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INDIAN OPINION

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White South Africans Behaving Like Children In Their Relations With Other Races

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WHITE South Africans had been behaving very much like children in their relations with the other races. They had failed to consider the future, to foresee the consequences of developments taking place under their very noses, said Archbishop Denis Hurley, addressing the Durban Parent's Association, last week.

"The generations preceding us worked out a pattern of race relations which we have accepted as something permanent," he said.

It was a most convenient pattern for us, because it gave us every advantage from the labour of the non-European races while freeing us from the obligations of admitting them to the enjoyment of rights associated with civilised living.

South Africans were reaping the ruinous harvest of segregation in one riot after another, indulged in by uprooted Africans, who had lost all social stability and to whom a riot was as useful and pleasant an occupation as any law-abiding pursuit.

"So many law-abiding pursuits of Africans under the system of segregation have left them with broken home, marital unfaithfulness, undisciplined and uncontrollable children, drink, gambling and disease and a society without settled foundations," said Archbishop Hurley. "When you have all that wreckage piled about your head, what matter it if a riot here and there adds to the debris?"

Segregation had failed utterly. If South Africa were to achieve any sort of social peace and stability something constructive had to be done.

There were two possibilities—complete territorial separation or integration.

The former implied the separation of the races into different territories and the gradual elimination of the non-European as the unskilled labourer in European territory.

Integration meant embarking on a policy of conceding gradually all rights of civilised living to non-Europeans in the same country and society as ourselves, while allowing social relations between members of different races to take care of themselves.

Public opinion had to be shaped so as to give politicians an opportunity of legislating justly and constructively. No one could shirk his responsibility in this matter.



Archbishop Denis Hurley

*O God of Love, O King
of Peace
make wars throughout
the world to cease
the wrath of sinful men
restrain,
Give Peace, O God, give
Peace again.
Then evermore shall
rise to Thee,
Glad hymns of praise
from land to sea.*

—H. W. Baker

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(Continued on page 483)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 28TH NOVEMBER, 1952

Mr. Strauss And The United Party

THE leader of the United Party, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, enunciated his Party's non-European policy in his Bloemfontein speech last week. Referring to the Indians this is what he is reported to have said:

(a) All possible steps will be taken by a United Party Government to bring about a Round Table Conference with India and Pakistan, and possibly other Commonwealth Governments, with a view to repatriating the Indians from South Africa

(b) Pending repatriation, there will be separate Indian residential areas.

(c) The prohibitions on miscegenation and on Indian immigration will be continued and made more effective.

(d) The question of political rights for the Indians is becoming hypothetical because of the attitude of the Indians. By their constant appeals to another State and by their taking a leading part in the passive resistance campaign they are creating a state of public opinion which will make it extremely difficult for any Government to afford them political rights.

It is time they made up their minds whether they want to owe allegiance to the Union, of South Africa or to India. At the moment the impression is inescapable that their loyalty to India is greater than their loyalty to South Africa.

From the above it appears quite clear that there is hardly any difference between the policy of the Nationalist Party and the United Party in regard to the Indians. The first item in the United Party programme is repatriation of all Indians. The same thing is said by the Nationalist Party. The Mixed Marriages Act, which was introduced by the Nationalist Party, has been greatly favoured by the United Party, although we have contended that it is unjust and offensive in that it wadonely interferes with individual liberty. Miscegenation as such has never been favoured by the Indians and history would show that they have been the least guilty of it.

Political rights for the Indians do not come into the picture at all with the United Party since their definite policy is to throw all Indians out of the country.

Still Mr. Strauss benevolently refers to those rights and lectures to the Indians that they must not appeal to another State about their grievances and that they must not take a leading part in the Passive Resistance campaign. Otherwise they will make it extremely difficult for any Government to afford them political rights. Mr. Strauss has also made an allegation against Indians of having dual loyalty and has gone to the extent of saying that their loyalty to India is greater than their loyalty to South Africa.

Mr. Strauss seems to forget that over ninety per cent. of the Indian population of the Union are born and bred in South Africa and know no other home. How can they then be loyal to a country they do not know? What proof is there that the Indians have been disloyal to South Africa? If the parents treat some of their children as step-children and are cruel to them must the children be blamed if they make an appeal to sources wherefrom they can expect to get sympathy and relief? Is it not the height of injustice, cruelty and a criminal act on the part of any parents to ill-treat children and at the same time to hush them from divulging the truth? Who can deny that that is the position of the Indians in South Africa? Much as the Indians would like to be a hundred per cent. South Africans, the rulers do not afford them the opportunities to become so and persist in treating them as helots and foreigners. But then we would humbly ask why do the English-speaking people of South Africa make so much fetish of the preservation of the English language, anthem and the flag in this country? Why is there in existence an organisation such as the "Sons of England?" If this does not mean dual loyalty on the part of the English-speaking people what else does it mean?

The Indians are also blamed for resorting to Passive Resistance to seek redress for their griev-

ances. The United Party are today at loggerheads with the Nationalist Party and are doing everything in their power to overthrow the Nationalist Government. Why do they deny the same right to the non-Europeans? The latter cannot fight with the same weapon as used by the United Party simply because they have been dispossessed of it by the rulers and have been rendered powerless. What can a powerless people do but to put their faith in God and surrender themselves to Him. That is the actual meaning of Passive Resistance. To term Passive Resistance as lawlessness is not to understand the meaning of it. Lawlessness is in fact indulged in by the Government. The Passive Resisters are using the only lawful weapon available to them. Every law has a penalty clause. You are to abide by the law and if you fail to do so you are liable to the prescribed punishment. Those who violate the law and quietly choose to accept the punishment prescribed cannot therefore be termed lawless. They are lawful in every sense of the term. But the Government is using lawless methods to suppress them.

We deeply regret to have to say that Mr. Strauss has made the United Party to appear not only as bad as but worse than the Nationalist Party because of their hypocrisy at least in so far as their policy in regard to the non-Europeans is concerned. We are happy to note that this fact is beginning to be realised more and more by the enlightened Europeans and that they have openly stated that though they are certainly not going to vote for the Nationalist Party they are little inclined to vote for the United Party for the reason stated above.

