

INDIAN

SOUTH-AFRICAN
12 NOV 1952

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



There Can Be No Peace Without Justice

*This is my prayer to
thee, my Lord—*

*Strike, strike at the root
of penury in my heart.*

*Give me the strength
lightly to bear my
joys and sorrows.*

*Give me the strength
to make my love
fruitful in service.*

*Give me the strength never
to disown the poor or
bend my knees before
insolent might.*

*Give me the strength
to raise my mind high
above daily trifles.*

*And give me the strength
to surrender my strength
to thy will with love.*

—Tagore.



WHETHER the Resistance Campaign was right or wrong, it was provoked by a universal sense of injustice, said the Bishop of Bloemfontein, the Right Rev. C. W. Alderson, at an all-nations dinner given by the Bloemfontein Business and Professional Women's Club last week.

Men wanted justice more than kindness. This should be remembered in Native affairs, he said.

"We can be as kind as we like to Natives; thousands of people are. But our only way to peace with them, or anyone else, is strict fairness.

"We talk so much about ideologies, sovereign and independent nations, the 'volkswil' and other problems."

Without justice there could be no peace. This could be illustrated by the Union's trouble at the United Nations.

"We feel that whatever may be wrong with our own internal administration, the constitution of the United Nations was carefully and deliberately framed to prevent outside interference.

"We have the ludicrous situation of Dr. Donges and his colleagues, of all people, appealing to the sacred and immutable constitution of the United Nations, and crying aloud that the nations would never have agreed to it if they had known it could be used in this way.

"A year ago they were crying that South Africa's Constitution was as dead as the dodo."

Overseas critics made statements about the Natives in South Africa which the Union's representatives countered with lofty self-righteousness.

Both sides were playing an imaginary game, never hitting any real question, never speaking any real truth. Fundamental distrust and suspicion could never produce peace.

The bishop said he saw little chance of lasting peace unless either Communism conquered the world, or was very radically modified by Christianity, which would take a long time.

Even if it were possible it would not be peace—it would be toleration.

He could never see peace while the cry was that the rights of national sovereignty were supreme over all human considerations.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 7TH NOVEMBER, 1952

The Port Elizabeth Riots

THE recent Port Elizabeth riots in which four Europeans are reported to have been brutally murdered by Africans and damage is reported to have been done to property worth thousands of pounds should make the non-White people as a whole feel utterly ashamed of themselves and to humble them to the dust. We are told that only eleven Africans were killed by the Police in quelling the riots. It is however immaterial whether eleven or a hundred or a few hundred of non-Whites were killed. What concerns us and should concern us and make us feel ashamed is the fact that we non-Whites should be responsible for the loss of a single White person. It is of course a matter of consolation that the Passive Resistance movement or any Passive Resister is not involved in this shocking affair but nevertheless it should be a matter of the deepest shame to us that such an act should have been committed by a non-White person or persons. To that extent we must all feel guilty and there should be no rest to our conscience until and unless some atonement has been done for this grave sin. We who are pledged to non-violence must learn to see the mote in our eye as a beam and the beam in our opponent's eye as a mote. If we pay only lip sympathy to non-violence and have a dagger in our heart it is worse than our opponents, who believe in and do not in the least, hesitate to commit acts of violence against us. Their behaviour is excusable; ours being based on hypocrisy is totally inexcusable. We are not out to kill; we are out to die. The success of our struggle will wholly depend on how pure we are able to keep it. Those who have committed these acts of violence, whether consciously or unconsciously, therefore, do not know what incalculable harm they have done to our campaign. As wonderful as was the spirit of non-violence shown by thousands of Africans who are

by their very nature violent and have had no training whatsoever in non-violence, so wonderful was the growing sympathy of the thinking White men and women of South Africa and of the people of the outside world for our cause. This has now received a rude shock. That should not, however, dishearten us. We must make the necessary amends and go forward with Non-violence as our only weapon and Truth and Faith in God as our only shield. Needless to say our profoundest sympathy goes out to the bereaved families.

This very regrettable incident should be a lesson to us that it is not enough only to seek arrest and to fill up the prisons. Constructive work must go on side by side of raising the moral and the spiritual standard of our people. It is not enough to tell them to defy the law and to go to prison. If it is our desire to make this country a happy one for all who dwell in it we must set an example by becoming good citizens ourselves. A good citizen is never a danger to the life of any one. The White rulers against whom we are fighting today for justice are justifiably fearful of us. The first and foremost duty of a true Passive Resister is to give every single person, be he White or non-White, our ally or our opponent, complete freedom from fear. If we succeed in doing that we are assured our battle is half-won. Our opponents may do everything in their power to provoke us; but we must teach our people not to be provoked under any circumstances. Let us not forget that we can never succeed in fighting the Government with their weapon. They are armed to the teeth whilst we are armless. How boastfully they are displaying their arms! But God has placed in our hands a Divine weapon and if we only know how to use it we would assuredly render the deadliest weapon of our opponent—even the latest bombs science has

produced—impotent. This is the lesson we have to convey to every man, woman and child by house to house propaganda. That is more essential than all the demonstrations that we see and slogans that we hear. Let us not forget that we solely rely on God for our guidance. Those who believe that U.N.O. or India or any country in the world is going to solve our problem are just living in a fool's paradise. No power on earth can help us unless we help ourselves. We rely on no one's guidance but of God. And if we seek His guidance, as indeed we should, then we must be worthy of Him. We can be worthy of Him by being pure in body, mind and soul and humble and prayerful.

The Port Elizabeth riots and the Mau Mau affair in Kenya, we hear of so much these days, should serve as a grim lesson to us to shun that path; never to look at it or think of it. It will result in our annihilation which the White rulers want. If we wish to live our only salvation lies in seeking the guidance of God and following His path.

The Minister of Justice and other Cabinet Ministers are raving at us and threatening us. These threats will be of no avail if we do not swerve from the path of Truth and Non-violence. What is worth noting is that they only say that they will use the iron hand if we resort to violence, but they have not said what they will do if we remain non-violent. The fact is that they dare not nor can they say anything. They are just dumb-founded; and that is the power of Non-violence. There are some who say that they will fight against us to the last drop of their blood. Very well. We do not wish them to spill their blood. We are not blood thirsty. If they are blood thirsty we are offering them our blood. Let them drink it to their hearts' content. It will be a sight for the gods to see as to who wins—God or the Devil.

We would humbly suggest to the Government that in this atmosphere of doubt and suspicion as to who is responsible for the Port Elizabeth riots it would surely be in the interests of themselves, the Police and all parties to hold an impartial judicial inquiry into the affair. If this request made not only by the non-Whites but by the whole country is spurned the world will have yet another sound reason to point a finger of scorn, not at the leaders of the Passive Resistance campaign but at the Government.

Estcourt Rail Disaster

LAST month's most tragic event was the train crash outside Heavitree station, near Estcourt, as a result of which 23 people, all non-Europeans, including Indian teachers and a child twelve years old, who had come to spend the Diwali week-end in Durban and were returning to their destination, were killed. We extend to the bereaved our deepest sympathy. But the matter should not end there. The travelling facilities on trains for non-Europeans have never been satisfactory though they pay the same fares as do the Europeans. The coaches that are rejected for the use of Europeans are provided for non-Europeans. There is hardly any difference in comfort between the first and the second class. In the present instance the coaches for non-Europeans were wooden while all the rest were steel coaches and, of course, it is a regular practice to attach the non-European coaches directly behind the engine. This is Apartheid in reality with the resultant effects. We reproduce below from the 'Natal Mercury' a letter by Mrs. P. Morel, Principal of the Dartnell Crescent Government Indian School, which echoes our sentiments:

Sir,—The shocking railway disaster at Estcourt makes me wonder how long our European consciences can tolerate the callous disregard of human life that allows non-European passengers to travel in wooden coaches directly behind the engine while the safety of steel coaches is reserved for Europeans.

And almost equally callous is the attitude of the Press which devotes full pages to photographs and accounts of Europeans who escaped death and injury, but makes small mention of 23 nameless non-European dead. Could not a little space have been devoted to a casualty list?

I inscribe this letter to the memory of three whose names I know—Mr. S. M. Cebty, Mr. G. Ramsamy and Mr. K. Rughubar—colleagues who were killed while returning to duty at their schools after spending the Diwali week-end with their families in Durban. To these sorrowing and bereft families and to the families of all the other nameless dead I extend my profound and sincere condolences, and the assurance that there are many who share my deep sympathy with them in their grief.

