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FRIDAY,
21ST NOVEMBER, 1952

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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

CHIEF LUTHULI DISMISSED FROM CHIEFTAINSHIP

BECAUSE HE HAS CHOSEN TO SERVE HIS PEOPLE AND NOT TO
BE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR OPPRESSION



*Let us have faith that
RIGHT MAKES
MIGHT; and in that
faith let us to the end
dare to do our duty as we
understand it. And having
chosen our course, let us
renew our trust in GOD,
and go forward without
fear and with manly
hearts*

—Abraham Lincoln.

—o—

*Not until we can love
all races, and so-called
nationalities, as Christ loved
them, are we on the road
to peace on earth.*

—Sir Wilfred Grenfell.



CHIEF Albert John Luthuli who has been dismissed from his Chieftainship has made the following Press statement: I have been dismissed from the Chieftainship of the AbaseMAKOLWENI Tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve. I presume that this has been done by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the Native people of the Union of South Africa save those of the Cape Province. I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Groutville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General.



Chief A. J. Luthuli

Previous to being a Chief I was a school teacher for about seventeen years. In these past thirty years or so I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multi-racial society in the Union of South Africa. In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have year after year gladly spent hours of my time with such organisations as the Church and its various agencies such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

In so far as gaining citizenship rights and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door?

What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights left at all; no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset, cattle, dwindling, no security of homes, no decent and remunerative employment, more restrictions to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures, in short we have witnessed in these

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INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER, 1952

Dr. Malan

THE Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan made an important speech in Odendaalsrust on Friday night (November 14). One would have expected the Prime Minister to have made some weighty utterance befitting his most responsible position as the head of the Government and much more than that as a Doctor of Divinity. It grieves us to say, however, that in both these respects he has failed most miserably. It was just nothing more than a vote-catching political speech by a person who had lost his balance. The Prime Minister's position is indeed pitiable. He seems to have completely lost his own individuality and is allowing himself to play in the hands of his irresponsible allies who are obsessed with the idea of "white supremacy" and have nothing but hate in their hearts for the non-White people. We are grieved because we see dark days ahead of this beautiful land which seems to be nearing its doom owing to man's lust for power. Those who believe that this country will live by wiping out the non-White people are sadly mistaken. History is replete with instances of great empires having crumbled to pieces as a result of false pride and power madness. It is sad to think that the lesson even of the last War has not been learnt. The same spirit which caused that War is more prevalent today than ever before.

Dr. Malan has referred to "acts of barbarism in their worst form." We condemn such acts in the strongest possible terms but who has been really guilty of barbarism will be known only when we shall all be called upon to face the real Day of Judgment.

The Prime Minister has declared that the Passive Resistance movement was aimed at the White man. Even a child can understand that it has originated from the harsh, unjust and immoral laws of the White man and is aimed at those laws and not at anybody in person.

If anyone had real reason to regret the riots that have taken place we should have thought it would be the Prime Minister himself, whose Government's non-White policy is directly to blame for the seething discontent in the country and particularly among the non-White people and for the riots which have been caused thereby. But the Prime Minister and his Government will blame all others but themselves.

"It was the duty of the police to maintain law and order," said the Prime Minister. Nobody denies that. But it was as much the duty of a wise Government to ascertain the cause of the disorder and disrespect for the law and to take the necessary steps to remove those causes. There must be something radically wrong with a Government that requires to maintain law and order only at the point of the pistol instead of the goodwill of the people. There is no justification whatsoever in connecting the local disturbances with Kenya as Dr. Malan has tried to do. Disturbances such as these are not uncommon in South Africa. They have been taking place periodically without any outside influences. There was no Kenya affair when the Durban riots took place. Who was responsible for those riots? Discontent was caused by the policy of the Government and the helpless Indians became the easy target for the Africans to vent their wrath.

It is not right for the Prime Minister and his Government to evade the real issue by stating that what was happening in the Union today was something which affected the whole of Africa. Why does the Union not mind its own business and set an example to others?

Quite possibly there may be other powers behind the present defiance campaign who want to exploit it for their own ends. But we make bold to say that the responsible elements in it are

concerned only about improving the conditions of their own people in South Africa and have no ulterior motives. If the Government persists in ignoring them and if as a result outside influences hold sway it will be the Government and no body else to blame.

"A factor contributing to the causes of the defiance campaign and the disturbances in the Union was an appeal by Pandit Nehru to Indians in the Union to embark on a passive resistance campaign and to enlist the support of the Natives." We must take strong exception to this statement made by the Prime Minister. We dare to say that it is far from the truth. If the Prime Minister has proof, in fairness to Mr. Nehru, he should substantiate his statement by facts. Mr. Nehru has never at any time made such an appeal to Indians in South Africa. What he has certainly been saying all along is that Indians should not exploit the Africans to serve their own ends.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who gave the Indians of South Africa the weapon of Passive Resistance and advised them that that was the only weapon that would stand them in good stead in getting their grievances redressed. And he also said that if and when the Africans learned the use of that weapon, it would be a happy day for South Africa, for it would end all barbaric methods of settling disputes.

But Dr. Malan did not stop at that. He has even gone to the extent of accusing the United Nations of deliberately creating unrest among non-Europeans in the Union and of "inciting the non-Europeans against the lawful government of the country." The words Dr. Malan has used in respect of United Nations can, we think, be more appropriately used in respect of South Africa that "the time would come when either South Africa would have to revise its policy or it would collapse and find a dishonourable grave."

