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INDIAN OPINION

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Startling Story Of Mau Mau

(By Reginald Reynolds)

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Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

—Constitution Of United Nations.



I am asking my countrymen.....to follow no other gospel than the gospel of self-sacrifice which precedes every battle. Whether you belong to the school of violence or non-violence, you will have to go through the fire of sacrifice and of discipline.

—Mahatma Gandhi.



OFFICIAL figures can sometimes be interesting. I invite your attention to the following statistics from the 'Tanganyika Standard (April 25) and the 'Central African Post' of Lusaka (June 12). Both are European papers. They give the casualties in the Kenya disturbances from the declaration of the "State of Emergency" in October 1952:

Killed by Mau Mau up to April 23 "according to official records:" Africans 450, Europeans 10, Asians 4. Up to June 3 "latest official figures:" Africans 411, Europeans 17, Asians 4.

Killed by forces in anti-Mau Mau operations up to April 23 "according to official records" Africans 595. Up to June 3 "latest official figures" Africans 848.

While the number of Asians killed by Mau Mau remained static, seven more Europeans were killed between April 23 and June 3; but in that same period 39 Africans were apparently brought to life again, so that the total killed by Mau Mau during those five weeks must have been a minus quantity of 32.

From such unreliable statistics it is difficult to draw conclusions; but both murder budgets indicate the same general and agreed conclusions:

- (1) The number of Africans said to have been killed by Mau Mau vastly exceeds the number of European victims;
- (2) the number of Africans killed by the forces of law and order admittedly exceeds—apparently on an increasing scale—the number of African casualties debited to Mau Mau. These are facts which I want to consider here.

When Will The Truth Be Told?

You could drive through this troubled country of Kenya seeing little and understanding less.

Here you pass a police station, protected by barbed wire. There a police car pauses at a cross-roads and the police look searchingly at the occupants of your car. Nothing more, perhaps.

It is a cliché common among Europeans in Africa that the African has, at best, only a "veneer" of civilisation: under that lurks the savage. I am not in a position to argue about that; but I think it is probably true.

I can believe it because I know it is true of us all. What else is modern war but the savagery that lurks beneath our veneer of civilisation—and breaks through?

It is not a question of blaming and accusing: it is a question of understanding and facing something,

To understand Mau Mau you have to know something of the history of the country: you have to be able to feel what it is like to be an African, treated as an inferior in your own country, confined to the smallest of inadequate small-holdings while one European is granted thousands of acres.

Ruthless War

I am not concerned here with the arguments advanced to justify this state of affairs: I am only concerned at the moment with the way you or I would look at it—or an African.

(Continued on page 491)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 7TH AUGUST, 1953

Who Are The Real Mau Maus?

IN the past we knew weeks hence what legislative measures were to be introduced in Parliament and people had an opportunity to study them and to comment on them. Today nobody knows what is going to come and when it is going to come. In so far as the non-Whites are concerned the Bill to change the constitution in order to remove the remnants of the safeguards existing in it for us is not the only serious one. The more serious ones seem to be coming slowly but surely. In pursuing its programme and policy of Apartheid the Government is determined to remove every possible obstacle in its way. It is now trying to remove the last vestige of protection we have from the Law Courts. The Apartheid laws are being so tightened up that the Courts will be able to afford us no relief whatsoever, unless they decide that such laws are ultra vires the powers of any civil Parliament. A Magistrate or a judge who feels that way will find his position unbearable on the bench and if he has any self-respect he will resign his post forthwith, provided, of course, that he is there to meet out justice and not only for his own material interests. His position will be just as precarious as the oppressed people of this country and his real duty will be to leave the benches and join their ranks in a common struggle for justice and

freedom for all. It is not power that the oppressed people of South Africa are today fighting. They are fighting for justice and freedom which is the birthright of every human being.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, introduced in the Union House of Assembly a Bill known as the "Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill," which provides for the reservation of public premises and vehicles, or portions thereof, for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class. The Bill provides further that the setting aside of amenities for a particular race or class of person may not be declared invalid (which have recently done) merely on the grounds that no such amenities have similarly been reserved for the exclusive use of persons belonging to any other class, or that the amenities so reserved for persons belonging to any other race or class, are not substantially similar to, or of the same character, standard, extent or quality as the amenities reserved for another race or class of people. This means that the Government, in implementing its policy of Apartheid, will not be obliged to provide facilities for the non-Whites equal to those enjoyed by the Whites. Anything will be good enough for the non-Whites. But not so in regard to taxation. That of course the non-White will be subjected to not only equally with the Whites

but, unlike the Whites, they will have to pay taxes without deriving any benefits therefrom. It will be surprising if this Bill does not pass. If it does it will augment the list of the unjust laws against which the defiance campaign has been launched. The pity of it is that the campaign is not keeping pace with the Government measures. The Government however has no reason to glee over it. Let it not forget that it is sitting on a volcano without knowing when and in what form it will erupt.

While reading the report of this latest Apartheid measure in the 'Natal Mercury' our eyes fell on the adjoining column reporting

the project of the British and Foreign Bible Society to send Bibles in their thousands for the Mau Mau prisoners and to other places where there has been tension. When we read that we could not help exclaiming: "Physician heel thyself!" What a mockery of Christianity? The Bible is most needed today by the world political leaders who have been the cause of all the tension and, in South Africa, by Dr. Malan and company, who are leading this fair land and the whole world to destruction. If God would only give them the wisdom to do a little introspection they would surely realise that they are the real Mau Maus.

NOTES AND NEWS

East London's Mayor Warns White S.A.

While the White man in South Africa squabbled blindly over racial ideals and shunned hard work, the strong and virile Black man was gradually forcing his way upwards, said the Mayor of East London, Mr. F. Fox, at a United Party conference last week. The White man enjoyed a standard of living known to few other White populations. The Government, provincial and municipal councils, were continually being harassed by people who wanted more and more for less and less. Luxuries had become comforts and comforts had become necessities for the South African White population. In other words comfort and luxury were becoming a right instead of a reward. The Native was already becoming the industrial worker in the cities—the scarcity of farm labour was proof of this. This was the danger signal, and the answer to those whose prejudice prevented their looking ahead. The European must realise he cannot for ever have his comfort and ease in South Africa. At the same time the Native must realise that as the years pass he will have to look after himself, added Mr. Fox.—Sapa.