We are happy to note too that the English Press generally has not viewed the policy of the United Party as enunciated by Mr. Strauss with much favour. It has also realised that the convictions held by the United Party a quarter of a century ago are entirely out-dated and outmoded and that they will have to undergo a radical change.

However unpleasant the Nationalist Party may appear to be, if there is to be a choice only between the two Parties we would rather prefer the Nationalist Party. For it is better to deal with an enemy you know than with a friend you do not know; it is

better to be beheaded right out than to die inch by inch through slow poisoning. That is the difference between the Nationalist Party and the United Party as we see it. If White South Africa wants to live, a more sane third Party will have to emerge and it is heartening to note that there is a glimmer of such a Party coming into being in the not too distant future.

The Wail Of A Distressed Man

THE speech delivered at Voortrekkerhoogte last week by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges sounds like the wail of a distressed man. But he and his Government is solely responsible for the trouble they have created for South Africa. His allegations against India hold no ground at all. His charges were that India was illiterate, communistically minded, riddled with examples of apartheid, denying rights to minorities who were not Hindus. All these charges are absolutely false. There was illiteracy in India under the British Government. It is no longer the case to-day. Education in India to-day is advancing by leaps and bounds. India has taken and is taking sterner steps against Communism than South Africa is taking. India has washed her hands clean of apartheid. Not only are there no discriminatory laws existing in India's Statute Book but any discrimination based on class, creed or colour is declared by law a punishable offence. That India denies rights to minorities who were not Hindus is untrue. No minority in India to-day can say that it does not enjoy equal rights in the eye of the law.

The defiance campaign in South Africa was started by non-Europeans on their own initiative guided by nobody outside. It is not India alone who is supporting the campaign. The whole civilised world is supporting it.

There was one truth which perhaps unconsciously slipped out of Dr Donges's mouth and that was: "How many knew anything at all about South Africa or Apartheid? How many of them were able to read about such things? That is precisely why U.N. resolution has been passed—to gain first hand knowledge of the conditions in South Africa. Why does Dr. Donges object to that. If South Africa's hands

were clean she should welcome such a move to remove all ignorance and misunderstandings which are the root cause of all the trouble. Mrs Pandit had said that the purpose of the countries which have brought this matter before the bar of world opinion is not to arraign or condemn the Union Government but to take note of the situation and to study it with a view, if possible,

to assisting and helping the South African Government to solve it on a rational and humanitarian basis in conformity with the principles of the Charter." If Dr. Donges chose to visit India for the same purpose we are sure he would be heartily welcomed there. The very fact that South Africa objects to such a mission prove her guilty conscience.

NOTES

Ban On African Minister

The Rev. J. A. Calata, the Native minister in Cradock, who has been forbidden to preach from his pulpit for six months under the Suppression of Communism Act, is a priest in the Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa. His parish falls under Bishop Cullen, of Grahamstown. Bishop Cullen told the Press last week that the first indication he had received of the Minister of Justice's action was a short announcement in the morning paper. He was not yet in a position to comment on the matter as he knew very little about it.

We are given to understand from very responsible quarters that Reverend Calata is the most moderate minded African they have ever known. This wanton act on the part of the Government is considered to have been taken just in order to provoke the ignorant masses of the African people.

European Porter Refuses To Handle African Patient

The refusal of a European porter to wheel a Native patient to the operating theatre at the request of a non-European nurse formed the subject of an inquiry by the Vereeniging Hospital Board at its recent meeting. The porter is reported to have replied, when asked to take the patient to the theatre: "That will be the day. What will the public think?" The secretary, Mr. P. J. du Toit, explained that the porters were not unwilling to wheel Native patients to the theatre when asked to do so by and in the company of a European nurse. They refused to take instructions from a Native nurse. Dr. J. H. van Eeden said, it was wrong in principle to have Europeans and Native nurses accompanying the Native patients to and from the theatre. The Board decided that in future Native male nurses would have to do the work, and will ask for authority to appoint two Native porters.

Such practices of apartheid to be introduced and tolerated par-

ticularly in a health institute is, in our humble opinion, the height of abomination. It is a sure sign of the downfall of White South Africa.

Indians Precluded From Lusaka Board Library

Our Lusaka correspondent states: Indian members of Lusaka's Management Board library have been told they can no longer borrow books. A rule which excludes Asiatics and Africans from membership of the library has been invoked following complaints from Europeans who objected to the Indians. The acting Secretary to the Board, Mr. George Collins, told a Press representative that the matter was the subject of discussions now going on in the Board, but as the rule stood the Indians could not continue their membership. A number of Indians have written to the Board objecting to their exclusion, and pointing out that as ratepayers they contribute to the purchase of the library's books. The librarian reports that most of the Indian members looked after the books they borrowed better than the Europeans.

In Lusaka

Our Lusaka correspondent states Lusaka's commercial Indians want membership of the Chamber of Commerce opened to them. But after a lengthy discussion of the subject, the Chamber recently decided that they should only be allowed to send not more than two delegates to the Chamber's meetings, and these would not have voting powers. Although a resolution to this effect was finally unanimously carried, there were dissenting voices during the debate. One member said: "We have supported Federation and there is the question of partnership to consider. "We are getting more and more African traders. If we admit the Indians now we will one day have the Africans at us." Another member said:

"I see no reason whatever why this affiliation should not take place. There should be one Chamber of Commerce only. If the Indians are willing to affiliate with us we should let them." The only lady member present said: "I do not see why we should exclude them from membership."

Death Of Mr. Bryan

Gabriel

The death of Mr. Bryan Gabriel, the well-known photographer, of Durban, took place on Sunday night at Stanger, where he had been staying for the last several weeks assisting his son to open up studio there. By the passing of Mr. Gabriel, who was 75 years of age, Durban has lost an old and lovable personality. He had a very cheerful and amiable disposition and had won the esteem of all those who knew him. He was among those whom Mahatma Gandhi had

from olden days adopted as a member of the Gandhi family. It is therefore a personal loss to us. Mrs. Gabriel, who was assisting her husband in all his activities had pre-deceased him several years ago. Mr. Gabriel was still carrying on the battle of life bravely and courageously. He belonged to the Catholic Church to which he was rendering a very useful service until he breathed his last. He leaves behind five sons and two daughters all settled in life. His two sons are photographers, one teacher, one doctor and one priest. To them and to the other bereaved members of the family we extend our heartfelt sympathy. May the soul of the departed rest in peace. A very impressive funeral ceremony was performed at the St. Anthony's Church on Tuesday and the remains were interred at the Catholic cemetery in the presence of a large and representative gathering.