NOTES

Irresponsible Utterance

Speaking at a public meeting in Port Elizabeth last week the Minister of Labour, Mr. B. J. Schoeman is reported to have said:

If the passive resistance campaign had not received the direct and indirect support of the English-language Press, it would have petered out long ago. Now it was inevitable that the passive resistance campaign must change to violence. "I go so far as to say that the English language Press must bear a large proportion of the blame for the events which culminated in the brutal murders and riots," the Minister said.

"The English-language Press gave direct encouragement to the campaign. The passive resistance campaign is not directed merely at the Government but at the White man in South Africa.

"It is a demand not only for the repeal of discriminatory legislation but for full equal rights."

There are extremists among all sections of the people of the Union who often indulge in irresponsible utterances. But none can, however, beat some of the Nationalist Party members in indulging in irresponsible utterances and in deliberately trying to incite the White people against the non-White. The worst of it all is that Government Ministers, who should know better, are more guilty of this offence than anyone else. Mr. Schoeman is a typical example of that. If anybody is a danger to the State and who will cause the destruction of all that is good in South Africa it is people like Mr. Schoeman and not the Passive Resistance campaign. If the campaign is conducted on right lines we are absolutely confident that it will bring out the best that is in this country and will preserve it. It goes without saying that the campaign is directed at the Government and not at the White man in South Africa. To ask for full equal rights is certainly no crime. But what the non-Whites have been asking all along is for equal opportunities. If the non-Whites deserve equal rights they must and they shall get them. No power on earth can prevent them from doing so. But that is not the point at issue and Mr. Schoeman and the Government are too well aware of that.

Next Session Of Parliament

The next session of Parliament will meet on January 23 without the usual pomp, it is stated.

S.A.'s APARTHEID POLICY UNDER FIRE AT U.N.

THE aim of South Africa's racial policy was to dominate and exploit the non-European population, and to relegate it to the "ghettos" and reserves, said Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, in the Special Political Committee of the United Nations on November 11. She spoke after South Africa's case against interference had been outlined.

Mrs. Pandit said: "The situation in South Africa not only constitutes flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter, but also a growing threat to international peace.

"The founding of the United Nations and the acceptance by all the member States—not excluding South Africa—of the duties and the obligations embodied in the Charter, had given new hope to the peoples of the world that a new era would be ushered in, in which respect for fundamental human rights, for the dignity and worth of the human person, and the equal rights of men and women without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, would be assured.

"But in one significant area of the world, namely in South Africa, the dictates of the collective conscience of mankind have not only failed to receive acceptance but have actually been repudiated," said Mrs. Pandit.

"The deliberate policy of the South African Government is designed to establish and to perpetuate every form of racial discrimination and exclusiveness.

"Apartheid, which is the declared objective of the Government of South Africa, implies permanent White superiority over the non-Whites who constitute 80 per cent. of the Union's population."

Mrs. Pandit said that she would attempt to describe how, by legislative and other means, South Africa's policy of racial superiority had been expressed.

The more important of these enactments were the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.

"The notorious Group Areas Act," Mrs. Pandit said, "introduces the principle of complete segregation of the different races and involves the uprooting of tens of thousands of non-Whites from their settled localities," said Mrs. Pandit.

"In pursuit of its reckless racial policies, the Union Government has not hesitated to violate its own constitution."

Mrs. Pandit then quoted from speeches by Dr. Malan and Dr. Donges to show that the South African Government would under no circumstances give administrative, or executive, or legislative powers to Bantu men and women.

The feelings of resentment and bitterness in South Africa were growing and were now shared by an increasing number of Europeans.

There was a limited human endurance, and the non White population had been compelled to resort to non violent and completely peaceful measures in mute protest against their continued oppression and enforced degradation.

Mrs. Pandit paid a tribute to the extremely well-disciplined behaviour of the passive resisters who, in spite of severe provocation on the part of the police and the more fanatical among the Whites, have carried out their movement in the spirit in which it was launched."

Unless the United Nations acted speedily to stir the conscience of men of goodwill everywhere in regard to the situation in South Africa, a new and threatening tide of conflict and discord would be created, she said.

Swedish View

Mr. Osten Unden, Swedish Foreign Minister, said the Assem-

bly was competent to discuss the issue of South Africa's racial policy.

He said that "Sweden cannot subscribe to the opinion expressed by the delegate of South Africa during the general debate in the Assembly and in this committee."

Mr. Unden said that it was contended by some that the word "intervention" in chapter two, paragraph seven of the Charter was not to be given a narrow, technical interpretation.

The authors of this view believed that discussion did not constitute intervention.

"I am inclined to share this opinion," he said.

Mr. Oscar Gundersen, of Norway, immediately announced that he agreed with the conclusions of Sweden and also with the arguments leading to that conclusion.

He added that the race conflict and policy of apartheid in South Africa had caused apprehension and concern throughout the world.

"I believe it can safely be said that in this sense, leaving aside all legal aspects, the race conflict and the apartheid policy have long since ceased to be purely domestic problems for the Union," he said.

Lord Llewellyn, of Britain, announced that the United Kingdom "is satisfied that the matter is one essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of the Union of South Africa and that the United Nations is not competent to discuss it or make recommendations upon it.

"We shall vote accordingly," he said.—Sapa.