Well Said

There is much truth in what the Mayor of East London has said. The white man will have to abandon his luxurious habits and the black man will have to

become more and more self-reliant. Self-reliance is the key to his salvation in South Africa. The sooner this is brought home to the black man the better it will be for him. Let him not imitate the bad habits of the white man but nurture his own frugal ways of living.

New Apartheid Bill

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, which the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, has introduced in the Assembly and which has been read a first time, provides for the reservation of public premises and vehicles, or portions thereof, for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class. The Bill makes it an offence for any person who is not of the specified race or class, wilfully to enter or use any public premises, or public vehicles, or portions thereof, which have been set apart or reserved for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. The amenities which may be so reserved include counters, benches, seats or any other amenity or convenience on public premises or on a public vehicle. For contraventions of this provision a fine not exceeding £50 or three months' imprisonment or both fine and imprisonment is imposed. Public premises includes any land, enclosure, building, structure, hall, room, office or convenience to which the public has access, whether on payment of an admission fee or not. A public vehicle includes

any train, tram, bus, vessel or aircraft used for the conveyance for reward or otherwise of members of the public. The Bill provides that the setting aside of amenities for a particular race or class of persons may not be declared invalid merely on the grounds that no such amenities have similarly been reserved for the exclusive use of persons belonging to any other class, or that the amenities so reserved for persons belonging to any other race or class are not substantially similar to or of the same character, standard, extent or quality as the amenities reserved for another race or class of people.—Sapa.

Dr. Dadoo's Telegram To Mr. Golding

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, former President of the South Indian Congress, has sent the following message to Mr. G. J. Golding, the President of the Coloured People's National Union, regarding the inter view which the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, has granted the C.P.N.U. on August 14, to discuss the question of the Coloured Franchise: "The non-European people consider Government's proposal to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll is an unjust and unwarranted deprivation of the meagre franchise rights enjoyed by them. They stand unequivocally for full and equal franchise rights for all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or sex. Any approach to the Government involving the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll will cause bitter and wide-spread resentment and cannot be regarded as a rank betrayal of the fundamental interests and cause of Freedom of the ten million oppressed non-European people of our land. In this fateful hour for our country, I appeal to you to do nothing which will in any way hamper or hinder the common struggle of all our people against apartheid slavery and for Freedom and Universal Human Rights.

Apartheid Sought At Amusement Parks

The City Council of Maritzburg had before it at its meeting last week an application from the owner of an amusement park to be allowed to operate from August 28 to September 12. It was decided, by eight votes to four, that this application be granted subject to an increased rental of 10 guineas a day, and to completely separate facilities being provided for Europeans and non-Europeans. Councillors at the meeting expressed in no un-

certain terms their dissatisfaction with the present arrangements during the amusement park's season. Mr. C. M. Forsyth said his experience of previous shows was that the Europeans were being driven out entirely by non-Europeans. "The Park is simply overrun," he said, "and Europeans stay away as a result. Europeans are pushed aside by an element which creeps in and which has an entire lack of courtesy. At present it is between 80 and 90 per cent. a non-European amusement park," he added. Mr. G. C. Jolliffe said the people who

mostly supported the amusement park were Indians who lost money on the sideshows. Mr. F. Flanders said it was the Indians who were particularly troublesome. "If we could keep them in their own area it would be a better arrangement," he added. A suggestion was made that the show for non-Europeans might be operated near the beer hall at the lower end of the city. Mr. W. M. Anderson said: "We have enough trouble down there as it is with the Natives. If there is a large influx of Indians we will have more trouble."

public sittings of the Land Tenure Board, and advising every Congress Branch to bring forcefully to the notice of the people in their area the dangers forcing them under the sinister plans which aim to uproot thousands of people from their homes.

"No true representative of his people" the resolution stated, "can put forward any alternative plans before the Land Tenure Board for we are satisfied that the Group Areas Act is an unjust law and hence no justice can flow out of it for the non-European people."

THE CERTAINTY OF VICTORY

By Mr. PATRICK DUNCAN

WE who will the liberation of our country from its atrocious injustices have a unique privilege. We belong to a movement which is certain (so far as human affairs can be certain) of ultimate victory. When the present phase is past the idea of a colour-caste society in South Africa will have become as extinct as the dinosaur, and will seem as ridiculous as the dodo.

We are going to win, but the manner and time of our victory is still obscure to our eyes.

We are going to win, because all the great living forces at work among men are on our side. Not one great force supports the idea of a colour-caste society.

We are going to win because we have right on our side. It is monstrous that a majority of our fellow-citizens should be serfs in the land of their birth, purely because of the colour of their skin.

We are going to win because in the confusion of present day political thoughts we are possessed of an unrelenting will-power. Slowly, working over the years, this power of ours will polarise the atoms of our society. We know where we are going, and we know how to get there, and we work for our aim all the waking hours of every day. Some of our opponents are possessed with the will to fight, but in the innermost recesses of their hearts I detect the pessimism of those who are fighting merely to stave off defeat, like the German army after Alamein and Stalingrad. Distinguished visitors from abroad have told me that all over Africa, during their interviews with white-supremacists, towards the end of the discussions, there is a pause—a psycho-analytical resistance—then, always under a thousand disguises the same question: "How long do you think we can hold it?"

We are going to win because we enshrine the future. One day the inhabitants of our country are going to form a unified economic system, and that day is not far off. We give political form to this economic fact. One day the people of South Africa are going to be equal citizens of a great nation. Our all-embracing South African nationalism eagerly accepts this idea, and each new recruit brings nearer the day of its realisation.

The time has come when all who agree with us must dissociate themselves from the evils of the present system. The day will come when all who are not with us will be taken to be against us and the wise and the good will see to it that when that day comes they are where their true interests and their consciences tell them to stand.

N.I.C. COMMITTEE

THE Working Committee of the Natal Indian Congress which met in Durban on Sunday, August 2, and which was attended by delegates of the Natal Indian Congress branches from different parts of the Province, passed resolutions protesting against the budget which imposed hardships on the lower income groups in South Africa and deals a cruel blow at the Non-European people by increasing the price of bread, the staple food of the people; reiterating its request to the Government, to make family allowances available to the Indian people; endorsing the action of the officials in lodging the Congress protest at the

Peace In Korea

Another resolution passed by the Working Committee welcomed the signing of the armistice in Korea. The resolution said: "Pledged as we are to the cause of peace, and peaceful methods of resolving differences in the national and international field, we are heartened at the successful conclusion of a truce in Korea. We express the hope that the truce will be the beginning of greater efforts leading to a Peace Pact among and Big Powers of the world."

