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INDIAN  
OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

*"By thine own soul's law  
learn to live  
And if men thwart thee  
take no heed,  
And if men hate thee  
have no care,  
Sing thou thy song and  
do thy deed,  
Hope thou thy hope and  
pray thy prayer."*



*"Master of human destinies  
am I!  
Fame, love and fortune  
on my footsteps wait:  
Cities and fields I walk,  
I penetrate  
Deserts and seas remote,  
and passing by,  
Hovel and mart and  
palace—soon or late  
I knock unbidden, once  
at every gate!  
If sleeping, wake—if  
feasting, rise before  
I turn away. It is the  
hour of fate.  
And they who follow me  
reach every state  
Mortals desire, and  
conquer every foe  
Save death, but those who  
doubt or hesitate,  
Condemned to failure,  
penury and woe,  
Seek me in vain and  
uselessly implore—  
I answer not, and I  
return no more."  
—Ingalls.*

## IRON CURTAINS

Earth's multitudes are sundered.

Each half is afraid of the other and of the lethal steel that may shatter a double curtain. One that separates peoples, and another that holds off atomic annihilation.

On one side, from brewing vats of potent dogma, bitter fumes arise and swirl in provocative snarls; while from the other come evil odours of fierce apprehension and wrath.

In vain we seek the unsullied air of a 'fraternity where minds can speak without fear, distorted suspicion and propagated enmity.

What can raise or demolish the curtain?

What can open pathways of peace, signposted with respect and goodwill?

What can remove the infectious poison?

Maybe we need first to appreciate how every iron curtain comes from an ancient foundry that fashions many intimidating protections

Was not "Apartheid" made therein, and all its variations, impacted with colour-bars, and wrought by dwarfs obsessed with gross prejudice—foolish little craftsmen who worship a god clad only in pink and never tawny

Was not also made therein all racial arrogance and national enmity? —the fevered blindness that saw no affinity of mood between "Rule Britannia and "Deutschland uber Alles" and operated the cynical paradox of seeking to rearm disarmed aggressors!

Were not therein made the arrogant devices that have sheltered wealth and class-privilege?

Ah, but therein also are manufactured the weapons and armour of all vanity and pride, the harsh instruments of intolerance of creative thought and the missiles of human hatred.

Surely no demolition of vast curtained blasphemy can succeed unless we become more apt in the crafts needing a richer courage, a more perceptive eye, winged devotion, a faithful stability of spirit and a more sensitive appraisal of the whole Man.

Surely we pursue our massive task effectually only if, dissolving the fear that mental divergence must issue in hostile severance, we remove the mental screen between your heart and mine.

How can we bring Earth's kindred into fellowship unless knowledge be endued with elements drawn from a precious liberated personal communion that can penetrate beyond implacable wills?

—R. W. Sorensen.

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY, 1953

## Catastrophe To Be Preferred?

THE current issue of the 'Forum' contains an article by an advocate of apartheid which deserves to be pondered over by every South African. Mr. P. J. Cillie, an editor of 'Die Burger,' the Capetown Afrikaans organ of the Government, starts by saying that "... our colour problem is in reality mainly a problem of nationality, in essence quite analogous to that of countries like India, Palestine and Ireland ... Ever since Union they (most White people) have increasingly felt that White South Africa constitutes or should constitute a separate and distinctive nation ... To maintain that, economic forces having made nonsense of previous attempts at the territorial separation of races, we must now accept the inevitable by including the Black majority in our blueprint for the future South African nation, seems to be an example of the fallacy of regarding economic facts as somehow more important and powerful than the forces of nationality. The dynamic of nationality will not be denied; and if a greater measure of territorial apartheid should prove to be impossible by orderly and planned processes, nationality will probably in the end resort to the catastrophic methods it employed in those partitioned countries (Palestine and India) referred to above."

Two things will immediately strike the reader n

Mr. Cillie's case: His dogmatic approach to the myth of nationality and his thinly disguised hostility to reason as the final arbiter in the relations between Black and White in this country.