In a foot note to the above letter the editor of the 'Natal Mercury' writes: "Casualty lists were published as soon as they were made available by the Railway authorities." It must be

said to the credit of the daily papers that the casualty list and their comments on the tragic incident did appear but the people were kept long in suspense before they appeared. It is interesting to note what the 'Natal Mercury' had to say in regard to the tragic affair:

The question is rightly being asked whether the nature of the accident does not demand a public inquiry. Under the Railways Act it is provided that when an accident takes place—and the presumption is that this applies only to serious accidents—"the Administration shall, without unnecessary delay, send notice of the accident to the Minister of Justice," and the Governor-General "may appoint one or more persons . . . (one of whom at least shall not be in the employ of the Administration) to make a public inquiry into the cause of the accident and to report to him thereon." Ob-

viously a minor mishap does not require that procedure, but the Es'court accident was a major one, involving heavy loss of life, and the public is entitled to know all the circumstances of it. It is not suggested that the departmental officers are not perfectly competent to deal with the matter; but there is an important question of principle involved, and that is the right of the public to know first hand what is taking place when a public undertaking, like the railways, is concerned. In it. A case in point is the recent railway accident at Harrow, near London, and there within a matter of days a full public inquiry was inaugurated by the Chief Inspecting Officer of Railways, who decided, without any hesitation, that the evidence should be given in public. That is as it should be.

So far however no steps are known to have been taken by the authorities to institute a public inquiry.

NOTES

Unbelievable

INDIA should not interfere in South African Affairs. This also applies to Indians in the country who take part in the defiance campaign. If they continue with this enmity against the Europeans, they will create a spate of public opinion which would make it difficult, if not impossible, for any future Government to consider granting them civic rights.

"Before the Indians in South Africa will be able to qualify for political rights they will have to prove that they will have the interests of South Africa at heart, and put them before those of India."

One could hardly believe these words to have come from Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, Leader of the Opposition. Yet it is true. He is reported to have uttered them at a United Party meeting at Klerksdorp last week. It only goes to prove that there is very little difference between the Nationalist Party and the United Party on the Indian or the non-European question. There is nothing to prove that either India or Indians have in any way shown or harboured enmity against the Europeans. On the contrary the Europeans' hatred for the non-White races is clearly seen from the discriminatory laws that exist in South Africa. There is nothing to prove that Indians are a burden and not an asset to South Africa. South African statesmen have repeatedly acknowledged the fact that the Indians are a law-abiding and useful community. What is there to prove that In-

dians have not the interests of South Africa at heart and that they put India's interests before South Africa? Their forefathers have given their sweat and blood for the prosperity of this country and the reward they get is to be treated as worse than foreigners with no stake in the country, though ninety per cent. are born and bred here and know no other home. These are a few hard facts for Mr. Strauss to reflect upon.

Refreshing

It is refreshing, however, to hear Mr. Strauss repeating his request to the Government for a judicial inquiry into the Port Elizabeth riots. The violence at Port Elizabeth had shown, he is reported to have said, the critical situation which had arisen in racial relations in South Africa under the present Government. There was more serious crime than ever before. The police force was below strength and could not adequately protect the public, while 300 to 400 policemen were being used to protect the members of the Cabinet. While South Africa, Mr. Strauss said, was faced with an immediate crisis. Even Dr. Malan had said, he stated, that South Africa was on the brink of a precipice. If this is not a sad reflection on White South Africa, to which words Mr. Strauss has taken exception, one would like to know what it is.

Dr. Dinges Accuses Bishop Of Untruthfulness

A recent speech by the Bishop of Bloemfontein showed that he did not have a very great respect

for truth, said the Minister for the Interior, Dr T. E. Dinges, at a Nationalist Party meeting at Senekal (O.F.S.) last week. There had been attacks from pulpits in Britain on South Africa. "And in South Africa, too, we have our bishops who do not have the necessary respect for the truth," continued Dr. Dinges. The Bishop of Bloemfontein had stated at a synod recently that after a war had been fought against Fascism it was a great pity that South Africa had a Government with Fascist tendencies. The Bishop had said the Government had given certain individuals tremendous power over their fellow men. This was a piece of Communist technique, said the Minister.

Anything that goes against the Government is presumably "a piece of Communist technique" or "a lie!" The best judges are the people and the people are saying it both by speech and by action.

Scotland University Honours Michael Scott

The Rev. Michael Scott, now at the United Nations Assembly in New York as representative of the Herero tribe of South-West Africa, was nominated last week for election as Lord Rector of St. Andrew's University, Scotland. So far he is the only candidate. A previous rector of St. Andrew's was General Smuts. Mr. Scott's nomination was proposed by Mr. Alexander Scott Hutchinson, 26-year-old first year divinity student at St. Salvator's Hall.

How strange it is that while the South African Government has debared the Rev. Michael Scott from returning to the Union—his homeland—in Britain a unique honour is conferred upon him by ranking him with General Smuts. It is a well-deserved slap in the face of Dr. Malan and company.

A Fine Gesture By Indians

The Indian Parents' Association of Bank, a small village west of Randfontein, has offered a gift to the National Tuberculosis Association of 40 acres of land near Bank to serve as a tuberculosis settlement. The offer was spontaneous; no specific request for help for Santa had been made to the Indians of Bank. A cheque for £500 has also been received from an Indian firm there. The secretary of the Randfontein branch of Santa, Dr. C. Freed, said she thought it was a fine gesture. Land was badly needed on the West Rand for tuberculosis settlements.

Mitchell Warns Asiatics

If the Asiatics persisted in the course of action which they followed today, they would make it impossible for any future Government to assist them, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, M.P., chairman of the United Party in Natal, said at a meeting at Durban North last week. If it was accepted that the Asiatics were here to stay, then an all out attempt had to be made to find a solution by negotiation to the deteriorating racial relations between them and the Whites. Similarly negotiations must be arranged with the Bantu and the Coloured people, if chaos was to be avoided. On their part the Asiatics would have to stop their perpetual shouting for help from overseas. They either had to adopt a South African attitude or an Indian one. If they thought for one moment that there would be a division of opinion among the Whites in South Africa as far as they were concerned, they were very much mistaken.

Mr. Mitchell at least should know that if the Asiatics are not treated as South Africans and their complaints are unheeded they would surely complain to places where they will be heard. The solution of the problem is to treat the Asiatics as South African citizens and not as Pariahs as they are at present being treated.

Mr. Mitchell On Race Relations

Mr. D. E. Mitchell, speaking at a United Party meeting in the Durban City Hall on October 21 is reported by the 'Natal Mercury' to have said, No. 1 problem is race relations . . . The test of a good government is the relations between the people. When the races live in amity, the Government are doing their job. But since the Nationalists have been in power, racial relations have never been worse. Our problem is to find a just, sound way of living with the non-European in our midst. We cannot run away, but a grim situation is arising and we must be guarded in the statements we make: Although the Government have lost the trust of the non-European, these people must not think that a division in the ranks of the White people is their opportunity. The non-European must realise the course he is taking today will not stop the White people from standing together to maintain law and order." Mr. Mitchell reaffirmed that the United Party wanted the colour problem taken out of

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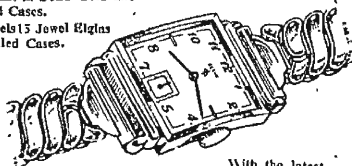
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DR. MALAN'S STATEMENT ON INDIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA

IN the course of a statement made by him on October 15 the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan said: "It is indeed strange to see that India is basing her case for a discussion of South Africa's racial policy before the United Nations on the allegation that such policy is a threat to peace.

"India, with her racial and religious minorities, is particularly vulnerable to the exploitation of these minorities for ulterior purposes by foreign countries.

"Indeed, India has from time to time complained that other countries have sought to exploit these minorities.

"India should thus know from personal experience that foreign propaganda in alleged minority interests is one of the most potent weapons in the armoury of international warfare.

"Time and again, interference in domestic affairs by a foreign country in the alleged interests of any group of people in a country has precipitated war.

"It is not the presence of such a group of persons, or their treatment, which has caused the war, but the interference from outside allegedly on their behalf.

"If India, therefore, is genuine in her desire to avert a threat to peace, she would achieve her purpose not by interfering in any country's domestic affairs.

"But India's interference in South African domestic affairs has progressively widened.

"In 1946, she was concerned only with the treatment of South African nationals of Indian origin. In 1948, the field of interference was widened to include non-Europeans in general.

"In 1950 she attacked a measure applying to all sections of the South African population, namely, the Group Areas Act.

"Today India seeks to discuss the general policy of South Africa.

"In another respect, too, India has extended her interference. At first the interference was, openly at any rate, confined to her annual attack on South Africa, at the United Nations Organisation.

"But now the All-India Congress Party incites to civil disobedience in South Africa and provides funds for carrying on this campaign in South Africa.

"From the Indian High Commissioner's Office in London we must learn the attempt from New Delhi to form a third political party in South Africa.

"This is interference sponsored by a foreign Government, naked and unashamed."

"These tactics are, of course, of a piece with Indian activities in other countries where there

is an Indian population which can be used to foment disaffection and trouble.

"The same pattern is unfolding itself in East Africa, in Ceylon, in the Fiji Islands, in Mauritius, and now, after Mr. Nehru's unveiled threat to France and Portugal, also in Pondicherry and Goa.

"Where there is also present, as in South Africa, another racial group, the tactics include the exploitation of that group as the dupes of Indian national policy.