TRAGIC BLUNDER

THE East London 'Daily Dispatch' published the following interesting and informative leading article in its issue of November 10, the day after the recent riots:

The article published below was written long before the tragic events in Duncan Village yesterday afternoon. We have decided to publish the article as written because, in our opinion, all that we said about the danger inherent in the Minister's action is underlined by those events. But for the imposition of the ban on public meetings there would have been no trouble yesterday in Duncan Village. A few African youths may have "let off steam," but two European's who are now dead, and probably scores of Natives, would have been alive and well.

We cannot blame the police for what happened. They had their instructions. But the Minister of Justice today must feel his responsibility. It was he who gave the police their instructions and it was he who plugged the safety valve of free speech. On his shoulders must rest responsibility for the aftermath.

It is axiomatic that the first duty of any government is to maintain law and order and there is much value in the saying that prevention is better than cure. On the other hand, it is equally true that panic measures taken before there is any cause for alarm can have the effect of creating unrest and disturbances of the peace. We have no quarrel with the instructions to the police issued by the

Minister of Justice some days ago, that stern measures should be taken immediately there is any resort to violence by any section of the community, but we can see no justification for the Minister's latest action in applying the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act in the magisterial districts of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Peddie, King William's Town and East London. We cannot speak for Port Elizabeth, but so far as East London and King William's Town are concerned there was not the slightest indication of impending trouble. The "resistance campaign" had practically fizzled out and there was no suggestion that the appeal of the African National Congress for a protest strike would have met with any consequential response.

It is more than passing strange that on the day Ministerial authority is given to apply the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Divisional Officer in charge of the CID should state publicly that there is no evidence of any organised, unified movement of Natives to attack any town or village; no cause for panic and no reason for fear. This officer is the one man above all others who should know what is going on and what can be expected in the areas now declared by the Minister to be so full of explosive material and so dangerous that it is necessary to invoke the most drastic provisions of the law to prevent an explosion. We prefer to accept the testimony of the man on the spot, but assuming the position to be worse that Major Olivier says it is, what good purpose does the Minister hope to serve by his drastic action? It is not likely to halt the dissemination of news or instructions to the African people, but it is calculated to create a feeling of fear and alarm among the European populations of the areas concerned; and in times such as these any heightening of public feeling, or tension, is dangerous. Not for the first time, Mr. Swart appears to us to have been guilty of a psychological blunder in his handling of the racial problem.

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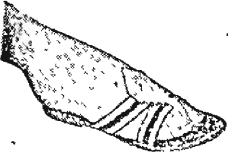
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DEFIANCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

By C. W. M. GELL

NORMALLY I view with distaste the pronouncements of those who, from the more comfortable side of the colour bar, presume to preach to those who live daily with their frustrations and vexations. But the deplorable wave of violence, which has swept the Eastern Province recently, is not normal and personal inclinations must go by the board.

Now, I know very well that there was more in these events than met the eye in the newspapers. Sometimes there may have been provocation; sometimes the police may have used a good deal more force than the minimum required to restore order in the immediate locality. In view of ministerial utterances it would be remarkable if it were otherwise. These things leave a great scar of bitterness. I have seen it in India. I have read of it elsewhere.

There is, too, the terrible fact of the present situation—that the White Government has deliberately broken off communications with all sections of the non-European leadership, so that precautions and preparations, which might be easily explained and understood as between men mutually respecting each other, cause widespread alarm and suspicion which are as excusable as they are often unjustified.

But when we have said all this and more, there remains the enormity of the recent violence, *whatever its cause*, the murder of innocent people who deserved well of their killers and the betrayal of a cause which had begun so well.

I know that the African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress have condemned these outbreaks, but their language leaves much to be desired. It is not sufficient to "note the disturbances with grave concern" nor to state that "we cannot condone outbursts of this sort." And it is not wise, however tempting, to reply to restrictive measures newly imposed by calling general strikes, for, at a time when tension is running so high, to invoke mass action is to invite violence. It was so in India; it will be so even more certainly in South Africa. And the fact that the other party is by no means blameless in no way diminishes the responsibility of those who launch these counter-measures.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I have on various occasions publicly expressed my sympathy with and support for the Defiance Campaign as a peaceful demonstration emphasising very real moral, political and social

grievances. With others, I have admired the dignity and restraint which have so far distinguished its conduct. I reaffirm my sympathy and support now, at a time when many liberal Europeans fear to profess their real sentiments lest they seem to associate themselves with renewed outbursts of violence.

I also understand something of the dilemma in which the African and Indian leaders find themselves. They have not yet established anything comparable to the authority of Gandhi with both the masses and elite of India. They fear to call off the Defiance Campaign, both because of the risk of losing momentum and because that might seem implicitly to admit the Government charges that Defiance has been responsible for the riots. There is the further fear that, if they seem to back peddle when feelings are running very high, leadership might pass from them to extremists and mob-demagogues with all sorts of unsavoury motives. No European has a right to minimise these difficulties, the provocative nature of some of the Government's and police reprisals, and the sometimes unnecessarily brutal and callous reaction of some Europeans in or near the affected areas. Fear and anger bring out all the worst in a man, black or white. But when all is said, non-European leadership seems to one who is deeply sympathetic with its difficulties to have failed to condemn what has happened in language which no one could mistake.