PROFESSOR MATTHEWS THREATENED TO BE VICTIMISED

ALLEGATIONS that official pressure from South Africa had been brought to bear to prevent Prof. Z. K. Matthews from appearing before the Special Political Committee of the United Nations were made in the closing stages of the debate on the apartheid laws last week.

The Haitian delegation announced in the Committee that it had received a letter from Professor Matthews, containing these allegations.

They requested that the letter be circulated before a vote was taken on the proposed resolution before the Committee.

The Chairman agreed to the request.

The letter said that "considerable official pressure" had been brought to bear upon Professor Matthews not to accept the invitation to appear before the Committee in view of the "action which the Union Government would feel compelled to take against me."

The letter from Professor Matthews was dated November 17, 1952.

Professor Matthews said that as a member of the National Executive of the African National Congress he had received a cable from the General Secretary of the African National Congress, Mr. W. M. Sisulu, authorising him to speak on behalf of that organisation at the United Nations, should the occasion arise.

"I feel bound to point out that ever since it became known in South Africa that there was

even a remote possibility that I might be invited to make a statement before the United Nations on this subject, considerable official pressure has been brought to bear upon me not to accept such an invitation in view of the action which the Union Government would feel compelled to take against me," he added.

"The University College of Fort Hare in South Africa, with which I am connected, has also been warned that the Government 'will be reluctantly compelled to take a very serious view of the matter as he (Professor Matthews) is employed by a college which receives a considerable subsidy from the State."

Concluding, Professor Matthews said:

"The authorities of the College, in view of this direct threat, have instructed me not to accept any invitation to appear. It is in the face of such threats of victimisation that I submit the enclosed document for your consideration. As the request of the African National Congress for a hearing has not yet been considered, I do not feel called upon to decide at this stage of the issue on a personal appearance."

The document to which Professor Matthews referred was a memorandum which the African National Congress had prepared setting forth the views of that organisation regarding the apartheid policy of the Union Government and the grievances of the people subjected to it. —Sapa.

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WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS BEHAVING LIKE CHILDREN IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH OTHER RACES

(Continued from front page)

"If the mass of legislation turned out by Parliament has brought about, or at least permitted, the emergence of the present sorry state of race relations. The politicians may be made the scapegoats. But every White South African is guilty in the sense that his convictions contribute to a public opinion of

which our legislation is a pretty good reflection.

"And let us not imagine that it all began in 1948. We have had since then new formulas and new slogans which have contributed to clarifying the position, but the realities are what they have been since the first Native Land Act was passed in 1913."

DURBAN HOUSING

By C. W. M. GELL

THE book under review is Additional Report No. 2 of the Natal Regional Survey "The Durban Housing Survey" (Natal University Press). The words Additional Report,—no doubt intended to classify this as a particular study not applying to the province as a whole—convey a misleading impression. It is, in fact, a massive volume of 500 pages, well produced, profusely illustrated. At present book prices it is remarkably good value for 35'.

And that not merely for its format. As one only slightly acquainted with Durban, I cannot comment in detail on its contents. But these bear all the signs of thorough, painstaking, factual research, intelligibly put together, presenting a comprehensive picture of the physical aspects of Durban today. Some of the many statistics have been quoted already in pamphlets and articles, but here is the, full, documented account of the growth and present characteristics of the Union's third city. Unlike the earlier volumes reviewed, there is an excellent index.

I said "physical" advisedly. The historical development of Durban's housing and the story of Pegging Legislation is discussed objectively and factually. The facts very largely speak for themselves. But those who turn to this book for a ready-made case for or against the Group Areas Act will search in vain. Nevertheless, if the Act is to be justified or condemned by facts and not according to political doctrines, all the evidence is here for those who will seek. The maps throughout are excellent; but of particular value are those supplied loose in the end pocket, printed on transparent paper so that they may be fitted one over the other to compare the various zoning schemes with the existing densities of population and of race ownership and occupation. Again, the facts

speak for themselves. But since facts alone will not convince those whose minds are closed on racial issues, it is obligatory that whoever represents the various communities before the Land Tenure Advisory Board, shall have made a thorough study of this survey as the foundation of their arguments. That it should also be compulsory reading for all City Councillors and members of the Land Tenure Advisory Board—also for the Minister of the Interior and Minister for Native Affairs—goes without saying.

Dr. Malan and Dr. Donges have both said more than once that the Group Areas Act applies indiscriminately to all communities. In theory this is so. But it has been enacted and will be enforced by one race group without consultation with the others, without proper opportunities for redress in the courts and without provision for compensation. The result in practice was expected to be, and is, discriminatory. The earlier zoning proposals for Durban envisaged moving about 15,000 Europeans. But public outcry among the enfranchised soon reduced this figure. The latest proposals of May 5, 1952, as modified in July and August, involve moving 3,000 Europeans, 63,000 Indians, 82,000 Africans and 6,000 Coloured (i.e. about one-fortieth of the European population and about one-half of each of the other groups). £900,000 of European owned property is involved and £9,400,000 of Indian-owned property. It is true that the City Council has asked the Government to amend the Act so as to mitigate some of the more severe financial losses. There is no reason to suppose that the Government will agree. But even if it did, the plan still discriminates in favour of the European.

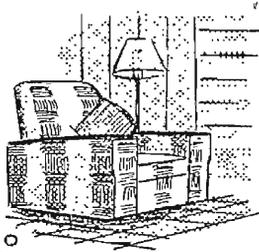
Nor is this its worst feature. As the Survey shows, many of the

persons to be displaced are reasonably well housed, Many of those who will not be moved, live in appalling squalor. Instead of beginning by tackling the worst slums, the Act leaves many of them alone and adds greatly to the number of the homeless. In seeking to solve certain social problems on a very arbitrary basis, it considerably increases the housing problem. Exactly the same pattern of events unfolds in Johannesburg, where the unspeakable slums of Orlando, Moroka and Pimville are to be left for the present, while the comparatively well-housed Africans in Newclare and Sophiatown are to be displaced immediately.