Growing Realisation Among Bantus

"Fortunately there is a growing realisation among our Bantu of the role for which they are being cast, and a reluctance to be used as a pawn to further Indian national aspirations in Africa, to the permanent detriment of the indigenous population."

Saying it was interesting to note how the Indian Republic reacted when there was the slightest hint of interference in her domestic affairs or when she was charged with a threat to peace, the Prime Minister said:—

"Recently the Prime Minister of Pakistan asked, in the cause of world peace, that the Security Council should order the withdrawal of Indian troops from Kashmir, and a free plebiscite. Mr. Nehru replied: 'If the Prime Minister of Pakistan, or any country in the world, thinks that India will allow herself to be dictated to in regard to Kashmir, they must think again.'

"How different is India's attitude when she is at the giving and not the receiving end.

"At the last session of U.N.O., the representative of El Salvador made the interesting suggestion that it would be illuminating if the disregard of human rights by member States who attacked other member States could also be placed on record.

"Recently the 'Economist' made a somewhat similar suggestion to restrict criticism of other member States who could show a clean slate in regard to human rights.

"At the bottom of both suggestions there lies the well-known principle of equity jurisprudence: 'He who comes to court must come with clean hands.'

India And Her Minorities

"How would India fare on this principle?

"India has her racial and religious minorities. She also has a cruel record of denial of civil rights to these minorities; the indiscriminate taking over of Moslem owned factories, businesses, shops and houses, even those owned and occupied by Moslems

who have no desire or intention whatever to leave the country (India) or lose their Indian citizenship, and who have never been to Pakistan, of laws to prohibit the transfer of ownership of any immovable property within any specified area, and to detain persons for interrogation, even when not suspected of Communist tendencies.

"Neither do the facts disclosed by Sir Zafrullah Khan to the Security Council make pleasant reading for India.

"The right to life, to security, to property, to equality before the law are, on the testimony of India's minorities more violated than honoured in India.

"Hyderabad and Kashmir are twin fingers of accusation against India, and constitute without a doubt a grave threat to peace.

"And on what principle can Mr. Nehru's statement at the end of last week that India intends that Pondicherry and other French settlements and Portuguese Goa should belong to her, be interpreted otherwise than a direct threat to peace?

"Mr. Nohru said: 'There is not going to be any further debate on this. We are not going to discuss this fundamental issue any longer with anybody. All that we will discuss are matters of smaller detail arising therefrom.'

Moslems born in South Africa, who are at present in India, have even complained to the South African Government of the seizure of their properties under the Evacuee Property Ordinance.

"All along the line we see this violation of fundamental human rights by India, coupled with a policy of stirring up trouble in other countries by interference in their domestic affairs.

"It is also painfully reminiscent of Communist technique the world over.

"This impression is strengthened when one remembers that of the 15 South Africans listed under the 500 leading Communists in the Eastern Hemisphere (excluding the U.S.S.R.) by a United States Congressional Committee there are three Indians—out of all proportion to their numbers in South Africa.

"All three of these Indians are or were associated with the South African Indian Congress, and one of them is its leader.

"It is apparent that this self-confessed Communist is in contact with the Government of India and the Indian delegation, whose ear he has apparently gained. Other contacts point in the same direction.

"India's new attack on South Africa and her hypocritical pretext of an alleged threat to peace should be assessed in the light of these facts.

What Smuts Said

"Six years ago, Field-Marshal Smuts said at U.N.O.:

"In South Africa the Indian problem would never have attained its present dimensions or reached the Organisation if it had not been continually exploited from India as a political weapon and a means to further India's political aims."

"This is even more true today, and in respect of our racial problems generally.

"But there is more involved than a mere political manoeuvre by India to gain her national ends.

"If the subjects proposed by India for discussion at the United Nations in regard to France and South Africa are allowed to appear on the agenda, the Charter may as well be torn up.

"The meaning of the prohibition against interference in domestic affairs, read in the light of the discussions at San Francisco, is so clear and direct, that if the Organisation were to allow discussion of these items, it would have to drop every pretence of honouring its own Charter.

"I believe that all responsible members will realise the grave threat to the future of the Organisation if this proposed violation of the Charter becomes a reality, and will rally in support, not only of France and South Africa, but also of the Organisation itself, to see that these items are excluded from the agenda.

"South Africa's position has been made abundantly clear.

"It cannot and will not tolerate any interference in its domestic affairs, and it will disregard and ignore any resolution taken in violation of Article 11 of the Charter."

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NOTES

(Continued from page 429)

politics. They wanted the best brains in the country to hammer out a solution, with the non-European having a say."

Asked how the United Party envisaged giving the non-Europeans an opportunity of expressing their grievances, Mr. Mitchell said that the only constitutional way this could be done was through their representatives in Parliament. He thought, however, that in addition they would have to re-establish an organisation such as the Native Representative Council. Mr. Mitchell said the United Party would not tolerate interference to the Union's domestic affairs by outside countries.

How The Pass Laws Affect Africans

An African clergyman of the Anglican Church, the Rev. Mr. N. Mokoate, was arrested last week at the gates of the Bishop of Johannesburg's house at Westcliff when he arrived as a guest for an at home given by the Bishop, the Right Rev. Ambrose RENE, and Mrs. Reeves. A policeman demanded his pass, which he was unable to produce. The pastor had to pay £1 on an admission of guilt form before he was allowed to attend the party. The Archbishop of Johannesburg, the Venerable R. P. Y. Rouse, told a 'Rand Daily Mail' reporter: "I think it is a sad state of affairs when a clergyman going about his duty is not free from being molested in this way. It is a most distressing business." Strong resentment was expressed by visiting clergy at the party.

No Concessions To Defiance Campaign

"The Leader of the Opposition had stated publicly that we must have consultations with the leaders of the defiance movement and the lawless elements," said the Minister of Labour, Mr. E. S. Schoeman, at a Nationalist "Strydag" in Brakpan Town Hall last week. "I say that we cannot do this unless we are prepared to make concessions to their demands. And once one concession has been made others will follow. It will be the beginning of the end. I issue this challenge to Mr. Strauss: What concessions is he prepared to make to the lawless elements to end this movement? If he is not prepared to reply to this I accuse him of the grossest political dishonour and the greatest disservice to

South Africa." The Nationalist Government was not prepared to yield to the demands of the Native leaders, said Mr. Schoeman. There was no question of consultation and no thought of concession. "We will suppress this movement."

Mr. Strauss Denies Charge

Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, Leader of the Opposition, denied on Saturday night that he had ever said that the Government should consult with the leaders of the non-European defiance campaign. He was speaking at a United Party meeting at Raedfontein, near Johannesburg. He said that he had also never suggested that concessions should be made to the non-European passive resisters. What he had said was that moderate leaders of the non-Europeans must be consulted if better race relations were to be brought about in the Union. Mr. Strauss was replying to Nationalist statements.

Reid And Cachalia Found Not Guilty And Discharged

The chief magistrate of Winburg, Mr. G. H. J. Venter, found

Mr. Yusuf Ahmed Cachalia, joint secretary of the S.A. Indian Congress, and Mr. Alexander McLean Reid, who had been charged before him with malicious injury to property, not guilty and discharged them. It was alleged that they had broken a door at the Winburg Hotel on the night of Saturday, October 11.

Mr. Reid is the London correspondent of the 'Hindustan Times' and had recently come to the Union to get first hand information about the defiance campaign.

'The Star'

Mr. Gell wishes to express his regret for having stated incorrectly in our issue of October 17, that 'The Star' (Johannesburg) did not publish the liberal manifesto of September 28. In fact, 'The Star' did publish it on September 29 without editorial comment on a page more usually given over to advertisements and Mr. Gell overlooked it. He apologises to the Editor of the Star and to readers of 'Indian Opinion' for an incorrect statement.

SIR GLADWYN JEBB TAKEN TO TASK

THE organisations fighting for the freedom of the African people in Britain have reacted strongly to the remarks of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Permanent British Delegate to the UN; on October 8, that the race problem could wreck the UN.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Labour MP, Chairman of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, said in an interview "The European Governments must understand that they cannot dictate to the Asian and Arab Governments what subjects should be discussed by the UN. Sir Gladwyn Jebb has said that the race problem could wreck the UN. The truth is that if it is not discussed, the UN will be wrecked. After all the Coloured peoples are the great majority of the world. The UN cannot be an international organisation unless it recognises the right of the majority to equality. The days when the white minority could rule the world are over."

The World Citizen Council for Human Rights in a statement in London, October 10, appealed to all delegates to UN "to support the Indian and other Governments to place the issues relating to colonialism and racialism high on the General Assembly agenda." Burma's influential English

daily "New Time of Burma" in an editorial, October 11, said "The SE Asian countries are bound to react strongly to the press agency report that the British delegate to UN Sir Gladwyn Jebb had appealed to the African-Asian member nations not to indulge in any 'crusade' at the forthcoming UN General Assembly session." The paper said "To attempt to palm off on to the people of Asia and Africa the inherent sin of the Western Colonial Powers is a trick and a calculated attempt to influence world opinion against those who had suffered under the yoke of imperialism and colonialism for long years."