Three Types of People

I beg those leaders to think of the consequences. Any recurrence of violence can benefit only three types of people—the Communists, hooligans and the Nationalists,

First, the genuine Communists who seek to use every occasion of strife and dissension to promote their own ends, regardless of the human suffering entailed. They have no scruples and will stick at no deception, no treachery, no crime which they hope will further their purpose. They are utterly ruthless, pitilessly following a dictated party line directed towards the seizure of power and prepared, whenever it suits them, to dish anyone foolish enough to suppose he can cooperate with them. Their end is not the happiness and welfare of the underprivileged, as they profess, but the imposition of a particular form of tyranny under close autocratic control. Most non-Europeans recognise that, little as they have

to lose, they have little to gain from exchanging one form of despotism for another.

Secondly, hooligans, tsotsis and other criminal elements. These men seek only personal profit and loot. Their motives are completely anti-social, both anti White and anti Black. There are already large location areas where these people conduct more or less open gang-warfare, extorting and ill treating law-abiding citizens. The blame is by no means wholly, nor even primarily, the Africans'. But it cannot benefit any section of any race group voluntarily to extend the sort of conditions in which the gangsters thrive.

Thirdly, the Nationalists. Already Messrs. Naude and Schoeman have correctly discerned in the riots something which will drive many floating White voters into the arms of the Nats. I have never been an admirer of the U.P.—now, perhaps, less than ever. I know that its colour policy differs only in detail from that of the Nats—that permanent trusteeship and the *baasskap* look much alike to those on whom they are unilaterally imposed. Nevertheless, if sanity an reason are eventually to prevail, the first step must be the defeat of the Nats whose ideology makes any sort of compromise impossible. It is, therefore, madness on the part of the non-Europeans to behave in a manner that provides gratuitous evidence for the Nationalist contention that non-Europeans are uncivilised and uncivilisable savages. The riots do just that; non-violent civil disobedience does just the opposite.

Great Fear

My one great fear about the whole business is that the Communist element among the non-European leaders, having understood all this only too well and seeing in another Nat. victory in the 1953 election just what they think is needed to precipitate race warfare in this country, may be deliberately conspiring to incite these acts of violence, realising that Communists—and their party alone—stand to gain from the ultimate catastrophe when uncompromising White nationalism finally confronts implacable Black nationalism. From the shambles and untold suffering of such a debacle they might hope to snatch the opportunity to impose their version of hell on earth.

This, therefore, is the time above all others for the moderate and liberal leaders of the non-Europeans to stand firm and by reasserting their authority and the rule of non-violence to prove that they do in fact speak authoritatively for the coloured people as a whole and that they are responsible persons with whom the

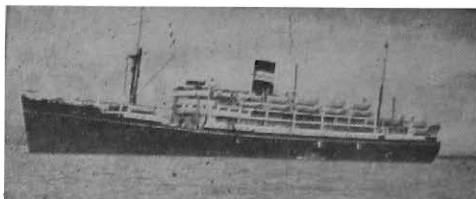
White leaders, when they come to their senses, can discuss the issues reasonably and reach an agreed solution which will command respect on both sides of the colour bar.

About the moral disaster which has occurred I do not think I need say much. Nothing—*nothing at all*—can ever justify or extenuate murder, arson, pillage and looting. Even if there be provocation and brutality on the one side, it does not excuse even the smallest act of revenge. It will be said that this is a counsel of perfection. But Africans and Indians have at various stages of their history shown such splendid patience, courtesy and discipline in most trying conditions that one prays now, more than ever before, they will draw upon these qualities. Others may say that there is a limit to men's patience. I agree that, humanly speaking, it is so. But I do not think that anything that has happened so far in any way condones even a spontaneous bursting of those limits. And, if that has unhappily happened, there must be nothing but condemnation and sorrow for what occurred—no allegations of "you too," no evasions or mitigations of moral guilt, no tortuous casuistry in extenuation.

In setting out to tread the path of non-violence, the non-Europeans chose the morally unassailable and spiritually invincible way of fighting their just battle. They undertook to love those that hated them, to forgive those that persecuted them, to show mercy to those that assaulted or used them contemptuously. If the struggle can be brought back to that high plane and held there, there is absolutely nothing it may not achieve with forbearance and patience. It will command the sympathy of world opinion and of many more Europeans in this country than have yet dared commit themselves. They have not dared, largely because they thought violence inevitable. Recent events have seemed to justify their fears.

But I do not believe it need have been so; and I hope and trust the future will bear me out. I will offer only three pieces of advice. The lesson of the riots, even though they did not arise from Defiance incidents, is that too little attention has been paid to propaganda about non-violence. That should now have top priority. It will call for a sustained effort, combining enthusiasm with courage to restrain the impetuous. Secondly, civil disobedience should be restricted, even more carefully than it has been, to selected and trained volunteers; and cheering or jeering crowds of wildly excited onlookers should be discouraged. There

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CHIEF LUTHULI DISMISSED FROM CHIEFTAINSHIP

(Continued from front page)

years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect White supremacy.

It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner. Because of my association with the African National Congress in this new spirit which has found an effective and legitimate way of expressing in the non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, I was given a two-week time limit ultimatum by the Secretary for Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the African National Congress and the Chieftainship of the Groutville Mission Reserve.

Disloyalty To State

He alleged that my association with the Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State. I did not, and do not, agree with this view. Viewing Non-violent Passive Resistance as a non-revolutionary and therefore a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in my dual leadership of my people,—leader of the Tribe as Chief and political leader in Congress.

I saw no cause to resign from either. This stand of mine which resulted in my being exiled from the Chieftainship might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but "a launching further into the deep." I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and oppression.

Chief's Status, Function And Privileges

I do not wish to challenge my dismissal but I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of Chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the Government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of Chiefs.