Bus Decentralisation Criticised

The Working Committee condemned the Durban City Councils decentralisation of the Non-European bus centre "Despite tremendous opposition," Congress added: "the Council has enforced decentralisation leading to increased dangers to the safety of school children and passengers. Congress condemns the action of the Council and calls upon the Council, in the interest of public safety, to erect a proper non-European bus terminus at the present site of the Municipal Testing Grounds."

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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

THE UNITED PARTY AND THE ELECTION

THE UPSURGE OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

By C. W. M. GELL

I
THE emergence of two new Opposition parties and the widespread public debate they have occasioned are a challenge to all who oppose Nationalism to think out clearly what they are fighting for.

Unity is not exactly supreme within the ranks of triumphant Nationalism. Republican rumblings and the moral earnestness of those who advocate total apartheid as the Nationalist goal point to areas of conflict which even authoritarian caucus rule cannot silence for ever.

But others cannot afford to wait for rifts in the Nationalist lute. The morrow of their most shattering electoral defeat is surely the time to consider what lessons can be learnt from that distressing experience. This means discussing differences openly and honestly. For there is a very real danger that, if they now evade a rigorous re-examination of their principles and policies, they will slowly succumb to a creeping paralysis of their will to resist. If that ever happened, or even if in this hour of their comparative political impotence they were to relapse into their all too frequent apathy (more is nog 'n dag and alles sal reg kom etc.), it would be a very ill day for South Africa.

Welcoming, therefore, the present debate at least as a sign of the continued vitality of our opposition to Nationalism, let us look first to the past for the causes of our present discomfort; and then try to deduce from its lessons and from an analysis of the future a political philosophy and strategy for the hard days that lie ahead in a Nationalist-dominated South Africa. For the first lesson is that what happened in 1948 was not (as we thought at the time) merely an accident. Because of the mentality of the party that then obtained power, a new era opened in our history.

Of the several explanations offered for the recent defeat most prominence has been given to the effects of delimitation offsetting the U.P.'s overall majority of the actual poll. But this is clearly a waning asset. Whatever may be said about the inequity of loading under modern conditions and the way it has worked in the past, the Nationalists are not

going to oblige by abolishing it now or by introducing proportional representation. In fact, it is almost certain that they will amend the electoral laws in regard to delimitations, rolls etc. in order to render the volkswil still more ineffective; and they will increase our disadvantage by enfranchising the kinderwil of the eighteen-year-olds.

Electoral manipulation apart, the Nationalist share of the total vote is rising and, other things being equal, will continue to rise. In the 1948 election the Nat.-A.P. coalition obtained 33 per cent of the registered electorate and 41.7 per cent of the actual poll. This April by a combination of good organisation and splendid enthusiasm the Opposition turned out much more nearly its total possible vote than in 1948, when it was rather too confident. It can safely be assumed that of the higher percentage poll (87.8 per cent against 78.9 in 1948—allowances in all cases being made for unopposed returns) most of the additional 9 per cent voters were Opposition voters. Even so the Nationalist vote rose to 39.2 of the registered electorate and 45.6 of the actual poll. There is thus plain statistical evidence of a significant swing to the Nats, even if the effects of delimitation are ignored.

There is every likelihood that this swing will increase with the years. Apart from the possibility that some traditionally U.P. Afrikaners may feel attracted to so obviously successful an oxwagon, the proportion of Afrikaners in the European population is rising. At the 1936 census 56 per cent of the Europeans recorded Afrikaans as their home language; in 1951 (preliminary figures) this had increased to 64 per cent. Since some 70 per cent of the Afrikaans community are Nationalist, the mere passage of time will, in the absence a large-scale immigration, work to the Opposition's further disadvantage and this inexorable process will be stimulated by the deliberate indoctrination of the numerically preponderant Afrikaans youth. Out of the Broederbond's total membership of 3,460 recently 2,039 were school teachers and 356 predikants,

Many U.P. political pundits, therefore, believe that the party's only hope is to move further to the Right in order to bid for "floating" Afrikaans voters in the urban and peri-urban areas. This was in fact the main U.P. strategy; only, it is now argued, it was not carried far enough and in particular it lacked Afrikaans daily newspapers to put the U.P. view across. I believe that the practical and financial difficulties of launching a daily U.P. Afrikaans press are almost insuperable. But even, this is not so, the strategy seems to me to suffer from two major defects that have characterised all Opposition thought since 1948: a tendency to consider White politics in a vacuum unrelated to the much wider and more urgent racial issues of our time and a failure to appreciate the true nature of Afrikaner Nationalism.

I will deal with the first point in later articles. As to the second, we all have been guilty of some degree of naivete. We have, of course, recognised the great emotional strength behind the residual issues of the Great Trek and the Boer War—the attitude recently expressed by a letter in the Afrikaans press which regarded the Treaty of Vereeniging "as only an armistice." But being temperamentally moderate-minded, short-memoried and forgiving people, U.P. supporters, English and Afrikaans, have imagined that the potency of these sort of emotions was more or less confined to the backveld areas of the platteland. In their innocence they thought that the urbanised, educated Nationalist would be amenable to appeals to his reason and intelligence, that he would realise that the battle for the Afrikaans language and culture was won long ago, that he would therefore be prepared to put the interests of the White community as a whole before those of a section of this minority of our population. Opposition supporters thus took with a good grace last year's references to the Jameson Raid and a "Third South African War for freedom," since the Nationalist obviously had an even worse case on the constitutional issues than had Rhodes and Milner for their aggressive imperialism. But Senator Vermeulen struck a harsher note with his refusal to allow "any court verdict to put our party off its stride—we believe the Afrikaner people are sovereign and that our 'nation' is baas." This smacked of Afrikaner jingoism. And we should be perhaps have taken

more notice of the reasons advanced against White immigration; that it would only strengthen liberal and "non-national" opinion without "securing what is precious to us—our leadership, our way of life, our language, culture and faith."