The paper added Jebb's appeal "would not diminish but only intensify the unmistakable evidence of the great resentment in Burma over the apartheid policy pursued by Dr. Malan in South Africa and the excesses committed by the French Colonialists in Tunisia."

Holding that if the fundamental issues of racial discrimination and colonialism were not discussed in the UN, the paper remarked "UN will present a mere travesty of its character as the one and only international body maintained for probing into the problems which have menaced human security through centuries."

The paper observed "Jebb's appeal which seems to be directed towards justifying the exploitation of one nation by another is unwelcome at a time when the Arab and Asian groups in the UN are marshalling their total weight against the arbitrary action of certain Colonial Governments in aiming to keep the Eastern peoples under continual subjugation and oppression."

The paper concluded "It is a pity Jebb had chosen to direct his appeal to the Asian and not to Malan, the originator of the apartheid creed or to the French who are tenaciously clinging to the last few colonial territories in Asia and Africa."

Magistrate Accuses Indians Of Exploiting Africans

THE following letter by Mr. C. W. M. Gell appeared in the 'Rand Daily Mail' (Johannesburg), dated October 14:

"Sir,—The presence of some educated Indians among the leaders of the Defiance Campaign has led many Europeans (including now a Vereeniging magistrate) to suggest that the Indians are exploiting Africans to further their own interests.

"What exclusive benefits which would not also be shared by other non-Europeans does anyone suppose Indians could hope to derive from the present campaign?"

"Secondly, since rightly or wrongly the Indians were invited to this country by the European inhabitants on terms which encouraged them to settle permanently as free citizens, the attitude of all too many Europeans that Indians are an unassimilable element who have no claim to rights in the Union and ought to be removed, is no credit either to our historical or moral sense. If in addition to this prevalent attitude we attempt to divert the frustrations and vexations of the Africans against the smallest of our racial minorities, we shall add yet another item to an already long list of racial injustices.

"I would not wish to deny that some Africans may have legitimate grievances against some Indians. But by a curious process of reasoning the Nationalist Commission of Inquiry into the Durban riots concluded that, while the African rioters were unaffected by anti-Indian speeches in the 1948 election campaign, they were incited by the hostility of the overseas press to South Africa. I do plead for the greatest restraint in all comment in this time of exacerbated racial feelings.

"It would be a particularly immoral response to the moral challenge of the Defiance Campaign, if we should seek to turn one section of the underprivileged against another in order thereby to evade our own responsibilities in the matter."

WHAT HE WILL TELL THE AMERICANS

Our America Letter

By HOMER A JACK

Chicago, October 8.

THE time is coming when the defiance movement will spread to workers in industry, extremist elements will grab control, violence will beget violence, and the lights will go out all over South Africa, said Dr. Ray E. Phillips, one of the pioneer overseas workers for non-Europeans in the Union and a recognised authority on urban Native affairs, at a meeting of the Johannesburg Rotary Club, on October 21, states the 'Rand Daily Mail'.

Non-Europeans In Eastern Cape To Go On Strike

THE African National Congress has decided to call a strike throughout the Eastern Cape from Monday. The strike is to be combined with fasting and prayer meetings. The strike will be called off if the Port Elizabeth City Council abandons its requests to the Minister of Justice and Native Affairs to ban non-religious meetings and impose a curfew during local and national emergency. Mr. G. X. Tshumbe, secretary of the A.N.C. told the Press that the strike would be voluntary. There would be no picketing but all those who believed in the cause of the Congress would be asked to stay at home and pray. They would be asked not to go about in the streets of New Brighton. The Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr. C. F. Mc Arthur, is reported by Sapa to have said that "the City council would not be intimidated by the strike threat. The Council's liberal attitude in the past has apparently been taken 'by certain Africans as a sign of weakness."

Dr. Phillips, who is shortly to visit the United States, was explaining to the club what he would tell the Americans of South Africa.

The Zulus, Basutos and Xosas were being hammered into what would ultimately be a mighty resistance weapon, he said.

So long as Native leaders like Chief Albert J. Lutuli, Doctors W. F. Nkomo, Moroka, Molema, Njongwe and Professor Matthews were in control, they could be reasoned with and terms reached.

"But the time is coming when their counsels of moderation, of purely passive resist-

ance, will be seen to be useless in achieving the desired ends."

He said he would explain to Americans, for instance, the lack of adequate police protection in some townships, referring especially to the curious inability of the police to deal with the so-called Russians at Newcastle, Half-a-dozen London or New York police would have dealt with these people in a single afternoon."

There was the further psychological complication: the permanent closing of the door of hope for the future to non-whites who had reached a fairly high educational standard.

"It is deadening, frustrating, to be told that they will never be given any real share in the governing of South Africa; that they will never be treated as men.

"They are often reminded that the vote for the non-European means the end of White civilisation in South Africa. This calm assumption of superiority is hopelessly disheartening in its implications.

"If non-Whites are human beings they will not rest long content under that brand of perpetual subordination."

He would give credit to the authorities for the work they had done for the underprivileged, including the provision of educational, social facilities and medical services.

These services, however, were overshadowed in the minds of non-Whites by what they considered the oppressive and discriminatory outlook and programme of the White man.

Apartheid be likened to the one-time American attitude towards Indians who have been driven into reserves "to develop along their own lines."

Dr. Phillips has been an energetic racial worker among the Bantu since 1918, when he first came to Johannesburg. He has been associated with the American Board of Missions, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, and the International Club.

He has also been director of the Jan Hofmeyr Scholl of Social Work.

In 1935 he went to the United States where he took a Ph.D. at Yale University.

He has written several books which include "The Bantu are Coming," "African Youth and Sexual Hygiene," and "Modern Industrial Life and Cultural Changes among the S.A. Bantu."

He has been a Rotary Club member since 1929.

THE United States is approaching the final month in its tempestuous presidential campaign. Many issues, domestic and foreign, have so far been raised by General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson in nation-wide television speeches, but both have been fairly silent on problems of colonialism, including problems of Africa. Both, however, are bidding strongly for the votes of the American Negroes who may well hold the balance of power in this election. As of now, it appears as if the Negroes will vote strongly for Stevenson, although it is wrong to conclude that American Negroes vote as a bloc any more than American workers or American Catholics.

October second, Gandhi's birthday, was observed in several centres in America. The Indian students in greater Chicago held a celebration at the University of Chicago's International House where Prof. Paul Schilpp—who recently visited India—gave the principal address. A large celebration was also held at Purdue University in the state of Indiana. The influential "New York Times" published an editorial on "Gandhi's Anniversary" indicating that "the celebration will take one form that would be dearest to Gandhi's heart" since "it will initiate the large-scale village improvement program that has been in the planning state for some time and in which the United States will share." Incidentally, Reginald Reynolds's book, "To Live in Mankind: A Quest for Gandhi," has been published in the United States recently under the title, "A Quest for Gandhi." This book was dismissed by the otherwise liberal "Nation" magazine as containing "nothing biographically or interpretatively important." It appears, however, to be a very significant addition to the Gandhi literature.

A new organisation, Americans for South African Resistance, has recently been formed to help South Africa resist apartheid. The secretary of the new group is the Rev. George Houser of the Fellowship of Reconciliation who has been a leader in the adaptation of Gandhian techniques of satyagraha to problems of racial discrimina-

tion in the United States. ASAR issues releases on the progress of events in South Africa, especially the resistance campaign. Its address is 513 W. 166th Street, New York 24, New York.

The action of India and other countries in the Asia-Africa bloc within the United Nations asking that the whole race conflict in South Africa be considered as a major item on the agenda of the U.N. Assembly has received moderate publicity in the American press. So far there has been no comment from the American State Department and its U.N. delegation as to the role of the United States vis-a-vis this important resolution.

Short items have appeared in several American newspapers on the statement from London by the Rev. Michael Scott that he has provisionally been denied an American visa to attend the forthcoming U.N. Assembly meetings in New York City. His situation spotlights the problem of the admission of individuals without diplomatic status to attend U.N. sessions. Several American organizations are protesting the tentative action by American authorities and a U.S. spokesman indicates that final action on Scott's visa has not yet been taken. Scott was coming as a representative of the International League for the Rights of Man, which is an organization with consultative status with the United Nations.

The University of Chicago press recently published a new book on South Africa: 'Racial Separation in South Africa,' by Eugene P. Drorin. There is a chapter on "The Indian Population Under Apartheid." This book is a serious indictment of present South African policy, but suffers somewhat from documentation only to 1951.

The campaign against unjust laws continues to find its way into the larger American newspapers. "The New York Times" on October 7th carried a story of 101 more arrests bringing a total, according to its special South African correspondent, to 5,264 arrests since June 26th.

[Note: Since the above was in print news has been received of General Eisenhower's overwhelming victory in the President's election. Rev. Michael Scott was later granted a visa and is now attending U.N. —Ed. I.O.]