My view has been, and still is, that a Chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the Tribe, and not a local agent of the Government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may voice and press the claims of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the Government of the day.

He may use all legitimate modern techniques to get these demands satisfied. It is inconceivable how Chiefs could effectively serve the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (Chiefs) and leaders elected democratically by the people themselves.

It was to allow for these wider associations intended to promote the common national interests of the people as against purely local interests that the Government in making rules governing Chiefs did not debar them from joining political associations so long as these associations had not been declared "by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government."

Not Subversive

The African National Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign may be of nuisance value to the Government, but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality.

Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality—a God-given force—be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers of his day "shall we obey God or man?" No one can deny that in so far as non-Whites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase human personality abound. Any Chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws. If the Government should resort to dismissing such Chiefs it may find itself dismissing many Chiefs or causing people to dis-

miss from their hearts Chiefs who are indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the Government. Surely the Government cannot place Chiefs in such an uncomfortable and invidious position?

As for myself, with a full sense of my responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community. I have embraced the non-violent Passive Resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further their aspirations.

The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty.

What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true

democracy and a true Union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land.

My only painful concern at times is that of the welfare of my family but I try even in this regard, in a spirit of trust and surrender to God's will as I see it, to say: "God will provide."

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DEFIANCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

(Continued from page 467)

must be a return to the calm dignity of the campaign's early phases. Thirdly, no effort should be made to call out the masses, either for demonstrations or strikes, either in support of the general movement or in protest against particular measures—not until education in pacifism has gone very much wider and deeper.

These are hard things to counsel in times of stress and tension: easy to say and hard to practise, when restraint may appear as

weakness, when one's manhood and self-respect is continually insulted. But there is a manhood higher than the physical self, more courageous and enduring and patient than the body. It was to that higher humanity, where man becomes conscious of his relationship with the Divine, that the Defiance Campaign set out to appeal; and to it it must return beyond the possibility of relapsing, if it is to achieve its aims. For as its means are, so will be its end.

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON EAST AFRICA

THE following is the full text of Prime Minister Nehru's statement on East Africa in the course of a Press conference held in New Delhi on November 2.

Prime Minister Nehru said, "It is rather difficult for me to say much except to make a broad approach to the East African question. Obviously none of us can approve of violence being resorted to. But what I am rather worried about is the consequences of what is now happening in East Africa. It has been our deliberate policy to develop Indc-African cooperation and we have declared often enough that we do not want any Indians in Africa to claim any privileges at the cost of Africans.

"We have given scholarships to numerous African students who are in India at present—India Government scholarships because they lack education very much and they have a passion for it. Now because of this close association with Africans we are naturally distressed at the events happening there.

"I do not know the details of charges etc. that might be made against individuals or groups but the fact that almost all prominent African leaders have been arrested has, I believe, created a very great sensation among Africans generally there. A man like Koinage who is the outstanding leader there for the last 40 years has been arrested. What I am worried about is the future. I hope that the persons arrested will have a fair trial and every opportunity for defence and I hope that Indian lawyers there will help them in this defence because they may not have other competent helpers. One cannot solve these problems except by sympathy

and cooperation. What happens in Africa is likely to be of the greatest importance to other countries and continents. It is a tremendous problem. You see what is happening in South Africa in a different way but in a very pointed way raises this racial issue. Now it just does not matter how long these conflicts last. But they can only be settled in one way that is putting an end to all kinds of racial domination. The longer the attempt to preserve racial domination is pursued the more disastrous will be the consequences.

Question: What is your reaction to British and American viewpoint in regard to the raising of this issue in the United Nations—which has been made clear in the last two days?

Answer: That is you mean to say Britain opposed it? Well, we supported it. That is my opinion. Why should I go about discussing other people's actions?

Question: What are your views on the attitude of Indians in Kenya about this movement? Because before war Indians sympathised with them when Kenya Highlands were reserved for Europeans and Indians and Africans were denied all access. Now what is the attitude of the Indian population with regard to this East African agitation? We have not heard anything about it.

Answer: I cannot say much about that because there is outwardly silence there, whatever might be happening inwardly. You mentioned the old question of highlands. In those days Indians protested on their own behalf against their exclusion from highlands but now we have advised them not to ask anything on their own behalf as against Africans,

Question: Will you say that Britain will shortly have to choose one day between either having India in the Commonwealth or South Africa?

Answer: So far as the Commonwealth is concerned that is an assembly of independent nations—completely independent. Naturally even so such happenings affect independent nations. What attitude Britain may take up and when, it is not for me to say.

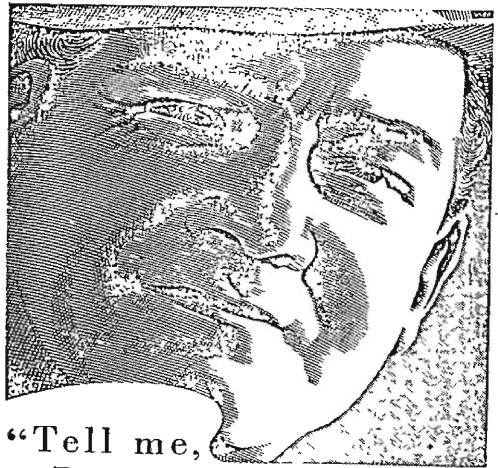
Question: Speaking about East Africa you must have recently heard about the help and contribution made by Indians in preserving law and order in East Africa.