The chief value of this statement of Malanite intentions, however, is that it makes clearer the true aims of Afrikaner Nationalism and reflects in clearer light the evils against which the men of colour, in common with White democrats, have to fight.

The "dynamic of nationality" is a myth defied by the Nazis. Those who accept it regard themselves as being threatened by those among whom they live. Although they are very loud in professing allegiance to the Christian faith, they never realise that as soon as the "dynamic of nationality" becomes the "Be-All-and-End-All" in life, Truth, Justice and Christian Love go by the board. In their place remain crude self-interest and an uncompromising rejection of the Golden Rule.

Mr. Cillie rejects with scorn the idea of a nation made up of Black and White people. The fact that the Blacks are in the majority is only an incidental fear. Nationality is the deciding factor. And because it is, those who belong to a different nationality group cannot be reasoned with; are not people with whom to share a common citizenship. They are people always to be kept apart.

If this cannot be done by orderly and planned processes, civil war communal murders, the forceful removal of people from their homes (for these things happened where the "dynamic of nationality" won) are prospects which Mr. Cillie invites us to look to with equanimity.

In all this, of course, what he really succeeds in doing is to state, in effect, that the bridge between those Whitemen who think as he does and the non-Whites is ultimately unbridgeable. In the end efforts to bridge it might produce catastrophic results. This explains why the Government has come along with the Public Safety Bill. If the non-Europeans can, by peaceful organisation and orderly demonstrations, create situations where they can place themselves in the position of negotiating on terms of equality with the Whiteman, the votaries of the "nationality dynamic" will not hesitate to resort to extreme measures to silence all demands for reform.

We know Mr. Cillie does not speak for the majority of the White people when he postulates that the bridge between them and the non-Whites is ultimately unbridgeable. Very many of them might not be liberals. That we concede. But very many of them want a stable society—something they would not get if the "dynamic of nationality" held its way all along the line.

But the greatest danger in Mr. Cillie's catastrophe-talk is that it hardens non-European opinion and creates a black dynamic of nationality. When dynamics of nationality clash, they usually leave behind them a trail of destruction which at best can only be a monument to human stupidity.

## Rheinallt Jones

MEN of goodwill in all the racial camps received with grief the news of the death, after a long illness, of Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones.

For many years he was very closely associated with the South African Institute of Race Relations, which he founded and whose president he was when he died. He could be called a champion of the rights of the man of colour. But in being that, he was a champion of the old school. He recognised the evils in our social system. Throughout his long public life he believed that the group he led—a few Africans, Europeans, Indians and a handful of Coloureds—could, through discussion, research, bulletins, deputations and memoranda, build an effective bridge between the White and the non-White races.

As a means for building closer personal friendships between the select few, his methods probably worked. But tried against the national canvas, they brought the word "liberal" into disrepute.

Liberalism's failure to be an effective bridge brought into being African Nationalism; a new force now trying to bring the African to the position where he can negotiate with the Whiteman on terms of equality. As things stand to-day, the liberalism for which Rheinallt Jones stood is definitely on the way out. But the greatest thing is that from the ruins of the old, a new liberalism is arising which holds within itself the promise of building a true and durable bridge between White and non-White men of goodwill. This in itself, is a magnificent tribute to the vision of Rheinallt Jones. For, when the history of the times comes to be written, men will say of him that he held the torch—albeit falteringly—aglow and kept alive the faith. Therein lay the man's greatness.

## NOTES

Tragedy In Britain, Belgium  
And Holland

DEATH and destruction came to Britain and Europe during the week end when gales lashed the North Sea into a fury which engulfed people and property in one of the worst natural disasters of the past 100 years. Men, women, children and animals were drowned or battered to death. Hundreds are believed to be dead and thousands rendered homeless. The sympathy of the world will go out to Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium in this grievous disaster. To those who are suffering and to those who are mourning the loss of their near and dear ones, go prayers and heartfelt compassion of every man and woman of goodwill.