In his foreword to this book the Mayor of Durban "views with distaste any proposal for sub-economic housing on a large scale." Within limits that is a sound economic attitude, although pages 154-165 show that no country in the world can entirely avoid sub-economic housing—least of all, one with a colour-rigid economy. But the Group Areas Act is not economics at all. It is pure race politics. If that is what the European community wants, it must be prepared to pay the price of such economic folly. And not only is there the gratuitous addition to the housing problem described in the preceding paragraph, but the adamant

refusal of Senator Verwoerd to allow Africans any freehold rights outside the Reserves (and his determination to take away such rights as they have) gravely impedes Councillor Osborn's hope for an energetic and intelligent approach . . . on an economic basis." Man will work hard for security of home and tenure, but this is precisely what the Act denies to large sections of the community. It also seeks to perpetuate the present system of migrant labour with all its demoralising consequences and lack of incentive to build a home.

I put this book down with an added sense of debt to the University of Natal for the quality and care of its economic research which includes an inquiry into African incomes and the possibilities of cheaper forms of housing. But also with a great disquiet. Durban with its equal balance of Europeans, Indians and Africans has certain special problems. But Capetown also has a three-cornered issue between European, Coloured and African. And the magnitude of the Rand's non-European slums far exceeds either Capetown's or Durban's, which are terrible enough in all conscience. Where are the comparable books on Capetown or the Rand? Without them, how will justice be done or wise planning achieved, even if politics permit?



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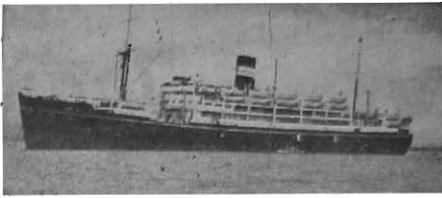
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DR. DONGES ON U.N.O. RESOLUTION

ADDRESSING an open air meeting near Voortrekker hoogte on Friday, November 27, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, referring to the resolution passed by the U.N. Special Political Committee on the Union's Apartheid policy, said, South Africa would not be a party to such a transparent breach of the Charter. This resolution would be just another nail in the coffin of the United Nations. The resolution, if adopted by the General Assembly, would be just another United Nations resolution that would be disregarded by the people to whom it was addressed. There were a number of such resolutions addressed to countries other than South Africa. The reason why these resolutions were disregarded was because they were so out of touch with realities.

Dr. Donges said the United Nations had passed resolutions about Kashmir, yet India simply shrugged her shoulders and continued in the same old way.

The enemies of South Africa were today attacking her on two fronts—at United Nations and on her own domestic front. The enemies of South Africa were trying to fight South Africa inside South Africa.

The leader of the Indian delegation, Mrs. Pandit, had stated that the proposal brought against South Africa at the United Nations was supported by 600,000,000 people. It would have been interesting if she had said what percentage of the people whom she claimed supported the resolution were illiterate. How many knew anything at all about South Africa or Apartheid? How many of them were able to read about such things? Her own country was a fair average where 90 per cent. were illiterate.

Mrs. Pandit had been very active in gangping up countries against South Africa and it was significant to note the extent to which former Ambassadors of India to Communist countries were used for this purpose.

The Soviet bloc, which at one time opposed interference in domestic affairs, were now voting solidly in favour of interference in South Africa. They refused to sanction interference in domestic affairs except in South Africa. This was a concession to India for which, no doubt, some *quid pro quo* was expected.

"Imagine a country like India taking up a case against South Africa when she herself is riddled with examples of apartheid in some form and while she was

denying rights to minorities who were not Hindus," he said.

When things like this were permitted in the United Nations he could only say the end of the United Nations was not far off.

When Russia, with her forced labour camp, supported India in this campaign was there any limit to political hypocrisy at the United Nations? If there was one forum where logic and argument were at a discount and where emotion and sentiment was at a premium it was the United Nations. In addition to her campaign against South Africa in the United Nations, India was carrying the fight to South Africa.

There was the evidence of monetary support from India for the defiance campaign. The official Government Party in

India—the Party of Nehru—had incited and was supporting the defiance campaign in South Africa. A fund of £2,000,000 was being established to aid and abet lawbreaking in South Africa, yet India was trying to arraign South Africa before the United Nations as a threat to peace.

The Prime Minister of India was directly interfering in affairs in South Africa today, yet only two years ago India and Pakistan had supported a resolution in the United Nations that no country should do anything to foment civil disturbances in any other country. But that was what they were doing today. The United Nations was being used as an instrument for carrying out the well-known Soviet technique of sowing unrest and chaos. Could it be said that the discussions about France, Britain and South Africa were calculated to further peace?

NON-EUROPEAN DOCTORS

THREE Durban and one Maritzburg non-European doctors saw the Administrator of Natal, Mr. D. G. Shepstone, last week and asked that the Provincial Administration should reconsider its policy concerning non-European medical and nursing personnel.

They asked the Administrator to make it possible for non-European professional men and women to join the staffs of "closed" Provincial hospitals at all levels; to make it possible for non-European professional men and women to practise in the private wards of Provincial hospitals and other attached departments; and to allow non-European nurses to be employed as sisters in Provincial hospitals.

In their memorandum the doctors, K. M. Seedat, J. J. Siillo, N. R. Mokate and D. M. Bassa state: "Though there are about 57 non-European doctors and dentists in Natal, it is not possible for them to join the staff of any 'closed' Provincial hospital at any level. Nor is it possible for them to treat their own private patients in the other hospitals where facilities for private practice exist.

"The result of this is that opportunities are denied to them of engaging in post-graduate work and research and, later, specialising. Moreover, South African non-Europeans who qualify overseas are lost to Natal and South Africa simply because facilities do not exist here for them to master and perfect their techniques and procedures and to acquire new ones.

"Thus, in the first instance, the very incentive for a non-European doctor to better his knowledge once he has graduated does not exist. This, considering the interests of the patients we seek to serve and the larger interests of medical science and the country, we must deeply deplore.