Answer: I for one do not object to anyone helping in the maintenance of law and order.

Question: But I hope it is possible for your views to reach them so that it may not so happen as in Malaya where Indians have joined the army to repress local population.

Answer: It is rather difficult for a person representing one country to discuss internal hap-

penings in another country in any details. I mentioned this because I attach a great deal of importance to what is happening in East Africa and I am very anxious that the development of East Africa as well as the rest of Africa should be co-operative. In East Africa they talk a great deal about what they call the development of a multi-racial society, meaning of course, Africans, Europeans, Indians, Arabs and other elements there. And I think that is the only way for a peaceful development. Therefore anything that happens that comes in its way is bad from a long term point of view. So far as Indians are concerned I am quite clear that they should remain friendly and co-operative towards Africans; certainly advise them if their advice is sought against any wrong action but it would be most unfortunate if the very good relations that have existed between Indians and Africans deteriorate.



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NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

GOVERNMENT CHANGES ITS TACTICS

A PRESS statement issued by the African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress states;

The railway police refused to allow the non-European resistors to occupy the European waiting room at the Berea Road station when the 15th batch of Natal's Passive Resistors in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign attempted to break the railway apartheid regulation in Durban on Sunday, November 16. Fifteen members of this batch were told by the railway police that they had received instructions to bar the entrance to the European waiting room.

The leader of the batch told the Sergeant in charge that his batch had no intention of defying the police. The resistors were not fighting the police. He asked permission to address those present and when this permission was granted he asked those present to disperse peacefully without any demonstration and added:

"In the past we had informed the railway police in advance of the time of defiance at their own request in order to facilitate their work. The police action today is a breach of trust. We are not fighting the police and therefore I ask you to leave this place calmly."

The African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress are considering what steps to take in view of the new police tactics.

Before the batch went to the Berea Road station, a farewell was accorded to its members at a mass meeting organised by the Congresses and held at the Bantu Social Centre in Beatrice Street.

Owing to the ban placed by the Mayor of Durban on public meetings on open public grounds no more meetings are being held at Nicol Square and no more processions take place.

According to late reports the same batch of resistors was arrested on Tuesday.

After informing the police of their intention the resistors occupied the European waiting room at the station from 11 o'clock until 12.05 p.m. when they were arrested.

Two hundred and forty-five resistors have been imprisoned in Durban.

A Moderate African's Views

Dr. A. B. Xuma, a member and past president of the

African National Congress, who has not taken an active part in the defiance movement, is considered to be one of the moderate African leaders. He told a Press representative last week that there was effective and responsible leadership among the Africans but there was interference with the free contact between the leaders and those they led. This had resulted in riots like those at Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley.

"Banning meetings and preventing free intercourse between leaders and their followers can be dangerous, as others can then step in and use the situation for their own ends."

Dr. Xuma said it was the responsibility of the Government to contact those who could help to resolve the present inter-racial difficulties. It was the Government's duty to keep law and order and therefore its duty to consult those who could help to restore and preserve law and order.

"The Government cannot sit on their dignity and wait for the African leaders to make an approach. As a person who is not involved in the matter, I say that the Government miss the full meaning of the situation if they hold the leaders of the defiance campaign responsible for the riots. If the Government go on as at present we shall soon all be in defiance."

The situation had gone beyond what could be termed "Native affairs" and had become a national affair in which the biggest danger—bigger than the defiance campaign—was the exploitation of the situation for political ends.

"To draw a comparison between the Mau Mau in Kenya and the defiance movement is misleading. The non-Europeans in the Union have not suggested that their fight is against the Whites. It has not been suggested that the Europeans should be driven from South Africa.

"The Government could have prevented the riots if they had made proper use of their executive and administrative authority. Proper action would have taken the wind out of the sails of the non-Europeans who were prepared to go to extremes, but as things are now the Government have not tried to find out how reasonable the non-Europeans are."

Dr. Xuma said he was in favour of direct consultations

between non-European leaders and the Government as this would be the only effective method.

East London Riots

Eight Natives have been arrested in connection with the murders of Sister Aidan (Dr. Elsie Quinlan) and Mr. B. J. Vorster during the riots in the East London Location on Sunday night, November 9.

Five of them are reported to have been charged with the murder of Sister Aidan and three with the murder of Mr. Vorster.

Four of the 57 who were arrested on charges of arson following the burning down of buildings in the location appeared in the East London Magistrate's Court. They have been remanded to November 26.

Eighteen others have been arrested on charges of public violence.

Damage estimated at £65,000 is reported to have been done by rioters in the East Bank Location on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday nights. Altogether 11 buildings were wrecked, equipment was destroyed and seven buildings suffered fire damage.

Port Elizabeth Riots

For 30 years there had been peace at New Brighton. This had only been broken in the 4½ years of Nationalist rule. This is the answer of the Eastern Province General Council of the United Party in a statement replying to the charge of Minister Strydom that the recent riots had occurred in cities having U.P. dominated Councils. What was the Government afraid of, it asks. Why did it not hold an inquiry into the Port Elizabeth and other riots? Is it afraid that it will not be able to substantiate its charges that recent events have been due to soft handling by United Party-inspired Councils?

"Shoot First," Order By Swart

The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, said at a National Party meeting at Clocolan (O.F.S.) last Friday that he had instructed police officers not to wait until their men were killed or injured in riots before they fired. "They have been told to shoot first," said the Minister. The Government would deal with the unruly element with all the force at its disposal and would, if necessary, call out the Defence Force to maintain law and order.—(S.A.P.A.)