Thus with Nationalist Afrikaners 'like old war horses smelling blood when they heard the first shots of the election campaign' and their bitter denunciation of 'renegade' Afrikaners within U.P. ranks, we should not have been so unprepared for blood calling to blood with an insistence that stilled many genuine doubts about the High Court of Parliament episode. For the Nats are less a political party than a nation in arms—"rather poverty under a National Government than prosperity under any other." The national exhilaration, fortified by religious dogma and scriptural sanction which justify "the chosen" in degrees of electoral manipulation no ordinary political party would be allowed, makes them immune from vengeance of their supporters at the polls for failure to solve the bread and butter issues of daily life.

Convinced that all English-speakers and renegades, inspired by "the perfidiously misleading U.P. and its press," rush to the polls "out of hatred of the Afrikaners and everything Afrikaans," Nationalists "unchain an ineradicable hatred in their souls;" and even where such tremendous prejudice is not at work, "blood reaches out towards its own blood." Like Macaulay's Horatius, whom they have quoted, they stand against the world, "facing fearful odds for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods." It is this fervent racial pride of a small and isolated people that distinguishes the Nationalists from ordinary political parties.

For the present Nationalists are impervious to reason and to the significance of events beyond their limited horizons. Their eyes are so firmly fixed on the glorious future that awaits the folk along the road of their ancestors which they have now regained, that they cannot see the very ground is opening beneath their feet. For it is our tragedy and South Africa's—and will yet be theirs—that such sectional patriotism inevitably arouses the hostility of the remaining nine-tenths of the population. But for the moment we must recognise that Afrikaner Nationalism is unassailable within a virtually all-European electorate. Almost certainly the proportion of non-Nationalists in the Afrikaner

community (if not their actual numbers) will diminish and, as far as Afrikaans voters can be said to "float" the drift is away from the Opposition.

And this unfortunate aspect of our racial affairs will be

aggravated by two direct consequences of their attitude: the revival of English nationalism in Natal and the emergence of Black nationalism in opposition to all forms of White nationalism.

INCREASED PRICE OF BREAD

THERE has been a chorus of opposition against the increased price of bread. Mr. George Stent, former Secretary of the South African National Tuberculosis Association and now its policy adviser, told the Press that Mr. Havenga had thrown a spanner in the work for which the late Minister of Health had given his life. In a radio talk shortly before he died, Dr. Karl Bremer, the late Minister of Health and Social Welfare, had said that the state of nutrition of the lower income groups was a matter of grave concern to all who were engaged in health and welfare work. Mr. Stent pointed out. Now, by raising the price of bread, Mr. Havenga had endangered the already malnourished and this could have a direct bearing on any increase in TB. Had the Government raised the price of white bread by 4d., abolished the subsidy, and left Bremer bread at its former price or, better still, reduced the price, this would have been a better action at a time when the general rise in vegetables, food-stuffs, meat and other items of consumption was forcing people to go without.

"The Government spend more than £3,000,000 in subsidies on white bread," continued Mr. Stent. "If this money had been spent on eliminating TB, it would have brought results.

It was certain, he said, that TB care work would be handicapped by the rise in bread.

In connection with the recent dumping of grapefruit, Mr. Stent said that this was unforgivable.

"Why was it not given to Government hospitals or institutions instead of being thrown away?" he asked.

Mrs. Edith Benson, former M.P. for Umbilo, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister emphasising the importance the late Dr. Karl Bremer attached to nutrition, and stressing that the increase in the bread price, coupled with the high cost of other essential foods, would probably increase the incidence of TB and lead to starvation.

S. A. Institute Of Race Relations

Commenting on the additional tax on bread, the South African Institute of Race Relations says the Union's 2,911,333 urban African population—"the hardest hit by the increase"—would have an

additional expenditure of 7s. 6d per month due to the rise in the price of bread.

In a survey completed in December, 1950, the Institute found that the average urban African family—taken as five units—faced an essential minimum monthly expenditure of £4 17s. 10d. greater than its total cash income at the time.

"Further surveys had indicated that the average family consumes one and a half loaves of white bread each day, continues the bulletin. "For these then, the increase of expenditure on this item will be 7s. 6d per month."

Liberal Party

The Liberal Party is reported to have said in a statement, that the increase in the price of bread could only be interpreted as a callous disregard for the health and welfare of the people. The lower income groups, particularly the non-Europeans, already contribute large amounts to Government revenue through indirect taxes and customs and excise duties. Since they are the poorest group in the community, they are disproportionately burdened by a financial policy which has the effect of increasing the price of the necessities of life."

Church Protest

At a meeting of the action committee of the Christian Council of South Africa (which represents all churches except the Roman Catholic and the Dutch Reformed) the members agreed unanimously to record their protest against the increased price of bread. They regarded "this additional burden on an already overburdened people as nothing short of disastrous; and hoped that even at this late hour it would be possible to raise the necessary money without increasing the necessities of life." The Archbishop of Capetown, the Most Rev. G. H. Clayton, presided at the meeting.

Havenga's Reply

The Cape Housewives League, in a statement issued after a deputation had interviewed the Minister of Finance, says, the Minister refused to accept a petition, signed by 20,000 people, asking for a reduction in bread prices and fares. With the Minister was the Secretary, Dr. D. H. Steyn. "The Minister advised that people should eat the cheaper brown bread," the statement adds, "and said that

the price of bread in South Africa was lower than in other countries. He suggested that the workers should eat mealie meal."

Dr. Malan Asked To Reconsider Bread Price

Mrs. Edith Benson, former M.P. for Umbilo, last week sent a telegram to the Prime Minister strongly urging him to reconsider the increased prices for bread, especially the brown loaf. She said that the higher prices would cause hardship to many European families, and many Coloureds and Natives would face "semi-starvation." With mealie meal at 4lb. 6oz. a 1s., mealie rice at 3lb. 8oz. a 1s. and samp 3lb. 12oz. a 1s., there were no cheap staple foods that could be substituted for bread. The Minister of Health, Dr. Bremer, had always emphasised] that lack of nutritious food was the primary cause of tuberculosis among Natives and Coloureds. High prices for essential foods would result in an increase in TB and the victims of this disease would have to be cared for by the Government.