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THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERAL POLICY

By C. W. M. GELL

(1)

"White Civilisation," by E. E. Harris (S.A. Institute of Race Relations), 3/-.

"The Peoples and Policies of S.A.," by Leo Marquard (Oxford Univ. Press), 14/-.

"Radhakrishnan," an anthology edited by A. N. Marlow (Allen & Unwin), 9/6.

THESE three books published in August emphasise that civilisation is something independent of time, place or the physical characteristics of its practitioners. Their authors speak with calm and dispassionate wisdom and (in the case of the first two) an intimate knowledge of the facts on the fundamental issue confronting South Africa today.

Dr. Harris is senior lecturer in philosophy at Witwatersrand. His 60-page booklet is divided into two halves. In 34 pages he analyses the material, historical, moral and religious factors constituting "white civilisation;" the following 26 pages apply these factors to South Africa. Some may find the first part rather stiff going; but I implore them to persevere. There is so much loose talk of "white civilisation" these days, so great and ill-informed assumptions are made about its origin and essence and so much is staked upon its preservation, that Dr. Harris has performed a very valuable service in seeking to define it with care.

In a much shorter way I tried to do the same thing in an article in "Common Sense" (Dec. 1950) which was later reprinted in these columns. Much more thoroughly and with much greater learning Dr. Harris has come to the same conclusion—that "white civilisation" can only mean European civilisation and that the basic element of that (or any other) civilisation is a moral purpose, which seeks to provide for the greatest possible development of the greatest possible number of human personalities. This it contrives by creating social and political order founded upon this moral principle, reconciling the individual and society without allowing either to impose upon the other.

Dr. Harris's historical survey comes to a number of findings which are well known to educated Europeans (real Europeans) but little understood in Porterville, Waterberg or Wakkerstroom; that (1) mankind is a single biological species whose three main groups are not wholly separable (the possibility of a single common ancestor is not excluded); that (2) in consequence, there are no pure European races and that our own Bantu derive from the interbreeding of Negroid and Hamitic peoples who came

originally from the same Middle-Eastern Aryan-Caucasian group as the Indians and Europeans mainly do; that (3) the roots of European civilisation are as cosmopolitan as the ancestry of its peoples—ideas and inventions from China, India, the Middle East and North Africa all contributing to the dawn of Europe; that (4) civilisation does not and cannot, therefore, depend on "racial purity" but on its political ideas and moral principles. Physical characteristics are inherited; civilisation and culture are acquired and there is no scientific evidence which excludes any race from the latent ability necessary for that acquisition.

From this it follows that it may or may not be desirable to preserve a particular racial stock from cross-breeding, but that such a process does nothing to safeguard (and may in certain circumstances jeopardise) civilisation. Civilisation can only be maintained by preserving the moral values on which it depends and the political traditions which seek to give them expression.

Dr. Harris goes on to examine the three chief sources of European civilisation, Greek political liberalism, Roman law and the Christian conception of universal brotherhood, which eventually fused into the democratic tradition. He explains that Christian equality before God does not preclude inequality of secular functions. But it does wholly reject functional differentiation based upon physical characteristics, heredity, birth or any other arbitrary criterion. The only admissible test is that of personal ability. Dr. Harris would altogether agree with Radhakrishnan in a passage Mr. Marlow does not quote:

"Democracy is not an attempt at uniformity which is impossible but at an integrated variety. All men are not equal in their capacities but all are equally necessary for society, and their contributions from different stations are equally valuable. . . . What we call democracy is a way of life which requires us to respect the right of every human being to be a person, a unique entity."

But while I almost entirely concur with Dr. Harris's exposition of "basic Christianity," I think his brief account of historical Christianity is defective for South African purposes, since it omits to consider the particular development of the Christian message which we meet in this country in the Calvinism of the R.R.C. This omission is most skillfully met by Chapter IX of Mr. Marquard's book. Mr. Marquard explains that historically

Calvinism has been revolutionary or authoritarian, depending whether its adherents are a minority or majority in the state. In South Africa they are a minority of the whole population but a majority of the politically-dominant European group. South African Calvinism is, therefore, authoritarian—all the more rigidly so among the bulk of its followers from fear of coloured preponderance—and it therefore constitutes an exception (though not the only one) to the general Protestant emphasis, which Dr. Harris notices, on individual equality, consent and religious tolerance. There is, of course, a division of opinion among Calvinists themselves—viz the recommendations of the DRC in 1950 about total apartheid and the present move to study "the application of Christian principles in a mixed society"—but it still remains generally true, as Mr. Marquard says, that "Calvinism is a determinist creed which consorts naturally with conceptions of racial superiority and of national separation." It does seem that civilisation will be hard put to it to survive in South Africa unless a substantial body of Calvinists follow the lead of the more liberal elements in the DRC.

Dr. Harris brings his philosophical and historical survey to an end by describing the three chief characteristics of European civilisation: government by discussion, the provision of equal opportunities for advance according to individual merit, and the rule of law. This necessarily brief summary does not do justice either to Dr. Harris or to the importance to each one of us of a full understanding of the reli-

gious and philosophical foundations of what we loosely call liberalism. Political rights and social privileges, economic opportunities, education—these are not ends but means—means by which the individual seeks to express and develop his personality. As to what this end is and why, religion, philosophy and ethics provide the answer and Dr. Harris rightly draws our attention to this truth which Professor Toynbee admirably summarised in the phrase: "Religion is the serious business of the human race."

Many are shy of religion, frightened by philosophy and a little contemptuous of ethics. But these are, in fact, the very foundations on which the whole structure of civilisation is built. For those who would go a little further than Dr. Harris here has space to take them, but are not ready for more detailed study yet, I can recommend Mr. Marlow's short anthology from Professor Radhakrishnan's writings. It is only an introduction to a great thinker: No anthology is ever a substitute for the original works. But it may tempt some readers later to read the originals. Much of Radhakrishnan's writing was done when it was not easy for our Indian intellectuals to combine wisdom with moderation and in this respect he has a special message for our times. The present reviewer earnestly believes that, if European (or any other) civilisation is to survive the present world crisis, it must listen to two great contemporary messages—Radhakrishnan's insistence on the primacy of spiritual values and Albert Schweitzer's ethics of reverence for life.

(To be Continued)

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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Nagpur, October 27.

WORLD OPINION RANGED AGAINST MALAN'S POLICY

HOW world opinion is ranged against Malan's policy in South Africa has been brought out in a pamphlet, issued by the Government of India's Information Services, entitled, "World Opinion On Apartheid"—South Africa's policy of racial discrimination against non-White races.

The pamphlet carries comments from all continents and opens with these observations, "Rarely has world opinion been so unanimous on any issue as it has been in condemning the doctrines of racialism preached by Dr. Malan and his followers. Most commentators are inevitably reminded of Hitler's ideas of race supremacy and the penalty the world had to pay for not curbing him in time. In South Africa, too, it is pointed out, once the roads of peaceful change and progress are closed—and they are in fact being closed—violence will remain as the only way out.

The mockery of constitutional procedure in South Africa has been cited as another ominous sign. The attempt to vest in a political instrument, such as Parliament, the whole of judicial as well as legislative authority can hardly be reconciled with the concept of democratic Government. Sovereignty, in the long run, resides in the people and not in Parliaments. The question at stake is not, as Dr. Malan claims, the sovereignty of the South African State or of its Parliament, but rather, whether any South African Government is to have absolute powers.

Service To Humanity

"The passive resisters, it is generally emphasized, are fighting not only for their own benefit, but are rendering a service to humanity by defying laws unknown to civilized nations. They stand for the dignity of the individual and his rights as a free man. Thus, theirs is the cause of freedom everywhere. What is happening in South Africa is, therefore, important to the rest of the world.

"Will the big powers continue to sit on the fence when the question once again comes up before the U.N.? Will they make no attempt to persuade

the South African Government to co-operate with the U.N. in finding an amicable solution? These are some of the questions asked in every part of the globe."

Extracts From World Press

Here are some extracts: The 'Winnipeg Free Press' of Canada (September 4) while condemning Dr. Malan's racial policies, observes: "In his anger against the minorities Dr. Malan even picked up the brutal weapon of anti-semitism from Hitler and is now using it. He will have no respite from world opinion while he pursues a policy which outrages every principle of democracy."

Challenging Problem

'Mimber Indonesia' of Djakarta, in an article published in its issue dated September 6, said that the segregation of the coloured from the Whites in South Africa has become the most challenging problem of the 20th century. The tragic circumstances obtaining in South Africa today have had a parallel earlier in the imperialism and totalitarian regimes under Hitlerite Germany, Tojo's Japan and Mussolini's Italy, where a minority gaining power oppressed the majority. History bears witness that such a situation was never tolerated in the modern age.

Pravda of Moscow (September 7) describing the present conditions in South Africa as intolerable wrote: "The conscience of mankind cannot tolerate the indignities the South African Fascists are subjecting millions to, whose only guilt is that they were not born with a white skin."