High Court Of Parliament Act Declared Invalid

The Government has twice been defeated. First the Coloured Voters Act (the Separate Representation of Voters' Act) was declared invalid by the Appellate Division, the highest court of Justice, and now the High Court of Parliament Act has been declared invalid by the same Court. Thus Truth and Justice have been vindicated. The five judges who gave the judgment on Wednesday, November 12, were the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice A. van der Sandt Oentlervers, Mr. Justice I. Greenberg, Mr. Justice O. D. Schreiner, Mr. Justice F. P. van den Heever and Mr. Justice O. H. Heester. The usual practice when such a crisis occurs is for the Government to resign but it is not to be expected of Malan Government.

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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Nagpur, November 10.

PRIME MINISTER ON STRUGGLE IN S.A.

PRIME Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Nagpur recently during the course of his tour. In a huge public meeting held at Kasturchand park he alluded to the struggle that was in progress against the racial laws of the Malan Government and drew attention to the fact that the weapon of satyagraha, forged by Mahatma Gandhi, was first employed in South Africa. The same weapon was now used there by Indians and Africans and this was a step taken by them entirely on their own responsibility. India, the Prime Minister said, had not incited them by any means and it was gratifying to see that both Indians and Africans had made a common cause.

"White Supremacy" Policy

Europeans in South Africa, in professing to build up "white supremacy" were by their methods "digging the grave of the country," said Mr. Ramrao Deshmukh, member of the Council of States and a former High Commissioner for India in South Africa, in his broadcast on November 6. The Indian problem, he said, was a part of the "tug-of-war" between forces trying to segregate Africans and humanity trying to escape from oppression.

Europeans desired Indians to remain as labourers and serfs, but, if they claimed, as free men political, economic or social equality, they were not tolerated. Basically, Mr. Deshmukh expressed the view, this reason generated hostility to their making money out of trade or business, and all European legislative and administrative ingenuity had the purpose of destroying it.

All-India Scouters And Guiders' Conference

Dr. Rajendra Prasad spoke in high terms of the Scout movement in the country when he declared open recently in Delhi the All-India Scouters and Guiders' Conference.

The President said: "It has always given me pleasure to see Scouts work for relief. I have found their work of a high order, inspired by the spirit of service and done with efficiency. I have felt that in the present educational system there is one great lack which

has to be made up. There is no opportunity for character-building in our schools and colleges. Whatever the reasons may be and there are various, which I need not go into, time has come when our educational authorities have to take that into consideration and make it up in so many ways and through so many channels and by adopting so many means as they possibly can.

"The institution of scouting is, I think, an institution which goes a great way in eliminating that lack. I, therefore, value it as a great educational means and I trust that in course of time it will be possible to have a net work of organizations of scouts or other similar organizations for some sort of service which will be required from day to day from students and people so that while on the one hand they train their mind and gather knowledge, they also simultaneously build up character, learn the art of work and acquire the habit of rendering service to other people."

Evacuee Property Proposal

The Government of India have invited the Pakistan Government to take over all the properties of Hindu and Sikh evacuees abandoned in West Pakistan. At the same time the Pakistan Government has also been told that the Government of India intend to take over evacuee property in India. India has also proposed that the two Governments should pay compensation to the owners of these properties.

This was disclosed by the Union Rehabilitation Minister Ajit Prasad Jain in the House of People on November 5. In reply to a question Mr. Jain said that this step was being taken because the return of evacuees from either country to their country of origin was as he put it no longer within the bounds of possibility. In the circumstances India felt that the prevailing continued state of uncertainty should be terminated.

The Rehabilitation Minister denied the allegation of Pakistan Minister for Refugees, Dr. Qureshi, that India was finding excuses for confiscation of property left by Muslims. These proposals, Mr. Jain said, were

reverse of confiscation. On the contrary they would enable the owners of evacuee property in either country to realise their lost property.

Hindu and Sikh urban properties abandoned in the whole of West Pakistan number (in round figures) houses 461,000, building plots 23,000 and industrial properties 11,000. Hindus and Sikhs have also abandoned nearly 9 million acres of agricultural land much of it extremely rich canal-irrigated land, several hundred thousand evacuee houses, 2,100 properties belonging to trust, cultural and religious associations etc.

Muslims have abandoned in India 287,000 houses, 10,000 building plots, 17,000 industrial properties and less than 6 million acres of much inferior agricultural land. They have also left proportionately lower rural houses.

Values have so far been ascertained only in regard to urban properties. These have been unofficially given at—Hindu and Sikh properties Rs. 5,000 million (1050 million dollars or 375 million pounds) and Muslim urban properties in India Rs. 1,000 million (270 million dollars or 75 million pounds).

Values of agricultural lands, rural houses, trust properties etc.

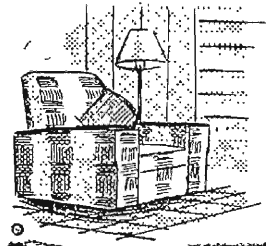
are at present being determined and it is estimated that the values of such properties abandoned by Hindus and Sikhs are several times those of the properties abandoned by Muslims.

Preventing Adulteration Of Foodstuffs

An official bill which seeks to enact a central law for the whole country for preventing adulteration of foodstuffs was introduced in the House of people on November 6. The Bill was sponsored by the Health Minister, Rajkumari Amritkar.