During the discussion on the budget in the Union House of Assembly Dr. P. J. Van Nierop (Nat. Mossel Bay) is reported to have said, the abuse of liquor should be stopped. It had been said that the State received an income of £8,909,000 from the sale of liquor but the Minister of Social Welfare had revealed that its abuse cost the Government between £39,000,000 and £50,000,000 a year. There were

45,000 drunkards in the Union today.

A higher tax on drink might make it unnecessary to increase the price of bread. Consumption of brandy in South Africa had increased from 730,000 gallons in 1938 to 2,900,000 gallons in 1945. In the same period consumption of beer and stout had increased from 6,728,000 gallons to 15,223,000 gallons and consumption of wine between 1941 and 1950 had increased from 7,681,500 gallons to 11,401 gallons.

Every adult person in South Africa excluding Natives, had consumed an average of 20 gallons of intoxicating liquor in the year 1946.

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INDIAN OPINION

STARTLING STORY OF MAU MAU

(Continued from front page)

Now to turn to the European settler. He firmly believes in his superiority. His great interests, too, are at stake. Both are challenged. In this war—ruthless, like all wars today, sparing none.

He feels as some people felt in Britain—and in Germany—when they looked at the murder done by bombs. He is not likely to remain a reasonable person. If you doubt that, read the letters which many Europeans write to Kenya papers or listen to casual conversations. Hatred, fear, self-interest and the desire for revenge are the worst enemies of reason.

Counter-Terror

Some months ago old Colonel Grogan said in the Legislative Council that the Government should "take a hundred of the rascals," hang some of them in front of the others and send the survivors home to their villages. It was an open declaration of a counter-terror policy.

"Make no mistake," said one European to me, "Grogan says what others think but don't say in 'Legco.' Don't think Grogan is just a joke."

And the evidence is piling up that Grogan's policy is being unofficially implemented, especially by the Kenya Police Reserve. European settlers and settlers' sons, with arms and a very free hand to use them, they are the object of more terror today than the Mau Mau itself. The terror is called "The White Man Mau" by many Africans.

Under the shadow of this double terror it is hard to get the truth about anything in the Kikuyu country. I was frequently warned of the danger I could bring to Kikuyus by meeting them openly. When, through the help of friends, I eventually did meet them I heard innumerable stories of police brutality.

The local police superintendent, a "regular," is generally (but not always) exonerated. But he cannot be everywhere at once. Patrols of KPR men go and come. They regard as an enemy any Kikuyu known to be a supporter of the Kenya African Union—now banned after the failure to kill it by arresting its leaders.

For an African even to be educated is to be suspect. "Why," asked one Kikuyu pointedly, "is it nearly always the educated Africans who fall to bolt when challenged by a patrol and are shot dead?" Shot dead, notice: the marksmanship of the KPR is suspiciously accurate.

There are lawyers who have details of many unpleasant cases—alleged murders and beatings, on the Black and Tan model. The massive files are impressive; but nobody imagines they represent more than a small fraction of the total.

A man who has been illegally flogged by the representatives of law and order will think twice before he risks a repetition (or something worse) by complaining. A dead man will tell no tales and his relatives may fear to share his fate. If only one-tenth of the allegations should turn out to be true the case against the Government would be a heavy one—and from my reading of the affidavits I should say there is more fire than that in the smoke.

Then why isn't something done about it?

That, too, has its explanation. And it is not a reassuring one.

At least three of the cases of which I saw the evidence indicated that Colonel Grogan's policy of counter-terror was being interpreted in a liberal manner by members of the KPR. In these three cases the point in common was that Africans were said to have been killed in the presence of others; thus there was an illegal execution with the certainty that it would be reported and strike terror among their fellows.

(Ceoll Rhodes, whose memory is now being celebrated in a big way in the Rhodesias, openly advocated very similar tactics.)

It may seem hard to believe such a thing. Surely, you will say, it would be too risky. Perhaps it was: I hope it will prove to have been.

But angry men do not always weigh risks. And what, after all, would the risks amount to?

Firstly, there would be the strong probability that those who knew and even saw would be too terrified to complain to the authorities.

Next there would be the improbability of their being believed.

Thirdly, the improbability of an official enquiry.

Fourthly, the chance that an enquiry conducted by the Government, if things went that far, would be a white-washing business—Government prestige being heavily involved.

And finally there is the virtual certainty—especially at such a time as this—that no European settler will be convicted of murdering a Kikuyu by a settlers' jury.

But there is now another safeguard which even a settler might

not have anticipated—and it explains why the evidence is piling up and so little is being done about it. Not long before I arrived in Kenya Mr. Peter Evans, an English barrister then practising in Nairobi, unearthed several of these cases of alleged murder. While he was still working on the other cases he presented the evidence of one case to the Governor of Kenya, asking for a full enquiry.

I have seen a copy of that evidence and it is about as complete and damning as any evidence could be.

The Governor's reply was to order Peter Evans out of Kenya and no more has been heard of the case.

Sir Evelyn Baring did not specifically say that Evans was to go because he had his hands on three or four cases of alleged murder by the police. Instead the Government cited a conversation supposed to have taken place between Evans and Odede—one of the few African members of the Legislative Council.

Odede is a Luo from Central Nyanza; and Evans apparently suggested to him that it was a pity the Luo were going to work for Europeans who had driven the Kikuyu from their farms. In short, he advised against "black-legging."

Dangerous Traffic

It was interpreted as "sedition" and Evans was expelled on this pretext, Odede being interned—apparently for listening to such an outrageous idea.

But to the few lawyers who had dared to deal in such dangerous traffic the meaning seemed all too clear. One lawyer was even unofficially warned by the police that he was "high on the list."

I begged them to let me use the material they had accumulated, or at least some of it; but they were quite determined to take no chances. They would not face ruin with no hope of achieving anything at all.

Peter Evans had gone to Moshi, in Tanganyika. Suddenly there came the news that he had now been ordered to leave Tanganyika territory.

Was it because Moshi was too conveniently near to Nairobi—a few hours' drive across the border?

Meeting With Peter Evans

I cut short my stay in Nairobi and crossed the border, afraid that Evans might be deported before I could reach him. We met the same day. As usual in such cases, the man had been dubbed a "Communist." I found him surprisingly moderate.