"When the Indian-African Clearing Station in Beatrice Street, Durban, was established and later handed over to the Province, there was a tacit gentlemen's agreement that the services of Indian doctors would be utilised. It is regretted that in spite of repeated representations, the agreement has not been maintained.

"We humbly submit that the services of the non-European nursing personnel should be utilised in the Provincial hospitals on a greater scale than is the case at present.

"It is notable that although King Edward VIII Hospital was established more than 16 years ago and started training non-European nurses a little later, there is not a single non-European sister on its staff at present.

"This must always remain a source of bitterness and frustration to qualified personnel who have worked at this hospital for years without any hope of promotion to the position of sister."

A Reasonable Plea

Commenting on the above the 'Natal Witness' writes

We hope that the Provincial authorities will give their care.

ful consideration to the request made by non-European doctors for admission to the staffs of Provincial hospitals, and for the right to treat their own patients in hospitals where there are facilities for private practice.

This is not in itself a difficult or complicated question. It is, or ought to be, a simple matter of justice and plain humanity to give to non-European doctors the same facilities for their work as are given to all other members of the profession. It is also a matter of ordinary common sense. The great numbers of non-Europeans in need of medical treatment cannot be cared for by the medical profession as it exists at present, and the training of non-European doctors is now being undertaken by the University of Natal. Unless there are facilities for internships and specialised studies in the hospitals, the preliminary training of these students will be a waste of public money. That at least should count even with those taxpayers who care little for justice and humanity.

The real reason for the resistance offered by public opinion to the employment of non-European professional men and women is seldom publicly stated, but is none the less effective for that. There is a strong prejudice against the employment of non-Europeans in any capacity which would require them to work together with Europeans in professional collaboration. So long as the relationship is clearly one in which the European exercises authority, there is no demand for segregation. A Native is admitted to a European house as a servant. A European nurse will treat a non-European patient who must obey her orders. The trouble arises when the relationship calls, not for subservience, but for collaboration. The exclusion of non-European doctors from Natal hospitals is not in fact rooted in a belief in segregation, but in the European's view of his relationship with any member of another race as one between master and servant. A great strain is being placed on race relations in South Africa by the persistence of this out-dated attitude. Is it too much to hope that it may at least be set aside in the common task of healing?

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THE RIOTS AND AFTER

(J. D. RHEINALLT JONES)

[The following letter addressed to the members of the South African Institute of Race Relations by the President, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, will appear in the December 1952 issue of 'Race Relations News':]

It is not possible to sort out the immediate causes of the tragic riots which have shocked us all so greatly. The Government has not instituted an immediate enquiry and it will be some time before an analysis of the events can be made. Meanwhile, from the evidence that is available, it can be said that the riots were an outburst of criminal and disorderly

standing; the African people have been shocked into a realization of their own responsibilities; all agree on the urgent need to maintain law and order.

The Director and senior officers went to the three areas to enquire into the position and to find out how goodwill could be recreated and a new start made in inter-racial co-operation. Certain significant facts have emerged. The political consciousness of the educated and otherwise sophisticated African has begun to permeate the masses of the African people at least in European areas. While the former are determined

hoped that from this foundation a new strong bridge of consultation will be built between the two communities. There must be bridges both informal and constitutional and it is your responsibility to try to build them.

One factor that has emerged at some of the enquiries made is the existence of a young criminal element. This delinquent group in the population is a grave menace, for it is quick to use tension and excitement for its own purpose. For about a generation in our urban areas there has been developing a class of teen-age youths,—tsotsis—the "spive" of our African urban population. Their own parents and neighbours fear them and they terrorise the lives of their own communities. Some of the tsotsis of ten years' ago have grown up to be criminals. Many have never known the discipline of school. They will not take regular work for they can gain more through illegal means. Many are from homes where the "husband" is temporary or has disappeared. In both Port Elizabeth and East London it is recognised by both Europeans and Africans that this group must be dealt with.

What then are the remedies for the tsotsis?

- (a) The establishment of an African Training Corps under the Education Act to which unemployed youths can be sent for training in building, carpentry, tailoring, clerical work and agricultural work.
 - (b) The establishment of African Youth Boards and Labour Exchanges with active canvassing among employers for openings for African juveniles.
 - (c) The opening up of employment opportunities in industry where African youths can be trained and used to the full.
 - (d) Compulsory schooling in urban areas.
- To meet the general situation:
- (a) Housing and still more housing.
 - (b) Increasing use and training of the skills and aptitudes of Africans in industry and commerce.
 - (c) The creation of effective means of communication between Africans and the Government, local and central, and between the peoples of the various racial groups.
 - (d) The placing of citizen responsibilities on the shoulders of African leaders.

S.A. OUTVOTED BY 45 TO 6

THE 60-Nation Special Committee of the United Nations rejected on Thursday, November 20, by 45 votes to six, with eight abstentions, the South African claim that the United Nations was not competent to consider the Union Government's apartheid policy. One nation was not represented.

The countries voting for the South African motion were Australia, Belgium, France, South Africa and Britain.

The eight abstentions were Argentine, the Dominican Republic, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Persia, Turkey and Venezuela.

The committee adopted by 35 votes to eight, with 16 abstentions, the 17-nation proposal that a fact-finding commission be appointed to study the racial situation in South Africa in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Those voting against the 17 nation resolution were: Denmark, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden and South Africa. Among the 16 abstentions were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Nationalist China, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

A resolution calling on the South African Government to extend its full co-operation to the commission and asking the Secretary General to provide the commission with necessary staff and facilities, was approved by 36 votes to seven with 15 abstentions.—Sapa Reuter.

elements in the African urban areas. Not only did they murder Europeans known to be friends of the African people, but they also caused the deaths of persons of their own race and the destruction of institutions greatly valued by the bulk of the African people.