Malan's Government Dislikes  
Christian Action Activities

A fund to assist the families and dependents of civil disobedience resisters in South Africa, who have been imprisoned for resisting the apartheid laws, was launched publicly at a meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, London, recently. Over a week ago Canon L. J. Collins, Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral and Chairman of Christian Action, said that £1,400 had been collected for the fund, principally as the result of a private appeal through the post to members of Christian Action. Mr. James Griffiths, the former Colonial Secretary, and the Rev. Michael Scott were among those who spoke in support of the fund. The serious view which the Union Government is taking of Mr. Griffiths' association with the work of Christian action in raising funds for the dependents of the unjust law resisters in South Africa, is reflected in letters which the Union High Commissioner, Dr. Geyer, has written to Mr. Attlee in this connection.

Don't Exaggerate Differences  
—Steyn

The question of relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans had changed more in the last 10 years than in the previous century—not only in South Africa, but throughout the world—and the new conditions which had been created had to be dealt with in a new way, said Dr. Colin Steyn, M.P., at a United Party meeting in Capetown recently. With our small White population in the southern tip of this continent,

we must act with wisdom and understanding if we are to survive," Dr. Steyn said. "We must look for points of contact. We must not exaggerate our differences and prejudices. "Having a heterogeneous population, it is only by co-operation, among all sections that we will have any success. The Africa and the South Africa of yesterday will never return—we must deal with the new conditions in a new way."

Institute Calls For Racial  
Conferences

The findings Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations recently made the following recommendations on the Union's racial tensions:—to the 23rd annual meeting of the Institutes Council:—1. That Council approves the Statement of the fundamental beliefs and attitudes of the Institute of Race Relations as contained in the pamphlet "...go forward in faith."

2. That it is urgently necessary to re-establish contact between all the population groups in our country.

3. That, therefore, a Conference or series of Conferences of responsible individuals drawn from the various population groups should be organised with as little delay as possible.

4. That Council instruct the incoming Executive Committee of the Institute to arrange for such Conference or Conferences, and to decide both on the time and place for these Conferences, and on the programmes of discussion.

5. Council recommends to the incoming Executive Committee that arrangements be made for the publication of Mr. Quintin Whyte's assessment of the situation which led to the publication of "...go forward in faith."

## Death Of Rheinallt Jones

Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and adviser on Native affairs to the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, died in Johannesburg. He was 68. For five years—from 1937 to 1942—Mr. Rheinallt Jones sat in the Senate as elected representative of the Natives for the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Soon after he retired from the Senate, he became Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Throughout his public life he was actively engaged in

social and welfare work, both among the Native and the European communities and was a recognised authority on race relations, juvenile employment, education and technical training. As a speaker and writer he made considerable contributions in all these spheres. He was born in North Wales in 1884, and

came to South Africa in 1905. Mr. Rheinallt Jones had been seriously ill since the middle of December from a suspected tropical infection. He visited Portuguese and British territories in East Africa, the Sudan, Europe and the United Kingdom and Central Africa towards the end of last year.

PATRICK DUNCAN, MANILAL GANDHI  
AND OTHER RESISTERS SENTENCED

THE trial of eight participants in the defiance campaign in Germiston on December 8, concluded on Wednesday morning, February 4, when all were convicted of a charge of behaving in a manner calculated to cause Natives to resist and contravene a law, or to prevail upon them to resist and contravene a law, or to prevail upon them to obstruct the administration of any law by leading a procession or group of Natives into the Germiston location.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of the first Governor-General of South Africa, was fined £100 or 100 days' imprisonment with compulsory labour, and Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi and editor of 'Indian Opinion' was fined £50 or 50 days.

Du Toit, Troup, Stamelmann and Cohen were each fined £50 or 50 days, half suspended for three years on condition that they do not commit a similar offence during the period of suspension.

Holt and Shall were each fined £20 or 20 days, similarly suspended for three years.

Bail was fixed pending an appeal.

In finding the accused guilty, the Magistrate said that it was obvious Mr. Duncan was a very well educated and very intelligent type of person, and one who held a responsible position. It was also obvious that the others were well educated and intelligent types.

Mr. Duncan had left the Colonial Service to take part in the political sphere, and he came to Johannesburg on December 4 to participate in the defiance campaign.