We discussed many things and I recall his defence of proprietors of "colour bar" hotels. It

was not their fault, he said—they stood to lose their main trade by serving the occasional non-European. The thing could only be tackled by legislation. He even put a case for the restrictions which (in effect) prevent Africans in Kenya from growing coffee. And he said it was no use blaming the settlers in the KPR for practising lynch-law; they were as much victims of their environment as anybody else.

I mention these things to show what kind of a man Peter Evans is.

He showed me a lot of his evidence and told me of many other cases he had intended to investigate.

I met Evans openly and realised that I could not now return to Kenya. I should be a marked man and regarded as his "emissary" in Nairobi.

How interested certain people were in Peter Evans was dramatically illustrated shortly after my arrival.

Not having an office of his own in Moshi, Evans was using that of Dudley Thompson, a West Indian lawyer who had himself played a part in Kikuyu cases. Two days after my arrival Evans met me with the news that Thompson's office had been broken into during the night. The "burglars" had used a duplicate key, had apparently stolen nothing of value but had busted themselves with the papers... The job had been done clumsily, leaving many obvious traces.

I had lunch that day with Peter at the Killimanjaro Hotel. While we were having coffee on the verandah the Superintendent of Police came up to speak to my companion—something to do with the deportation order, which was to take effect as soon as a berth could be obtained for him. Evans complained of interference with his mail, which was being opened and delayed. The Superintendent did not confirm this fact, but neither did he deny it.

The Way To Confidence

The only point about this account of Peter Evans is to show what a man is up against if he tries to expose the truth in Kenya.

Nothing less than a judicial enquiry, conducted by a Commission appointed in London (not by the Kenya Government) will enable us to know the truth.

That alone will inspire confidence and encourage lawyers who know the facts to lead evidence, or the terrified Kikuyus to offer it.

That alone will check the lawless activities of the White Mau Mau.

Look again at those figures and ask yourself: how do we know that all, or even most, of those admittedly killed by police and military were really terrorists? How do we know that all the deaths ascribed to the Mau Mau were really their work? How do we know—with such glaring discrepancies in the figures—that they are even a complete record?

I should have liked to discuss this whole matter with Scott Dixon, of the Kenya Christian Council, but he was ill when I was in Nairobi and there seemed to be nobody else that I knew of capable of taking it up from the Christian angle. The job needs status, courage and integrity—three things not always found in combination.

In this article I have said little about the Black Mau Mau simply because everybody has heard so much about them already. I would like to have met some of the Mission Converts who held out bravely against Mau Mau intimidation, also refusing to defend themselves. But I could not get in touch with the very few whose names I knew.

What I did discover was the clearest indication that the KPR inspired much greater terror than the original Mau Mau itself.

And it is not difficult to see why. The Mau Mau attack Europeans and the minority of Africans who side with the Government; also—on several occasions—they have threatened or attacked Christians of the Mission Churches.

But the great majority of Kikuyus are not, surely, either Government supporters or Mission Converts. Without supporting Mau Mau they are probably

anti-Government, which is variously interpreted as Mau Mau "sympathy" or "sitting on the fence."

It is this majority, mostly supporters of the Kenya African Union, which is the object of police terrorism.

It is suspect. And to be suspected is, in a settler's eyes, too often regarded as equivalent to being found guilty. Hence the Law Society in Nairobi recently had to publish an apologia even for lawyers accepting briefs to defend Kikuyus charged with Mau Mau activities.

Moral Standards In Decline

In every community there is, unfortunately, a certain percentage of sadists. Give them arms and an atmosphere such as exists in Kenya today, and you are expecting a miracle if you don't anticipate brutality and murder.

Even the 'Eastern African Standard,' as far back as April 24, spoke of the widespread allegations of police brutality and said: "We have no reasonable doubt that in the gathering of evidence methods have been used which cannot be condoned or tolerated."

That was putting the matter very mildly. And the tendency has been, throughout the emergency—by all accounts that I have heard—for moral standards to deteriorate steadily. What else would you expect?

The veneer of civilisation has been stripped from too many of the actors—white and black—in this human tragedy of the Kikuyu country.—'WRI News Service.'

Things In General

Child Welfare Society

The twenty-fifth annual general meeting of the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society was held at St. Anthony's Hall, Durban, on Saturday, July 25. Mr. G. Christopher, the untiring honorary secretary, in her annual report said that during 1952 the society dealt with 238 families where there was "disorganisation and discord." Altogether 749 children were involved. "These figures only reveal the seriousness of this problem when it is recognised that it is only one in every nine cases that come for assistance to an agency such as ours." Cases investigated by the society revealed the ravages of alcoholism, poor and inadequate housing, poverty and fast declining moral values.

"The supervision of Government maintenance grants entails the main bulk of our work and remains our most important responsibility," said Mrs. Christopher. She said the number of cancellations and reductions of existing grants and the rejection of many new applications often seemed to indicate that the very purpose of grants was being defeated. "In addition to a bonus of 15% the maximum grant paid to Indian families remains £5 15s. a month, 5s. less than that provided for in the regulations, whether there are three, four or eight children in the family." Last year, 251 new maintenance granted cases were registered. In all, 1,875 families with 6,315 children were supervised.

'India News' Index

The Public Relations Department of the High Commissioner for India, London, will be issuing a half-yearly subject index for 'India News'. These will cover the periods January to June and July to December, each year. Readers who file copies of 'India News' for reference purposes and desire to have the index sent to them regularly are requested to register their names with the office of the High Commissioner for India, P.O. Box 1254, Capetown, as soon as possible. Readers' attention is drawn to the fact that 'India News' pages are now numbered consecutively.

Death Of Mrs. M. S. Randeree

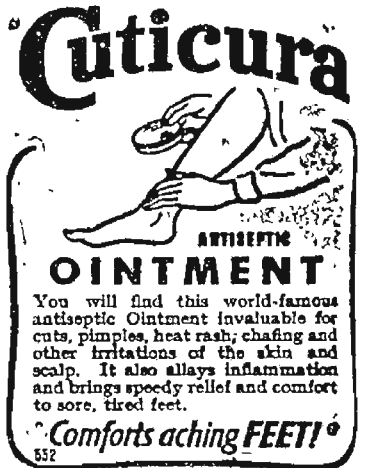
The death took place last Friday of Mrs. Aysha Randeree, wife of Mr. M. S. Randeree, a well-known merchant of Durban. Mrs. Randeree, who was 72 years of age, was well-known and will be liked by all those who came in touch with her for her charitable and social work. The funeral which took place the same day was attended by a large number of people.

