known as the United Nations.

CHAPTER I. PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:—

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 14

'Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party, if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the

specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

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This is a book by a well-known Scholar—statesman of India. After a brilliant academic career, Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan served his apprenticeship in the Legislature of his province for seven years in 1924-30. He was delegate to the first three Round Table Conferences, 1930-32, and the Joint Select Committee, London for 1933. After serving on many important Committees and holding a high officiating appointment in the Government of India, in 1940, Sir Shafa'at was appointed High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa in November, 1941, and occupied this office till January, 1945, Sir Shafa'at dealt with some of the most complex problems with which the Indian race in South Africa was faced, "Hon'ble Sir Shafa'at Ahmad was a member of the first Provisional Government of India.