Mr. Duncan had told the Court that he intended to enter the location in defiance of the permit regulations and that he had no permit to do so.

The accused must have known that their action of entering the location would cause a crowd of Natives to collect whether out of

curiosity or otherwise, and that as soon as they entered the location the crowd would follow them.

They behaved in a manner and did acts calculated to cause Natives to resist and contravene the law.

## CHANGE OF NAME

In response to our request to our readers for proposals to change the name of 'Indian Opinion,' we have now received the following names: 'Liberal Opinion,' 'The Statesman,' 'New Outlook,' 'African Dawn,' 'Times Of Africa,' 'Equality' 'Candid Opinion' and 'Justician.' Readers are requested to kindly send further suggestions.

Manager 'Indian Opinion.'

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## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

## SMUTS BY HIS SON

By C. W. M. GELL

MR. SMUTS' life of his father (Cassell, 25/-) does not pretend to be the official biography. It is a personal eulogy. It tells us a good deal about General Smuts' personality and the impression he created among those nearest and dearest to him. It also quotes extensively from some of his speeches which will not be readily available elsewhere for some years. As General Smuts was by any standard a great man whose vision and abilities left their mark on our country, our Commonwealth and our world, this must be a valuable book.

It is nevertheless a bad book. This is not because of its uncritical adulation nor because of the comparisons between General Smuts and some of his contemporaries which (notably in the case of Hofmeyr on p.384) seem to transgress the bounds of good taste. These all relate to the subject of the book and may be allowed to such an author of such a book so soon after his father's death.

It is a bad book principally because of what Mr. Smuts has added to it on his own account. Perhaps it is unfair to be so critical of one who disclaims any qualifications as a journalist, historian or politician. But South Africans notoriously lack a critical historical perspective and all too easily, therefore, accept statements served up to them in black and white. And since this book about so focal a figure abounds in loose and inaccurate historical asides by the author, there is a real danger that it will help to perpetuate some of the myths which feed the vanity and convenience of a White population preponderantly apathetic about its political and social responsibilities.

Where Mr. Smuts comments on world affairs, his views are often absurdly naive or definitely mistaken. No one except a South African—possibly no one except an Afrikaner—seriously believes that the repercussions of the Anglo-Boer War "still reverberate around the world." (p.27) The complicity of Joseph Chamberlain in the Jameson Raid has long been a vexed question. But who has ever before and on what evidence involved the British Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery? (p.35) To suggest (p.90) that the outcry against the importation of Chinese labour for the Reef gold mines decided the British election of 1905 is to lose all sense of proportion. And surely the London Land Bank Loan of £5 million to the Transvaal Gov-

ernment (p.103) was not the result of the gift of the Cullinan diamond to the King?

There is no point in prolonging the list of improbable or inaccurate historical references. No one is likely to treat Mr. Smuts' book as a reliable guide to world affairs. His opinions on such matters are, therefore, curious but unimportant, though one is surprised that the publishers have not corrected a few of them.

The case is rather different, however, with respect to South African history and the chances of people being misled on issues which are still alive today are much greater. I think it is important, therefore, that the unreliability of Mr. Smuts' opinions on his own country's history should be widely known. I shall hope in a later article to have the opportunity of commenting on a number of other topics from this book. In this article I will confine myself to Mr. Smuts' remarks about Indians and Asia, in order to expose the limitations of his historical method.

The Indians first appear on p. 91 with Natal importing "6,000 low-caste Madras Indians." This is only a minor inaccuracy, as about 10 per cent. of these early immigrants were Brahmins or Rajputs. In some of the later batches as many as 21 per cent. were Brahmins, 11 per cent. Kshatriyas or Vaisyas, and only some 35 per cent. Sudras or out-castes. Certainly over the whole period of immigration the lower castes considerably outnumbered the higher, as they do in the population of India or indeed (speaking of classes) of any other country at all.