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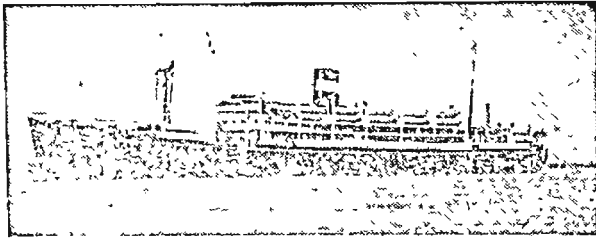
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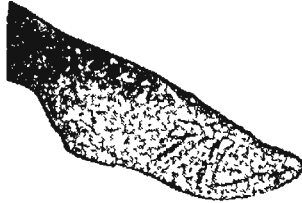
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By JULIUS LEWIN

(Reprinted from 'The Political Quarterly', London)

THE campaign of passive resistance against unjust laws surprised everyone in 1952 by its success. Before it began no one, not even its organisers, would have predicted with confidence that it would attract such tremendous interest and support. This fact itself shows once again how white people tend to underestimate the volume and depth of feeling that moves non-whites, and how they also underestimate the steady purpose and persistence that lie behind rather weak political organisation.

The illusion that white supremacy in South Africa is destined to prevail for ever and a day is fostered in many ways. One of the worst is the attitude to non-white organisations of the daily newspapers which provide the great majority of white people with their sole source of political information. The press never reports the speeches or activities of non-white leaders in any adequate fashion, and least of all when these have a constructive and statesmanlike tone. Any wild remarks or any noisy disturbance are sure of emphatic headlines. But no paper in South Africa, whether among the English dailies supporting the United Party or the Afrikaans dailies supporting the Nationalists, ever gives its readers intelligible accounts of the growth of the movement that reached its first climax in 1952, or any rational assessment of its strength and weakness.

Yet the movement that culminated last year in the defiance campaign was neither new nor sudden. Both the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress have carried on their work for many years. Since the records of their growth and emergence into maturity are scanty, it may be useful to set down an outline of their past.

The African National Congress was started as far back as January 1912 by four African lawyers who had returned to the Union after studying abroad. The founders were Dr. P. K. I. Seme (who was connected with the royal house in Swaziland, and who died in 1951), Alfred Mangena, G. D. Montsioa, and R. W. Msimang. Dr. Seme was apparently the prime mover in the matter and he is regarded as "the father of Congress," although its first president was Rev. J. L. Dube, late principal and founder of the Ohlange Training Institution in Natal. The aim was to unite the various Bantu-speaking tribes

into "an African nation" to achieve political progress. The Educated Africans had been hurt and disappointed by the colour bar inserted in 1909 in the constitution of the new Union of South Africa, a bar that to this day excludes them on racial grounds from ever becoming members of Parliament.

In the year after the Congress had been born, the Union Parliament, as if to stimulate the infant movement, laid upon all Africans the first of many heavy legal disabilities. The Land Act of 1913 prohibited Africans from acquiring land outside certain very limited areas. Parliament thus presented Congress with a grievance as deep and wide in its incidence as any that could have been imagined. To this day the ardent desire for more land rankles in the African mind, remaining one of the basic causes of popular resentment against white rule.

To protest against the Land Act a deputation of African leaders went to London in 1914. As Dominion status was a conception that emerged only at the end of the first world war, there was at that time perhaps some ground for hoping that Britain could and would influence the native policy of the Union. The deputation included Dr. Dube, Dr. W. B. Rubusana (who had been elected a member of the first Cape Provincial Council, the only African ever to attain this distinction), and Sol. T. Plaatje, the writer. War broke out while the deputation was in Britain and interrupted its mission. After the war, however, a second deputation was sent with the same object. It may be noted in passing that at that time, in 1919, another deputation also sought relief from Britain. It consisted of leading Afrikaner nationalists in quest of a republic independent of the Crown.) Already the shape of things to come was visible: Africans were ready to appeal to opinion abroad against the Government of their own country. Many years later, after a second world war, Africans came to look on world opinion as a source of strength in their struggle for those human rights declared by the United Nations to be desirable for all people.

In 1924 Hertzog became Prime Minister with the first Nationalist Government. Thereafter Africans were supplied with plenty of fuel to keep alive the smouldering fires of discontent. For the next dozen years Hertzog pursued his avowed aim of putting an end to the Cape liberal tradition which had allowed

certain rights, including the common franchise, to Africans. After 1933 Smuts and his party joined Hertzog with this fusion of parties, it became clear that the National goal was in sight. The year before it was reached, with the passage of the legislation of 1936, the African National Congress itself attained a new level of organisation and influence. Its conference, held as usual in Bloemfontein, in 1935, was significantly attended by some Coloured and Indian political figures. Their presence was not unwelcome to the new generation of African leaders, men with a better education and a stronger sense of political purpose than the early leaders. But opinion was now seriously divided between two schools of thought. The older one, believing that half a loaf is always better than no bread, was ready to bargain with the Government in the hope that a "moderate" attitude of compromise would save some kind of rights for the future from the wreckage of past hopes. Those who held this view were faced with sharp criticism from the opposite school of thought which, rejecting compromise as cowardice, advocated non-collaboration with any official plan of "reform" and proposed to boycott any new political institutions [established under it for the alleged benefit of Africans. Indian and Cape Coloured spokesmen especially were heard taking this line, new to Africans, with much force of argument and with fierce invective against those "good boys" or timid spirits who could still contemplate negotiation with Hertzog and ultimately acceptance of his major proposals. The uncompromising view did not carry the day, but it made a lasting impression and began to split the ranks of Congress.