The 'Observer' of London (August 31) admiring the exemplary courage and restraint of the passive resisters described the present struggle as a remarkable campaign that had exposed the hollowness of the Apartheid rule.

'The New York Times' (April 10) wrote: "The Government of Malan should realize that it cannot discuss the civil disobedience movement as merely a Communist plot."

The 'News Chronicle' of London (October 22) expresses the view that the Apartheid (Racial Segregation) policy of the South African Government was the concern of the whole world and should be discussed by the United Nations.

This Liberal paper criticised Sir Gladwyn Jebb, British representative at the United Nations Assembly for statements on this matter.

"Sir Gladwyn Jebb persists in his Government's view that the racial policies of Dr. Malan (the South African Prime Minister) are of no concern to the rest of the world.

"How much longer will a Liberal minded British public tolerate this humbug?

"For what conceivable purpose does the United Nations Assembly exist if it cannot discuss so vital and fundamental a problem of human relations?"

The Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, described racial laws as a challenge to Christianity says: "The whole evil fabric of racial discrimination wherever it exists is a clear challenge to Christian way of life and it demands from each Christian action to destroy it."

Bertrand Russel's Warning

Mr. Bertrand Russel, the 80-year old philosopher, writing in the 'Look' Magazine uttered a note of warning. If racial discrimination against the Negro did not cease soon, all Africa will be come communist, he commented.

The consensus of opinion at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Ottawa was against Dr. Malan's policy of racial discrimination in South Africa. This was the view expressed by Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Indian Parliament, after his arrival in Bombay from London.

He told reporters that a certain section of opinion felt that South Africa must be left alone on the plea that the issue was a domestic one.

To this, Mr. Mavlankar proceeded, his answer had been that the issue ceased to be domestic when one considered the fundamentals of the Commonwealth, which consisted not only of "whites" but also of people of common ideals, thoughts and interests.

If this was correct, then Indians in South Africa had a right to perfect equality. But if, on the other hand, Commonwealth was meant only for the whites, then India had no place in it.

Pandit Nehru On Tribesmen

Prime Minister Nehru in his Assam tour told tribesmen of the Balipara Frontier tract that they were part and parcel of the Indian nation and had equal rights with the rest of the population of this country.

Before an audience of 10,000 men and women the Prime Minister reaffirmed India's policy of friendly relations with nations of the world, especially her neighbours and said: "We want every country given freedom to develop itself without outside interference."

Lesson From Khasi Women

During his tour Mr. Nehru saw Khasi women help their menfolk in their day-to-day work and he was so struck with it that he has asked his countrymen to take a lesson from them on the dignity of labour.

At a public meeting at Tezpur Mr. Nehru pointed out that he had seen charming and educated Khasi women cutting wood and drawing water from distant streams. Many of them, he said, had gone to Schools and Colleges, some even to Universities, but they did not despise manual labour.

"My countrymen will profit by emulating this unique example of the Khasis," he observed.

Raja Maharaj Singh On Apartheid

"There is no doubt that Dr. Malan's racial policy of Apartheid in South Africa will be defeated ultimately." This was the view expressed by Raja Maharaj Singh, Former Governor of Bombay, to pressmen. He has returned after a five-month holiday in the United Kingdom and in London he met Lord Salisbury, Secretary of the U.K. Commonwealth Relations Office and discussed with him the situation in South Africa. Among other things he discussed with Lord Salisbury the indignation felt in India, Africa and elsewhere by the infliction of corporal punishment for persons so young as 20 years for comparatively trivial offences in the campaign of non-violent resistance.

Raja Maharaj Singh disclosed that he had stressed on Lord Salisbury the desirability of his writing a semi-official letter to Dr. Malan on this subject. "Lord Salisbury assured me that he would seriously consider this suggestion," Raja Maharaj Singh said.

Raja Maharaj Singh also interviewed Mr. C. R. Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, whose attitude was most sympathetic and who intimated that he would speak to Lord Salisbury and see that a joint letter could be sent signed by both of them to Dr. Malan.



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JOINT MEETING OF AFRICAN AND INDIAN CONGRESS

DURBAN'S Eleventh Batch of volunteers in the Defence Campaign defied Railway apartheid regulations at the Berea Station on Sunday October 26.

The Police authorities were informed well in advance, and a Railway Police van was waiting outside the station long before the resisters arrived followed by a long procession of several thousands of Africans and Indians singing National songs and shouting the Defence slogan: "AFRIKA."

Both the mass meeting and the procession were throughout very orderly, and there were no incidents.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. Conco, of the African National Congress, who was Chairman, and by Mr. C. I. Amra, an Executive member of the Natal Indian Congress who led the batch. Mr. Mblongo, one of the African resisters also spoke.

Mr. Amra said: our freedom is much nearer than most of us realise, and any contribution I can make, even to the extent of giving my life, I am prepared to make (Applause). "The Defence Campaign is a peaceful campaign for true democracy.

Mr. J. N. Singh, in a rousing speech, thanked the people who had turned up at the meeting in spite of the weather. "We don't hate anybody," he said, "we only hate the bad laws, and we will go on struggling until these bad laws are abolished." (Applause). "I want to make this clear, especially after what happened at New Brighton. We say that what caused those riots is the Nationalist Party policy of Apartheid. We want the Government to set up an impartial judicial commission of inquiry into the cause of the riots. We want to get at the truth. It is the spokesmen of the Government who preach racialism. They should be charged for creating hostility and violence. We believe in non-violence...The emblem of our country is 'unity is strength.' That is what we believe in—true unity among all the peoples that live in the Union."

Mr. S. S. L. Mtolo, Treasurer of the Natal African National Congress, read a letter from Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations. In a letter addressed to Dr. G. M. Naicker, the adviser to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations says that Mrs. Pandit has always been "a staunch supporter of the

oppressed people anywhere in the world and especially in South Africa, and she will continue supporting the cause of the people suffering in South Africa from the racial policy being pursued by the South African Government."

Fourteen volunteers were arrested at the Berea Station.

The meeting passed the following resolutions:

Port Elizabeth Disturbances

1. This Mass Meeting of the citizens of Durban held at Nicol Square, on Sunday 26th October, 1952, under the joint auspices of the Natal African National Congress and the N.I.C., notes with grave concern the disturbances which took place at the New Brighton location on Saturday 18th October.

This meeting declares that the disturbances were a direct result of the policy of apartheid which engenders racial hatred and bitterness among the different peoples of the Union, and notes with disappointment the Government's unwillingness to set up an impartial judicial commission of inquiry.

This meeting therefore reiterates the demand of the leaders of the non-European peoples that the Government set up an impartial judicial commission of inquiry immediately.

This meeting further conveys its deep sense of grief to the friends and relations of the victims of these disturbances, both white and non-white.

Estcourt Train Accident

2. This Mass Meeting records its deep sense of shock and grief at the Estcourt train accident, and declares that the circumstances of the accident call for an immediate public inquiry.

This meeting further records its deep sense of disappointment at the apparent indifference of the Government over the death of so many passengers and urges the Government to set up immediately a public inquiry into the cause of the accident.

This meeting further urges the Government to take measures to compensate the persons injured in the accident and the dependents of those killed in the accident. This meeting conveys its condolence to the relatives and friends of the victims.

The United Nations

This Mass Meeting deplores the statements and speeches

of the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and the leader of the opposition, on the United Nations Organisation and the Government of India and, in particular, the unstatesmanlike and unfriendly remarks by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa about the Prime Minister of India.

This meeting records its deep sense of appreciation of the efforts of the Government and the people of India and the other nations of the world who have taken up the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa at the United Nations.

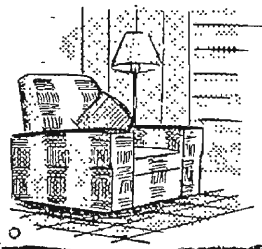
This meeting declares that the policy of the Union Government is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and is a direct threat to the peace of the world. This meeting declares it is the inalienable right of every oppressed people to appeal to the United Nations whose first duty is to maintain and advance fundamental human rights.

This meeting therefore urges the United Nations to take appropriate action against the Apartheid policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa, in consonance with the high aims and objects of the United Nations.

Ohlange Institute

The opening ceremony of the newly completed class room buildings at a cost of £19380 at the Ohlange Institute at Inanda was performed by the Director of Education, Mr. C. Murray Booyens, on Saturday, October 25. A large number of Europeans and Indians from Durban and elsewhere were present. The students of the Institute presented a beautiful musical programme, Mr. M. A. H. Moosa and Mr. N. S. H. Moosa of Durban donated the sum of £750 to build a water scheme at the school. An electric clock was donated by Mr. Ismail Jamal. The African Teachers' Association presented a brass band and canopy. Mr. T. W. Griggs, chairman of the Board of Trustees, presided and a vote of thanks was proposed by the Rev. A. H. Zulu. Refreshments were served after the termination of a very pleasant function. The Institution is fifty years old. It has 346 African students from standard VI to matriculation. All the teachers are Africans.