The next misrepresentation is far more serious. Mr. Smuts writes: "The Indians bred prolifically and at the turn of the century presented a formidable problem. The people of Natal instead of raising a clamour to get the coolies repatriated, merely crossed their arms in resignation." (p.94) On p. 101 he writes: "The Indian people were breeding like rabbits and the country was fast becoming swamped by them." And on p.106: "The 6,000 Indians originally imported had by 1950 multiplied to 250,000."

Any unsuspecting reader would surely suppose from these statements that the total immigration was 6,000 and that natural increase was thereafter responsible for the growth of the Indian population in the Union. But, in fact, indentured Indian labour

was (with brief interruptions) continuous from 1860 to 1911 and constituted by far the greater part of the expansion of the Natal Indian population, which rose from 6,000 in 1871 to 21,000 in 1880, to 11,000 in 1891, to 101,000 in 1901 and to 133,000 in 1911. No natural increase could produce these results, especially since, if the Indians were "breeding like rabbits," they were also (particularly their infants) dying like flies. There was also a high adverse masculinity rate throughout the period: 166 Indian males to every 100 females in 1891, 169 in 1904 and 156 in 1911. The total indentured immigration for the period 1860 to 1911 was something over 142,000 Indians. Free Indian immigration was about 30,000.

Secondly, and even more serious than Mr. Smuts' mistaken fertility inferences, the picture of the patient, long-suffering Europeans of Natal is quite untrue to the facts. By an overwhelming majority they and their government voted for Indian coolies in order to provide themselves with reliable labour for their plantations. Briton and Beer, from the tropical coast and the highlands inland, they had put their names down for Indian labourers for agricultural and domestic purposes. Nor was it ever open to them to raise an effective clamour for repatriation, because the Indian Government only sanctioned indentured emigration from India on terms (embodied in Natal Law 11 of 1859, section 6, 9 and 28) which permitted the coolies to become free men on the expiry of their five years contract and offered them a grant of Crown land in lieu of their free passage home, if they preferred. That is to say, the Europeans of Natal freely chose to import Indians on terms which encouraged them eventually to settle as free men and, despite a growing volume of protest from some quarters which certainly does not read like "crossing their arms in resignation," a majority of Natalians to their own very considerable profit continued to favour the importing of Indians on these terms until 1911.

On p.101 Mr. Smuts makes two more points which demand attention. He says that the disfranchisement of the Natal Indians in 1896 was a measure of self-protection to ensure the country should remain White. Whether the then population of 40,000 Europeans, 60,000 Indians and 100,000 Africans constituted a "White" country is a doubtful matter, not improved by the continued importation of Indians. But by 1911 100,000 Indians were free and could theoretically qualify for the vote; and the actual voters' roll contained the

names of 9,309 Europeans and 251 Indians.

Secondly, the £3 poll tax which Mr. Smuts thinks was imposed to "deter Indians from coming to South Africa," was in fact intended to deter Indians who had completed their term of indenture from settling here as free men. The original proposal was for a £25 tax which was punitive by the standards of those days. But the Indian Government, which could have cut off the supply of indentured immigrants, had this reduced to £3. The whole history of Natal and the Indian immigration is of a struggle between the profits to be obtained from the use of cheap indentured labour and the anxieties caused by the growing freed Indian community. Profits won every time. No doubt the colonists would have liked to import coolies, subject to their immediate repatriation on the expiry of their contracts. But it was the Indian Government which laid down the terms which Natal had to accept or go without coolies. Having chosen to accept both the terms and the coolies, it could not "clamour for repatriation" without abrogating its historical obligations which are still binding today. And disfranchisement was then, as it is today, an attempt to perpetuate White political monopoly while continuing to reap the profits of multi-racial economy. I do not think that any uninstructed reader of Mr. Smuts' remark: "In 1911 further immigration of Indians into the country was prohibited," (p.106) would guess either from his words or their context that this was a decision of the Government of India because of the unsatisfactory treatment of Indians in the Union and that it was energetically but unsuccessfully opposed by Natal and the Union Government. Thus, it was India not South Africa which brought coolie immigration to a close.