Under the new law, the Native Representative Council operated for ten years from 1937. During that period, the obvious African leaders were nearly all elected to it by popular vote. Selope Thema, Dube, Godlo, Mosaka, Champion, and later Moroka, Matthews and others all played a prominent part in its proceedings; and by their side were leading tribal chiefs nominated to seats on the Council by the Government. Patiently, year after year, the Council, under the chairmanship of the permanent Secretary for Native Affairs heard speeches and passed resolutions calling for necessary reforms in every sphere of native policy and administration. Its discussions reached a level of debate in many respects more creditable than that normal in the house of Assembly, as observers could testify. But all the eloquent words and reasonable proposals were wasted on the deaf ears of the authorities. It is

difficult to recall a single important reform introduced as a result of the good advice annually tendered by this "advisory" body. No wonder that a grim sense of frustration gripped its members by 1946 when the war-time promises still remained unfulfilled. Their moderate programme of particular reforms then yielded place to a general demand that the Government abandon racial discrimination in principle and begin to grant those basic human rights of which the Charter of the United Nations had spoken so firmly. The immediate occasion for this highly significant change was the great strike of black miners on the Rand in August 1946 when the Council happened to be in session. Councillors were angered by the hostile attitude displayed by everyone in authority from Smuts, the Prime Minister, downwards, to the demands of the miners, and by the flat refusal even to open negotiations with them.

Smuts did, however, sense the change in the minds of the African leaders now united in their attitude to white authority. Late in 1947 he met some of the councillors. He offered to extend the scope of, and even grant certain limited powers to the Native Representative Council and other subordinate councils. (Rand Daily Mail, 14th October 1947). But this cautious and complicated plan of reform, lacking in imagination and obscure in detail, promised too little and it came too late.

In a statesmanlike analysis of the impasse, the main body of councillors rejected his rather nebulous proposals.

"In our view," said the Council in its reply, "what is required is a policy which will give the African people a sense of security in the land of their birth, a policy which is flexible and can be readily adapted to changing conditions and varying circumstances in short a policy which recognizes that Africans are citizens of this country and not things apart.

".....General Smuts' proposals do not go to the root of the matter in dispute between the Council and the Government. The main submission of the Council has been, and continues to be, that the conditions of modern African life demand a reorientation of the whole of our native policy and not a mere tinkering with the framework of our existing native policy.

"It seems necessary to repeat the principal defects of our present native policy:

(a) It does not safeguard the legitimate rights of the African people in any aspect of their life.

(b) It holds out no hope to

them of a possible change for the better in the foreseeable future.

(c) It is not calculated to integrate the African people into the general life of the country. On the contrary, it is based on the principles of permanent separatism, which engenders a spirit of hostility and racial bitterness between black and white, and as against that of mutual co-operation in the interest of both sections of the country as a whole.

(d) It is undermining the confidence of the African people in the Government of the country and is making increasingly impossible that collaboration between the Government, on the one hand, and the African people, on the other, without which no

schemes intended for them can succeed." (*Rand Daily Mail*, 4th November 1947).

Even at this stage, however, the Council did not demand anything like equal citizenship or full equality with Europeans. It was still content to reiterate its main earlier proposal, the extension to the northern provinces of the limited communal system of political representation prevailing in the Cape province. But on this vital aspect of change Smuts was silent. The Council's arguments were addressed to men with deaf ears, men already pre-occupied with the exigencies of the coming general election.

(To be Continued)

VERWOERD AND LUTHULI

"Busy Bee" writes in *Ilanga case Natal*, an African journal: DR. H. F. VERWOERD, the Minister of Native Affairs, has given his judgment on Mr. A. J. Luthuli, the President-General of the African National Congress. The judgment reveals impatience, arrogance and a total disregard of what is happening in South Africa, in other parts of the world, and of the history of human societies.

Dr. Verwoerd admits that for many years Mr. Luthuli was regarded as a moderate leader of his people. But he fails to tell the world what concessions the authorities made—what one simple thing the Government did—to show its appreciation for this "moderate" leadership or to improve the lot of the masses. Nor does Dr. Verwoerd explain the "miracle" why moderate leaders have suddenly become what he regards as extremists.

Dr. Verwoerd lightly dismisses the head of the leading African political organisation speaking for 8 million South Africans, an organisation whose leaders are some of the greatest names among Non-Europeans, and which has been regarded even by chiefs as their mouthpiece. It shows contempt for all the African people for whom Dr. Verwoerd's Department is supposed to cater. The very fact that the voluntary defiance campaign showed the power and influence of Congress among the masses all over the country, should have made the authorities pause and think. Eight million people cannot be wrong nor can they be suppressed always by artificial laws no matter how drastic. Yet Dr. Verwoerd says Luthuli chose the wrong path, spoke in such a way that the Department had to take notice of it, and that if he mends his ways and shows regret

for the wrong he has done, his reinstatement might be considered. In other words Luthuli must betray the trust of the whole African Race and go hat in hand begging for forgiveness for having been sane and bold enough to seek human and democratic rights for his people in the country of their birth.

It is nothing that Luthuli has been a leading member of the American Board of Missions and of the Christian Council of South Africa and that when he went to India and to the United States he proved an outstanding ambassador of his country. It is nothing that he was connected

with many European organisations and has lectured with great success to white audiences on our problems. It is nothing that for many years—as Dr. Verwoerd himself admits—Congress and other leaders have sent numerous deputations to the authorities, and made many requests by resolutions, pleading for co-operation.

Far from these requests being met, more discriminatory laws were passed. Of recent years there were many upheavals in the form of strikes, riots, etc. Housing and other conditions deteriorated. Not even the notorious Pass laws would be relaxed. The N.R.C. ceased to function. While this was happening world attitude to questions of race and colour had

altered. In the East and in parts of Africa, the indigenous people were being given their rights and opinion was against racial and colour discrimination.

In our own country economic integration was almost complete. New forces were operating. Instead of accepting these universal trends and these hard facts, the authorities went against them. As we write more laws are being prepared on the old pattern.

Luthuli is guided by those trends, facts and inexorable laws. Time and history are on his side. To ban him does affect the position and the truth. And as we say, time and history will not only justify, but will canonise him

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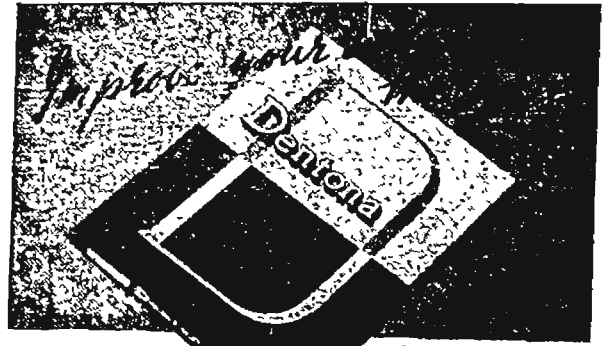
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