These riots have greatly heightened the tension between the European and African communities, not only in the areas immediately affected, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, but throughout the country. European reactions have been varied. Some people have advocated a policy of force to meet the "black threat" in the future; others have realized that a new situation has arisen in the country which has to be met with a new approach and a new under-

standing; the African people have not to acquiesce in laws which derogate from human dignity and to demand citizen rights, the latter are rendered unhappy and sullen by the misery of inadequate housing, high food prices and the tensions caused by political and administrative measures. So far the masses do not think coherently, yet the organisational success of the one day protest strike in Port Elizabeth is significant.

You, as a member of the Institute and as a citizen, have a great responsibility. These developments and resentments must be canalized and given constitutional outlets. Already Port Elizabeth City Council has given a lead to the country by meeting with the moderates of the African community, there. This is a temporary measure but it is to be

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SOUTH AFRICA'S REAL CRISIS

(C. W. M. GELL)

THE nature and extent of South Africa's crisis is not yet fully realised. It is certainly important to enforce the rule of law in constitutional matters. But the constitutional crisis itself derives from Dr. Malan's anxiety to maintain "the European domination over the overwhelming majority of non-Europeans," which only his own party can be trusted to preserve intact.

Their patriarchal past and Calvinist convictions—as well as historical grievances and self-interest—justify the Nationalists' attempt to obviate the return to power of an Opposition which differs little from them on racial principles. It is difficult to reason with those who know that God is on their side.

There are many who say that, if the Nationalists should win in 1953, they will so entrench themselves in power that it will be impossible ever to vote them out again.

Certainly they may try to do so. But it is well to remember that they can only do it legitimately by obtaining a two-thirds majority in Parliament, which even the most pessimistic prophets do not expect.

The Entrenched Clauses were inserted in the Constitution precisely to prevent a narrow majority decision (in this case an actual minority decision) being imposed on fundamental issues. Even if the Nationalists should win another bare parliamentary majority on a specific mandate to establish "the sovereignty of Parliament over a court of five paid officials," they cannot legally depart from the Constitution.

Should they attempt to do so, we shall be back where we are today, prepared to resist illegal measures by every legal means and to meet force with force, if the Nationalists seek to enforce invalid legislation.

The only eventual guarantee of the Constitution, until it is legally amended, is our refusal to submit to its abrogation, and can as well meet that ultimate challenge if it should come in 1954 or 1955 as if it is precipitated now by any attempt to evade the decision of the courts on the High Court of Parliament Act.

These issues have been with us for nearly two years. But the defiance campaign has superimposed upon them something which is far more fundamental for our way of life and the future of South Africa. Not that the questions it asks are new.

They have been part of the

Union's history since Van Riebeeck landed. But events outside South Africa and the inevitable and irreversible advance of our non-Europeans have given them an urgency and insistence they did not earlier possess.

Four years of the Nationalists' aggressive racial ethos and the deterioration of White leadership whatever its point of view, have merely brought to a head in the Defiance Campaign something which has been long maturing.

Basic moral and practical issues have at last been raised in a form which mocks any attempt to "take the colour problem out of politics."

It should be clear now to most non-Nationalists, and many Nationalists too, that our present policy is the road to disaster. The hard inescapable fact is that this is a multi-racial country. No amount of "development in their own sphere" is going to compensate men for being permanently excluded from the higher political and economic life of our society.

Both South African Bureau of Race Affairs and the Dutch Reformed Church have recognised this.

Indeed, such development combined with such repression (I use the word exactly) must very greatly aggravate the situation. For it is one of the true generalisations of history that revolutions do not occur when men are at the lowest ebb of poverty and ignorance, but when conditions have improved sufficiently to open up new vistas of hope, which are then denied.

The defiance campaign is the beginning of such a revolution. Whether it will be passive or violent, reform or revolution, depends primarily upon the reaction of the Whites in the very near future.

As an officer in the Indian administration I saw *satyagraha* on a much larger scale than has yet been tried here. But the portents of the present movement are far more ominous. The British were agreed from the first upon the principle of Indian independence and the argument was over the pace. Here the issue between White and Black is one of principle. Secondly, the Indian intelligentsia had a much older and more pacific cultural heritage than its African counterpart. Thirdly, the bulk of the Africans are still more or less children of violence than even the illiterate Indian masses. All this means that, if the Whites remain intransigent, the chances of such a movement

continuing non-violent are much less than in India, where it often enough spilled over into bloodshed.

For one fifth of the population (even if all unfortunately "closed their ranks against the common enemy") to attempt to hold down (or hold "in their places") indefinitely the other four-fifths would be physically impossible (even with a monopoly of modern weapons), morally indefensible and economically catastrophic.

This is the challenge of the defiance campaign.

If the United Democratic Front allows itself to be identified with such a policy, either explicitly or implicitly by using such evasive and barren phrases as "White leadership with justice" (which means exclusive White political power, the industrial colour bar and much other discrimination on purely racial grounds,) it will involve the whole White community in the Nationalists' folly and the disaster for which it is heading.

The arguments of the faint-hearted, who fear that a positive colour policy will lose votes and, perhaps, the election in 1953, are no longer relevant. To win the election without a clear and constructive mandate on this basic issue will avail us little. Only the other day a very moderate African wrote:

"One point must be made crystal clear with all the emphasis at our command—we have turned our backs permanently on the type of co-operation dictated to

us by the White man.....co-operation must be on terms which we have agreed."

Consultation of non-Europeans is therefore not enough; there must be consultation and agreement. This in itself demands a revolution in European political attitudes which only the most courageous and resolute leadership will accomplish.

Mr. Strauss has acknowledged the necessity; but his four-point non-European policy falls so far short of what even moderate non-Europeans might reasonably be expected to accept that it is hard to believe that it is his last word on the subject.

If civilisation is to survive at all in South Africa, we have to offer the non-Europeans a ground for loyalty and a source of hope. Those Europeans who are impervious to the moral argument must be shown that the alternative is to fortify ourselves in a siege-economy in order precariously to postpone an inevitable reckoning.

For lack of leadership, both Europeans and non-Europeans are in danger of despair and the policies of force which it breeds.

What we lack today is a rallying point for all men of goodwill against defeatism on the one hand and the destructive emotions of the racial extremists on the other. The challenge of the crisis is for a constructive policy based on mutual respect and equal opportunity. So far it has not been met.—"The Evening Post" (Port Elizabeth.)