Both General Smuts and Gandhiji were too big to consider whether during their political contest of 1907-13 one "got the better" of the other. (p.106) The historical conclusion must be that Smuts made no concession on major matters, though he did hope that closing Indian immigration entirely would free Europeans from the fear which inspired their illiberal policies. That hope was disappointed. The concessions which Gandhiji's first campaign of satyagraha won were worth more to sensitive feelings and racial pride than to material value, except for the repeal of the £3 tax.

Mr. Smuts regards the Durban riots of 1949 as "no reflection on the White man....(but) an indication of the... anger of the Kaffers at their exploitation by unscrupulous Indian merchants."

(p.519) Echoes of this line of reasoning appeared earlier on pp. 94 and 106. Now, since the bulk of African shopping in Natal (and Durban in particular) is done with Indian stores and since merchants of all races include some avaricious persons, no prudent person would deny that some Africans may have had legitimate grievances against some Indians. But some, at least, of this resentment should have been directed rather against the general rise of prices than the personal avarice of individual merchants. And Europeans bear a share of the responsibility for what happened, for (a) the anti-Indian speeches made during the 1948 election campaign, (b) their frequently declared antipathy to Indians (there were some depraved Europeans who actually cheered the African rioters on) which encouraged the Africans to think the Indians could be attacked with impunity, and (c) the apathy of the electorate (virtually all-European) in the face of non-European frustration, squalor, homelessness, ill-health, lack of education etc.—to say nothing of the offensive against non-European rights which has intensified in the last four years but origin-

ated much earlier. It is an inevitable corollary of confining political power to one race group that that race group is then responsible for almost everything that happens.

By that strange inversion which even General Smuts for all his breadth of vision could never quite overcome in regard to coloured peoples (e.g. his comments on the independence of India and Indonesia), Mr. Smuts considers that our situation in South Africa is "often complicated by the fact that the problems of India and Empire are often projected onto our domestic ones." (p.106) There is some truth in this; but much more in the proposition that the Union's racial policies are an abiding source of embarrassment to the rest of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Smut's book contains so much that is valuable that I do urge him to consider whether for future editions he should not most carefully revise all his own historical comments. The few here criticised show a serious defect in his book which is constantly repeating itself throughout his pages and which could be eliminated without in any way detracting from his main purpose.

## RHEINALT JONES

By JULIUS LEWIN

BY the death of Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, the theory and practice of race relations have lost their oldest pioneer. In the South African Institute of Race Relations, Rheinallt Jones leaves a monument to himself that may prove more lasting than bronze. In the hearts of countless men and women of all races who knew him, he leaves a memory of high purpose served by great knowledge and directed by strong faith in humanity.

When he came to Johannesburg from the Cape in 1918, "R. J." was already concerned with social welfare. He soon realized that there could be no social progress in the Union unless the condition of the non-White people was first studied and then action taken as a result of study. In this realization he was far in advance of his times. It was years before his view was accepted by public opinion in general. To gain its acceptance, he founded the Institute of Race Relations in 1929, originally with the support of the inter-racial Joint Councils that he had nursed into life in various towns.

If it is realized today that good race relations necessarily involve personal contact and friendship

between Whites and non-Whites, no one did more than R. J. to establish that idea in the minds of White people. Not only in their offices but also in their home at Florida, R. J. and his first wife set their fellow-citizens a splendid example.

Through fair weather and foul, R. J. retained his quiet confidence in the capacity of non-European people to improve their own position. He likewise maintained his own steady, persistent pressure, through a dozen different channels, for alteration of the laws that hampered non-Europeans and held them back.

Under his direction, the Institute grew and enlarged its beneficent activities. R. J. made his best contribution less by oratory and writing, though he was at ease in both, than by the unobtrusive power of a captivating personality. It consisted partly in an unusual resourcefulness in finding methods by which vague benevolence could be converted into constructive action; partly in his Welsh genius for discovering common ground where men of differing views could meet; and, most of all, in an effortless ability to inspire confidence which beguiled people into believing in

the crusades he preached to them when in reality they believed only in him.