Kakasaheb Kelkar Visits Gold Coast

Kakasaheb Kelkar, member of the Indian Council of States, has just concluded a goodwill visit to Gold Coast. The tour was conducted on behalf of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Shri Kelkar arrived in Accra on October 22 and during his stay there was the guest of the Government of Gold Coast. He met the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues. In his report he has stated that he was greatly impressed by the people whom he met and cordial relationship existed there between the small Indian community and the inhabitants. Shri Kelkar is now in Nigeria on a two-weeks' visit.



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Things In General

The Lyric Theatre

The Lyric Theatre, Johannesburg's newest cinema for non-Europeans, which opened last year, has been awarded the Bronze Merit Award plaque—symbolizing "The Industry's Seal of Approval"—by the Technical Editors of the American Theatre Catalog as an outstanding of modern design, construction, and patron service appointments completed during 1951. The Merit Award is first of its kind to be awarded to any cinema (non-European) in South Africa. There were four European cinema contestants for the Award. This Cinema was featured in October's issue of 'South African Architect And Builder' and the following American architectural and film trade publications: 10th Annual Edition of Theatre Catalog—Survey of Cinemas constructed throughout the world during 1951/2; Motion Picture Herald; The Exhibitor; and The Boxoffice. The Lyric Theatre was designed, and is owned and operated by Haasim Brother.

Books Reviewed

Books reviewed by Mr. C. W. M. Gellin in 'Indian Opinion' dated November 7 and 14 are as follows:

"White Civilisation" by E. H. Harris (S.A. Institute of Race Relations) Price 3s.

"The Peoples and Policies of S.A.," by Leo Marquard (Oxford University Press.) Price 18s.

"Radhakrishnan," an anthology edited by A. N. Marlow (Allen and Unwin.) Price 9s. 6d.

Johannesburg Melrose Siva Subramaniam Temple

The Biennial General meeting of the Johannesburg Melrose Siva Subramaniam Temple, was held recently at the Trades Hall, Kerk Street, Johannesburg. Mr. Bob Pavadai presided. After Mr. A. R. Chetty, the past secretary had submitted his report the following office-bearers were elected: Trustees: Messrs. J. G. Vandeyar, G. V. Naidoo and A. G. Naidoo; Stenographers: Messrs S. R. Naidoo, A. G. Naidoo and N. V. Naidoo; Chairman: Mr. P. Dorasamy Pillay; Joint hon. secretaries: Mr. Somasundram Singaram and Mr. G. N. Naidoo; Joint hon. treasurers: Mr. K. G. Vandeyar and Mr. V. Sundra Padayachee; Councillors: Messrs. S. S. Pillay, A. R. Chetty, S. P. Naidoo, N. R. Naidoo, Shunmugam Pillay, Valliatham Chetty, N. G. Pillay, Kumaran

Pillay, M. G. Padayachee, A. C. Moodley, S. V. Pillay, V. K. Naidoo, A. P. Naidoo, N. V. Naidoo, S. R. Naidoo, J. G. Vandeyar, G. V. Naidoo, A. G. Naidoo, V. S. Naicker, R. Gopal and T. N. Naidoo; Hon. auditor: Mr. W. H. S. Vassen.

Eastern Province Indian Cricket Club

The sixteenth annual general meeting of the Eastern Province Indian Cricket Club was held in Port Elizabeth recently. Mr. V. Daya, secretary submitted his report and Mr. R. Daya, treasurer submitted the financial statement which having been adopted the following were elected for the ensuing season: Patrons: Messrs. J. Reddy, M. J. Tiekandas, A. E. Sam; President: Mr. S. Reddy; Vice-Presidents: Messrs. I. G. Ranchhod, D. Coopoo, T. Morgan, C. A. Parker, H. Mohamed; H.L.V.P.: Messrs. J. Reddy, N. F. Bansda, P. S. Vandayyar, G. Vasuthevan, V. P. Padayachee, M. H. Begg, N. P. Umley, A. E. Sam, G. Doraswami, P. R. Vandayyar; Secretary: C. A. Parker; treasurer: Mr. R. Daya; asst. Sec.: Mr. S. Coopoo; Record Clerk: Mr. I. Bansda; Auditor: Mr. G. Ranchhod; Delegates S.A.I.C.U.: Messrs. N. P. Umley and P. S. Vandayyar; Delegates E.P.I.S.G.A.: Messrs. C. A. Parker and T. Morgan; Delegates E.P.N.-E.C. B.: Messrs. S. Reddy and P. S. Vandayyar; Selection Com.: Messrs P. S. Vandayyar, N. P. Umley and S. Reddy; Clubs Affiliated: Aryans C.C., Regent U.O., Stars C.C., Orientals C.C., Daffodils C.C., United C.C.

Cape Indian Cricket Club

The 25th Annual General meeting of the Cape Hindu Cricket Club was held in Capetown recently. The following officials were elected for the 1952/1953 cricket season:—President: D. Gopal; vice president: B. Jeram; joint secretaries: Gamanlal L. Gheewala and Harkesondas, N. Bili-moria; treasurer: Haregovind B. Govindjee; captain: Gamanlal L. Gheewala; vice captain: D. Gopal; delegates to W. P. Indian Cricket Union: C. C. Palsania; G. L. Gheewala, H. B. Govindjee; Patrons: Mr. L. C. Gheewala, D. P. Kessouw, C. Nathoo, L. B. Navsaria.

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