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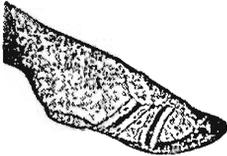
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

WHISPERING CAMPAIGN AGAINST DR. MOROKA

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SECTIONS of the African as well as the European Press continue to devote considerable space to rumours that Dr. Moroka, President General of the African National Congress, might not seek re-election when the Congress meets at Kimberley in annual conference a little more than a fortnight from today. Dr. Moroka himself made his position quite clear in a recent interview with 'Drum,' when he said that he would be willing to serve his people in any capacity; in other words, if the African people still want him, he would accept re-election.

The persistence with which his alleged intention to retire from politics is being discussed raises two suspicions. Either the reports of his alleged intentions are inspired by the authorities in the hope that they might sow confusion in the ranks of the defiance campaigners or they are a clumsy move on the part of Dr. Moroka's opponents to shake popular confidence in him.

But to see the whole matter in its proper perspective, let us have a glance at the reasons alleged to be responsible for Dr. Moroka's desire to retire. Firstly, it is being said that Dr. Moroka still smarts under what he felt to be a pointed snub from his working committee about two or three months ago when the latter issued a statement in conflict with a pronouncement he had made earlier to the effect that the race question was essentially South Africa's domestic affair.

Secondly, it is being said that Dr. Moroka has been frightened by the threat to imprison him under the Suppression of Communism Act. It is being said that he declined to seek the advice of Counsel for Congress when preparing his defence to show he had no sympathies with his colleagues on the national working committee.

To make it a little more spicy, it is being argued that there is reason to believe that broad hints have been given to him by the Government that if he makes no public appearances on Congress platforms, he might have the case against himself withdrawn.

Thirdly, it is being suggested that when the Police raided the Congress head offices they laid their hands on documents and correspondence about which Dr. Moroka knew nothing.

Some of the letters, it is said, were alleged to have been signed by him when, in fact, he had not done this.

From this the outlines of the oppressor's strategy emerge clearer. By all means, Dr. Moroka will be held out as a reasonable man; a moderate man whose prestige is being exploited by the political "scoundrels" in the working committee who forge his signature or something like that to achieve their own selfish ends.

But what are the facts of the whole matter? Both Dr. Moroka and his executive committee (and, therefore the working committee as well) were elected on the non-collaboration card. He and advisers in the executive committee as well as in the provinces, pledged themselves to carry out the 1949 programme of action.

And since his election this is what he has done to implement his promise: He resigned from the NRC and in that way brought an end to that useless body; he called out the Africans to protest against oppression on June 26, 1950; he brought into being the Indo-African alliance and, finally, called for 10,000 volunteers to defy unjust laws and go to prison for it. As I wrote the response is well on the way to reaching the eight thousand mark. If these has not surprised him, it certainly has exceeded the expectations of some of the leaders of Congress itself.

In short, the African people have, in three short years, demonstrated as clearly as is humanly possible that they are solidly behind Dr. Moroka. He, on his part, has shown openly that he is a man of courage, a man who will not balk at the idea of taking grave decisions. Why he should think of running away from his people when everything is now in his favour; when his policy is meeting with success everywhere, in spite of provocateurs who stir up riots, is something I cannot understand. Above everything Dr. Moroka called out ten thousand Africans to go to jail. And by the time the conference of the African National Congress meets in Kimberley nearly ten thousand men and women shall have gone to prison in just

about six months. These are the people who will attend the annual conference either in person or through their delegates. When they get to conference they will expect Dr. Moroka to tell them what to do, now that they have shown they are a solid and disciplined army of free-loving men and women ready to do his bidding. I cannot imagine Dr. Moroka saying he has called them to say he has decided not to lead them anymore, after the sacrifices they made to obey his call!

The enemies of the African people, of course, knew that Dr. Moroka is a dangerous man to trifle with. Enjoying as he does the confidence of the Africans in all the provinces of the Union, they knew that he will not rest before he has got what he set out to obtain for them. The best thing to do now is to start something very much akin to a whispering campaign. If it develops in volume and creates ill-feeling in the ranks of Congress, our enemies shall have triumphed. If it can persuade Dr. Moroka that he should clear out of Congress and make himself a world laughing-stock, our enemies will be the first to poke fun at him.

All this, however, should not be read as an attempt to suggest that everything is in order inside the African National Congress. There are small, mainly non-African pressure groups inside the High Command of the resistance campaign which exercise an influence out of all proportion to their actual contribution to the struggle itself.

There is a tendency to take it for granted that the Transvaal should have the biggest say in the conduct of the campaign, when its performance does not in any way compare with the magnificent achievements of Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe's Cape Congress.

There are other tensions, not only inside the High Command but also in the provincial Congresses. But none of these are of such a nature as to warrant a dangerous demonstration by the President-General of the African National Congress.

Nor is there a rival on the horizon strong enough to unsettle Dr. Moroka at the moment. It is true, the liberals and some of their friends are already trying to build up what they have been pleased to call "moderate African leaders." Dr. A. B. Xuma, Dr. Moroka's predecessor in office, has been given the widest publicity in the White Press of late. The idea was to make him the rallying-point of the so-called African moderates and, if possible, to persuade him to stand against Dr. Moroka. In a recent Press statement, however, Dr. Xuma stated quite clearly that today there is no such a thing as an "African moderate." In other words he made it plain that his sympathies are overwhelmingly with the resistance campaign. And there is every reason why he should feel this way. Only a short while ago, one of his closest personal friends, the Reverend James Calata, of Cradock, was debarred from preaching the word of God for six months by the Christian Government of Daniel Francois Malan. If there was a moderate African leader, Mr. Calata was one—in the fine sense of the term; an upright and Christian gentleman endowed with great courage and abiding love for Africa. What has it profited him? To be banned as though he were a Communist agent which he never has been; is not and is not likely ever to be.

Against this background, the wisest attitude to take at this stage, towards the rumours about Dr. Moroka's intention to retire is that they are one more attempt to break up the defiance campaign.

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U.N. ON APARTHEID IN S.A.

THE leader of India's delegation Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit told the UN Special Political Committee on November 12 that the situation in South Africa constituted a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the UN Charter.