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NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

NOTWITHSTANDING the recent rioting in Port Elizabeth the defiance campaign is still going strong in a quiet and dignified manner in all parts of the Union.

According to a statement issued by the national action committee of the African National Congress and the S. A. Indian Congress, on October 21, 6959 volunteers had been arrested in 32 centres in the Union since the defiance campaign started on June 26 this year.

Since then several further batches have been arrested and sent to prison.

Authorities Getting Tired Of Arresting Resisters

Seventeen passive resisters who defied the curfew regulations on Saturday night under the leadership of Dr. W. Z. Conco, chairman of the African National Congress (Natal) were not arrested. At 11 p.m. they went to the Durban City Hall and remained there until 1.30 in the morning. No action was

taken and they went to Mayville, where police took them to the local police station. They were later released. "It was not convenient to arrest them—we were busy with more important matters." This explanation was given by Major W. H. de J. J. van Vuuren, District Commandant of Durban when he was asked why the police did not arrest them.

Twelve Indians and three Africans including Mr. Debi Singh, general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, were each fined £5 or 4 days' imprisonment, by Mr. C. E. Russell in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Monday for contravening railway apartheid regulations at the Berea railway station on Sunday.

Twenty African and Indian passive resisters led by Dr. W. Z. Conco, chairman of the African National Congress in Natal, were arrested on Tuesday for defying the railway apartheid regulations at the Berea station.

CONGRESS ON RAILWAY COLLISIONS

"THE large number of railway collisions during recent years is a cause for serious alarm to the people of the Union," says a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Natal Indian Congress at its meeting held recently.

The meeting unanimously conveyed its sympathy to the families of all those who lost their lives in the crash near Lady-smith.

"So soon after this tragic crash," continues the statement, "comes the news of the collision on the North Coast where fortunately no lives were lost. These collisions must be viewed with grave concern by all South Africans.

"The time is opportune for a full and exhaustive enquiry into the workings of the country's railways. There is a growing feeling that our railways are unable to cope with the demands made on them and there are charges of inefficiency in many directions. A public enquiry will help to find a solution not only to the problem of greater efficiency in the Union's national transport undertaking but will assist in instilling confidence in the railways.

"It is the task of the Government in power to make the railways an efficient undertaking and not to allow any political considerations to stand in the way of efficiency and the safety of the large number of passengers making use of the railways.

"The Natal Indian Congress makes an urgent request to the railway administration to take the people into its confidence by holding an immediate enquiry into the whole question of railway transport. It further makes an urgent request that steel coaches be provided for all sections and that until such time as we have steel coaches, wooden coaches be not coupled immediately next to the engine. This is necessary in order to afford the maximum safety to those compelled to use wooden coaches."

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

PREPARING FOR CONCENTRATION CAMPS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE MALAN Government has, through some of the Cabinet Ministers, announced that it has in mind the idea of locking up resisters inside concentration camps. This is not just an empty threat—for the Malanites are not used to making these. A perverse philosophy like apartheid perverts men's conscience at times and where the worth of the human personality is assessed in terms of skin colour brute force and concentration camps become the normal answer to peaceful and legitimate agitations for reform.

In South Africa the Malanites are steadily and ruthlessly driving towards a totalitarian republic in which the apartheid-holders will be the herrenvolk. They cannot succeed in this if they do not set one race against another—so as to prevent the anti-apartheidists uniting against them. One of the worst defeats they have had to encounter in recent years has been the formation of the alliance between the Africans and the Indians. Within a few months of the defiance campaign, the Indo-African alliance has demonstrated quite clearly that it is the only political force in South Africa with the strength to bring apartheid to a stop.

As every man and woman knows in this country, no effort has been spared to break up the alliance or crush the resistance movement. But each day sees it stronger and the numbers in South African jails steadily rise. In three months, more than 5,000 African and Indian men and women from all walks of life have gone to jail and everywhere the morale of the people is rising.

Against this background, it is hardly surprising that the Government is now thinking of concentration camps—for these are the resort of all despots. But of importance to us is the clever way in which the Malanites are working up white opinion in the direction of accepting these camps. A short while ago the Minister of the Interior dramatically announced that a sinister move was afoot in India to finance or bring into being a political party in South Africa. On the face of it, this was nothing short of political interference in South Africa's affairs—in the state of mind the Europeans are in at the moment. Shortly after that, the Prime Minister himself

openly declared that India was South Africa's enemy.

Both these statements have been calculated to intensify white anti-Indian feeling in this country and at the same time justify the Government's racial policies. By declaring India the enemy of South Africa, the Prime Minister seeks to create a situation inside South Africa where it will be treason for anybody in this country to have any dealings with anybody in India. It is not war that South Africa wants in this; for in spite of their faults, the Malanites do not like war. What the Government want to do is to sever the links that tie the Indian minority to the people and Government of India; secondly, they want to sever the bonds of friendship which exist between us and the people of India. If the Malanites succeed in doing this they will have struck two birds with one kerrie. On the homefront they will have isolated us from contact with the world and will be in the position to crush and do what they like with us knowing that nobody outside will know of it. On the international side they will present themselves as very nice fellows and as India shall then have no contact with us, she will not be there to tell the truth as the oppressed non-white millions know it.

For these reasons we will do well to go briefly into the circumstances which the Prime Minister and his Minister of the Interior exploit as evidence for the allegation that India is plotting against South Africa.

A short while ago a certain Mr. Saggi, obviously a public man of liberal persuasion in India, wrote to the Indian Press suggesting that it was time India exerted herself to encourage liberalism in South Africa. At about the same time the Indian National Congress was on plans to raise funds for purposes of helping needy resisters in South Africa.

These two developments have been seized upon as proof that India is plotting the overthrow of the South African State. But what are the facts of the situation?

Both India and South Africa are members of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations Organisation. Both countries have signed agreements in which either clearly recognised the obligations of

the other towards South Africa's Indian minority. For these reasons what India is doing at the moment, in so far as the Indian minority here is concerned; is no more than to remind white South Africa of its obligations in terms of the various agreements entered into by the South African and the Indian Governments. I do not see how a man becomes my enemy when he reminds me of my solemn pledge to abide by the terms of agreements between us. If South Africa breaks those agreements, that does not in any way mean that Indian's moral obligation to the Indian minority lapses. On the contrary, she has a perfect right to use every peaceful means to exert pressure, to compel South Africa to keep her word.

But, short of war, India can help only up to a point—and she does not want war. The local Indians are now fully aware of this. Consequently they have allied themselves with the Africans so that both sections should pool all their resources—the African's manpower and numerical strength as well as the Indian's connections with India and through her the democratic world—and exert irresistible pressure on the Malanites to make this one more country in the world where reason and justice must prevail.

We, on the African side, do not apologise for the alliance we have made with the Indians. We are proud of it because it is not a partnership where anybody is being exploited. The Indian on his side is fighting for his heart; with us it has gone past that—we are fighting for our very survival; we are fighting for our souls. When the Prime Minister of the Union says that India is South Africa's enemy, he should qualify that statement by saying that those whitemen who think as he does regard India

as their enemy. We on the African side do not regard and never have regarded India as our enemy. On the contrary we have nothing but the deepest love, respect and abiding admiration for the great and ancient people of India. Our alliance with the local Indian minority and the fact that it gains strength daily in spite of severe onslaughts on it is but one visible proof of our regard for India. We regard the people of India as our friends; they know what we are suffering because they have been through it and we have their proven sympathy because they have known humiliation under the tyrant's yoke. Our noblest link with them is that the fight in which we are engaged is precisely the fight which produced Mahatma Gandhi; it is the continuation of the struggle in which for more than a quarter of a century he took part in a very conspicuous way. Like him and like the people of India we have discovered that violence and brutal force and war and rebellion are but means which debase the personality of man. We are for peace, reason, justice and the truth—and these, we know, are mightier than the mightiest army. Thus, when our Cabinet Ministers threaten to lock us inside concentration camps our reply is as Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress in Natal, said recently: That nothing will stop the defiance campaign; that "we have our thing in common with Dr. Malan: Determination!"

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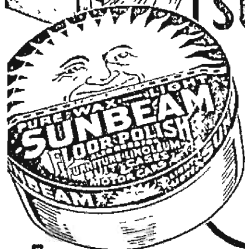
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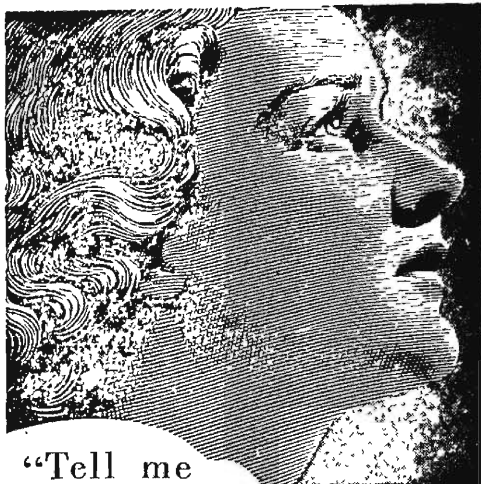
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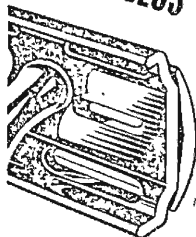
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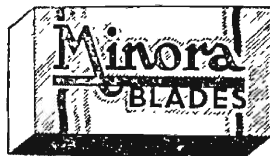
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AN IMPARTIAL JUDICIAL COMMISSION URGED

A Joint statement by the African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress on the recent Port Elizabeth riots states:

"We urge the Government to set up an impartial judicial commission of inquiry into the Port Elizabeth riots. We deplore the statement of the Minister of Justice in which he says that the riots were a direct result of the Defiance Campaign.

"This is a mere expression of opinion and has no basis in fact. The Minister makes a serious charge, and if he is so sure of his case, he should immediately set up an impartial judicial commission of inquiry into the cause of the riots. But the Minister knows that his statement is mere propaganda.

"We declare that the riots were in no way connected with the Defiance Campaign. The Minister is merely seeking a scape goat. The African National Congress (Cape) has already issued a statement in which they have made their position abundantly clear.

Non-violence is the sheet-anchor of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. Indeed, our people could not, even if they wished, take up arms and wage a bloody battle against an all-

powerful and authoritarian administration such as we have in South Africa. We could never allow or condone happenings such as the Port Elizabeth riots.

"In nearly four months since the Campaign began, there has not been one single act of violence in any one of the four Provinces of the Union where volunteers have openly and peacefully defied various apartheid laws.

"It is significant that no commissions of inquiry were held in the case of two recent occurrences—the one in Capetown where a Torch Commando demonstration was held outside the Houses of Parliament, the other in Johannesburg, where the European Garment Workers' meeting outside the City Hall steps was summarily and rudely interrupted by a clash with the police.

"It is not surprising that the Government refused to appoint commissions of inquiry into these riots. The blame was promptly laid at the door of the Torch Commando and the Garment Workers by the Government, and in spite of repeated requests the Government refused to set up impartial judicial commissions of inquiry. The Garment Workers then se-

up their own Commission, but the Police Authorities refused to tender evidence.

"The Port Elizabeth riots came to us as a bolt from the blue, even as the Darban riots of 1949 came without a warning.

"We in Darban know what these riots mean, and our sympathies go out to the victims, both White and non-White, of this insensate blood-shed.

"It ill-becomes the Government to gloss over the real and root-cause of these periodic eruptions which are a disgrace to our country. It is acknowledged by all right-thinking people that these so-called riots are but a system of the paralyzing disease that grips our country. The root cause of these disturbances is to be found in the racialist policy of apartheid which is born of prejudice and suspicion and is fed on fear and hatred. We must lay the blame for them squarely where it belongs—at the door of the Government.

"We in Natal have had great mass rallies of the people, and we have sent in ten batches of volunteers up to now. There has not been any violence whatever at any of these meetings and rallies and demonstrations. Our meetings and rallies and demonstrations present a sharp contrast to the many violent and rowdy meetings of the United

Party and the Torch Commando which have been smashed by rival groups of supporters.

"It is significant also that on his visit to Port Elizabeth the Minister did not meet the leaders of the non-European people who took a leading part in bringing about peace and order during the riots.

"It is also significant that volunteers of the Defiance Campaign took action in East London and Paddie, both centres near to Port Elizabeth, Darban and Bloemfontein and in other centres in the Union during the same week—and, but there were no acts of violence in any of these centres.

"The leaders of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress need no warning from the Minister, and they are undeterred by threats. It is not we who are "playing a dangerous game," but the Minister and his Government who have wantonly suppressed the fundamental liberties of the people.

"What South Africa needs is impartial and equal justice for all its citizens, irrespective of race or colour. The methods of the Gestapo and the concentration camp will not and cannot solve our problems. The hour demands not greater repression, but a recognition of the fundamental rights and liberties of the people. Let the Ministers of Justice and his Government take "very stern and drastic measures" in this direction."

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Tribute To Gandhi

Five hundred people filled the smaller city hall in Johannesburg at a public meeting on October 29 to hear the passive resistance campaign discussed by Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P., Mr. Julius Lewin, and the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg. All three speakers showed their sympathy with the current movement against unjust laws.

Mr. Julius Lewin paid a special tribute to Mahatma Gandhi whose achievement, he said, was now affecting Africa and was not yet ended. Gandhi was admired by all mankind because he proved that the acceptance of political subjection and social injustice was a degradation of the human spirit. Thanks to Gandhi's inspiration, India had won her freedom. A free India was now using the power of the state to fight against all forms of racial and religious prejudice.

£335 Donated Towards School

The foundation stone of Nagari Pracharni Sabha's new Hindi Govt. Aided Indian School in Muscati Road, Springfield Housing Scheme, was laid by Mr. N. H. Dabeepersad (Sweet) in memory of his late wife, Ramraji, on Saturday, October 11, in the presence of a fair gathering. Mr. Dabeepersad, who is a life patron of the Sabha, had previously donated £195 and a further donation of £130. 8s. was announced by him when he laid the foundation stone. He stated that the sum of money would go towards the cost of installing electric lights in the school. He was presented with a silver trowel, suitably engraved, by Mr. D. Jadhunandan, the President of the Sabha.

Diwali Celebration In Ladysmith

The Hindus of Ladysmith and District assembled jointly to celebrate Diwali under the auspices of the Ladysmith Diwali Committee. Over 1000 people gathered at the Athlone Theatre. The Chairman Mr. Vithal Lala, welcomed the gathering on behalf of the Committee. Music and songs were provided by the Hindi Yuvak Club. Dances, dialogues, sketches, and speeches, were rendered by the pupils of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha school, Gujarati Hindi school, and Hindi Yuvak Sabha school. These schools competed for

Messrs. T. Riga and G. Amaldas Floating Trophies, presented for vernacular school competition. Mr. T. Riga's trophy, which was presented for the best programme for the day was won by the Sanatan Dharma Sabha school. Mr. G. Amaldas's Trophy presented for the best sketch was won by the Hindi Yuvak Sabha School. Sweetmeats and refreshments were provided during the celebration. Diwali hampers consisting of clothing, and grocery parcels were distributed to the poor families in Ladysmith. Mr. Vithal Lala spoke on the significance of Diwali. Other speakers for the day were Messrs. K. R. Singh, M. V. Naidoo, N. G. Chetty (Principal of L.G.I.S.S.) and L. Sewgolam. The guest speaker for the occasion was Mr. A. N. Chinnah (Principal K.R.G.A.I.S.) Mr. B. Vithal, joint secretary of the Diwali Committee, moved a vote of thanks. The day ended successfully with another presentation of a memorial floating trophy by Pundit Simbhoo Maharaj—for future vernacular school competition in memory of his late father Ramkumar Maharaj. A silver collection amounting to £10. 2. 8d. was made in aid of the inmates of the Aryan Benevolent Homes of Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Diwali Celebrations In Maritzburg

The Maritzburg Hindu community, celebrated the Diwali, festival. The Diwali Cheer Society, formed some fourteen years ago, provided about 500 poor Indian families with large hampers of foodstuff, the approximate cost of which was £1. 2. 6. each. The Society, which has never discriminated in the past in the provision of Cheer was also able, this year, to provide some 2,000 African, Coloured and Indian inmates at the local Fort Napier and Town Hill Mental Institutions as well as the Epidemic Hospital with parcels of cheer consisting of, cakes, sweets, fruits etc. The patients at the Aryan Benevolent Home and the Coloured and Indian patients at the Town Hill Hospital were provided with cooked meals. This year the African patients at the Cripples Home (Emuseni) at Edendale were also treated. It would be realised that in order to accomplish so much a large sum of money is necessary. The Society was fortunate in receiving magnificent support from the well-to-do merchants. This year the Society also re-

Maritzburg, Leather Workers Union. Thus a satisfactory year's work was made possible.

Death Of Mr. Velshi Keshavjee

The death took place under tragic circumstances, of Mr. Velshi Keshavjee, chief director of the well-known firm in Pretoria, Messrs V. Keshavjee and Sons, two weeks ago. Mr. Keshavjee, who was 84 years of age, was knocked down by a bus in front of the Mosque in Boom Street, and was killed. He was on his way to the Mosque for evening prayers. Mr. Keshavjee was in Pretoria for the past sixty years. He

ties—social, political, religious and educational. He was devoted to Mahatma Gandhi and had entrusted one of his sons Rajab Ali to him during the historic Passive Resistance movement of 1907—1914. Deceased leaves behind four sons and a large family to mourn their sad loss. We extend to the bereaved our deepest sympathy in their great loss.

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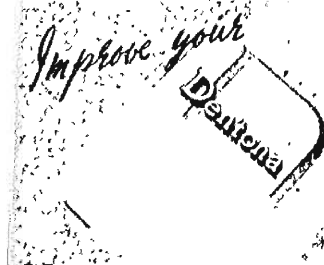
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