Shrimati Vijayalakshmi was opening the debate on the resolution sponsored by 13 Asian-African countries condemning racial segregation in South Africa.

She said that in South Africa non-Whites could not serve as combatants in the armed forces. Even in trade unions there was apartheid and opportunities for skilled work were denied to non-Whites. In Government services, a systematic drive had been launched to replace non-Whites by Whites.

The feelings of resentment and bitterness in South Africa were growing and were now shared by an increasing number of Europeans. There was a limit to 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.

Shrimati Vijayalakshmi said that the Separate Representa-

tion of Voters Act removed the so-called Coloured voters residing in the Cape Province from a common roll to a separate roll.

After referring to the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa that the Act was ultra vires of Parliament, she stated that the Union Government had then enacted another Act entitled "The High Court of Parliament Act."

She observed "I have merely mentioned these matters to indicate that in the pursuit of their reckless racial policies, the Union Government have not hesitated to violate their own Constitution."

Hundreds and thousands of ordinary people, workers, traders, teachers, both men and women, cheerfully enlisted as volunteers in the campaign.

She 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."

Brutal methods involving violence had been used against non-violent resisters. "Conditions in the prisons and the

treatment of the resisters by the police and the jail warders are, from all accounts, appalling.

"But the spirit of the movement which has right and justice on its side cannot be broken by such measures. The movement of resistance goes on. It had met with widespread support from all sections of the non-White community in South Africa and has evoked the sympathy of the liberal elements in South Africa itself and in other parts of the world."

Shrimati Vijayalakshmi said that the General Assembly of York and the British Trade Union Congress had condemned South Africa's policies of Apartheid.

Turning to international implications of the problem, she said that the members of the UN had pledged themselves to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion.

"The situation in South Africa is already imperilling race relations throughout the vast continent of Africa and beyond.

"Unless this organisation acts and acts 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. It is imperative therefore for the World Organisation to take note of the present situation in South Africa and to study and examine its international implications."

The Indian delegate declared "The purpose of the countries which have brought this matter before the bar of world opinion is not to arraign or condemn the Union Government but to take note of the situation and to study it with a view if possible to assisting and helping the South African Government to solve it on a rational and humanitarian basis in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

"There can be no solution by continued domination of one race over others but only on the basis of mutual tolerance and understanding. The longer policies of persecution and discrimination are carried out, the more difficult will be the task of finding a fair and just solution of the racial question in that distracted country."

On November 12, when the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee resumed debate on South Africa's racial policies, Norway supported the stand of the 13-Nation Arab-Asian group that race conflict in South Africa created "a dangerous and explosive situation" and threatened world peace.

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DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ELECTED UNESCO PRESIDENT

CREATIVE EFFORT FOR PEACE URGED

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-President of India, took over the presidency of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation with a call for a "creative effort for peace."

UNESCO's Seventh Annual Conference, at its opening session on November 12, had unanimously nominated and elected the leader of the Indian Delegation to head the Organisation in the coming year.

About 500 delegates from 58 countries rose to their feet and applauded as Dr. Radhakrishnan, a slight, grey-haired figure in a long black coat, was greeted on the rostrum by his predecessor, Mr. Howard H. Sargeant, of the U.S.A. Speaking from the dais against the backdrop of the blue and white United Nations flag, Dr. Radhakrishnan declared that UNESCO's main task was to "develop the will to peace" and "to educate people to live in a world community."

Dr. Radhakrishnan, a former Chairman of the Executive Board of UNESCO, was the only nominee for the office of President.

Addressing the conference, its new President said that "there is no conflict between national loyalties and loyalty to a world community. We must get out of the intense nationalism which is a legacy of the past and get into an international society which is the goal for the future."

Text Of Address

The following is the text of the speech by Dr. Radhakrishnan after his election as President:

"I am deeply touched by the honour which this Conference has conferred on me, my delegation, and my country. I refer specially to the way in which the delegate of France stood aside and waived his right to enable this Conference to elect a delegate of an eastern country. I am grateful to you for this token of confidence and affection for me.

"I have been connected with this Organisation ever since it was established in this beautiful city, in one capacity or other. I attach great importance to its work. Through the inspiring and courageous leadership of the Director-General, UNESCO today stands for the central aims of the Organisation—peace and progress.

"The leader of the American delegation said that a third world

war can be avoided. If we believe that it cannot be avoided it means that civilisation has failed and that education, science and culture have failed.

"In this world of apprehension and anxiety, what is needed is a creative effort for peace. The main task of UNESCO is to develop the will to peace, to educate people to live in a world community. There is no conflict between national loyalties and loyalty to a world community. We begin our life with loyalty to our parents, expand it to the family, to the community to the nation, and our age imposes on us the obligation to expand this loyalty to the world as a whole. We must get out of the intense nationalism which is a legacy of the past, and get into an international society which is the goal of the future.

"UNESCO has not only to develop the will for peace, freedom and human rights. The cause of freedom is the cause of man. We must be educated to save those who are the victims of political power, economic greed, and racial pride. Men can obtain happiness only if they are not slaves to other men, if they are not surrounded by filth and disease, if they can obtain at least the necessities, if not the comforts, of life, for themselves and their families, and if they have sufficient leisure for recreation and reflection.

"We can have all these if we use modern science and technology to good purpose. These instruments have made it possible for us to remove the great obstacles to human happiness and well-being. If we do not use them for improvement of the conditions of life, it is not the fault of science and technology. It is due to human ossidness. To cure man of his stupidity, the spiritual resources of humanity require to be mobilised. If we are to reach down to the nerve and centre of the present crisis, we must restore in the mind of men the deeper consciousness of spirit so that its truths may sway our lives and transform the life of our times.

"These truths of spirit are tolerance, understanding, liberality. Those who deprive us of freedom in the name of freedom are not less dangerous than those who deprive us of freedom in the name of authority," Dr. Radhakrishnan declared.

"To a groping and discontented world let us bring from this Conference a knowledge of the profound realities that love not hatred, faith not doubt, freedom and not fear are the values

which are the ingredients of a creative democracy. Then out of the anguish of our day will be born a new unity of mankind where values of the spirit will find peace and security."

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