R. J. was in the thick of every controversy over Native policy in the last 25 years. Always he tried to prevent racial discrimination and, when he failed, to modify its evil effects. To his great credit, he long recognised the crucial importance of the African National Congress, repeatedly endeavoured to encourage its growth, and, to the very end of his life, held that its

successful organisation would be a vital factor in bringing about political change.

It is hard to recall any European who has been more zealous in the pursuit of social justice and of racial freedom and in whom there glowed a more equable fire.

We who must face the future, inherit from this pioneer a legacy of good works inspired by firm faith. We shall honour his memory best by building well on the solid foundations he laid.

## ALAN PATON ON DEFIANCE

AN article by Alan Paton, author of "Ory the Beloved Country," in the "Church of England Newspaper" (October 17, 52) described the attitude of some Whites South Africa to the Defiance Campaign. "While White Liberals and Christians, being of their time and place, find it impossible to support actively the campaign, they find it equally impossible to condemn it. In their hearts they hope it will succeed in bringing about opportunities for a richer and fuller life for all people, but they would choose to see such opportunities given honourably rather than under duress... The British Christians see the issues very simply and clearly. They knew that South Africa is in position A, where as it ought to be in position B; therefore it must move from A to B at once, as a matter of simple morality. Now the White South African Christian will no doubt agree that South Africa ought to be in position B; but if he wishes to go there immediately, he knows that he will have to go there by himself. That is precisely what Michael Scott did.

"Now an ordinary White South African Christian does not like going places by himself;

if he does, he may have to sacrifice career, possessions, security, family, in fact the whole order of his life. He hesitates moreover to make common cause with non-White people against White people; nothing in his life and education has prepared him for such a step.

"Many White Christians will speak boldly, but cannot go so far as to identify themselves with the Black man's cause. It is because White South African Christians are more cowardly or more hypocritical? It is because they are more cowardly than, say, the German martyrs under Hitler? I do not think so. I think it is because they are not yet in the same position as the German martyrs. It is no use for anybody to tell us, or for us to tell ourselves, that we soon will be. The truth is that our Government is of its own kind Christian, and no question has yet been posed to us in any such fateful and final way...

"I do not suggest that British Christians should not criticise us; let them do what they think is right. But if they do criticise and rebuke, let them first have prayed for us.

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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## DANGERS AHEAD FOR CONGRESS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE African National Congress might soon find itself entangled very badly if it does not exercise a little more discretion in its choice of allies.

As the leader of the resistance movement and the senior partner, whatever happens to the African National Congress will perforce produce important results on the resistance movement. The leaders of the Congress need to remember that they do not lead only their own people; they lead all who have chosen to join the ranks of the resisters. Thus, what would perhaps assume no particular significance if the resisters were the Africans only, might produce very far-reaching repercussions. For this reason, the leaders of the African National Congress have, by their success to date, brought on their shoulders additional responsibilities.

It is because of this that now, more than at any other time, the Congress should be more than careful about the things it does.

At the moment two dangers threaten the African National Congress—one from the side of the Government and the other from the underground leftists.

As everybody knows, the Government is determined to do one or both of two things: to ban Congress or exploit its existence and identify the resistance movement with the Kenya Mau Mau. The first move will have been a blow at a body which has proved clearly that it is a political force which alone can successfully challenge and defeat apartheid. The Government, however, might decide not to rush anything by way of banning Congress at this stage. It might decide to allow the Congress to continue its existence in the hope that agents-provocateurs will provoke from Congress a response which might be distorted and then give substance to the Government's Mau Mau charge.

Against this background, the leaders of the resistance movement are acting very wisely if they follow a cautious course at the moment. Our leaders often get too little credit and unwarranted kicks for the wisdom they display in leading us. But at the moment the situation is extremely fluid. Even the Government has been forced to act a little more than warily. This is about the best tribute to the tact and wisdom of the men to

whom we have entrusted our destinies.

But too much caution might lead to paralysis and a betrayal of the struggle. If Congress has to be cautious at this stage and, for that matter, send as few men and women to jail as possible the reasons behind this should be made known to the public—if to counter malicious propaganda suggesting that the resistance leaders have been frightened by the crack of Verwoerd's whip, into soft-pedalling on the action front.

The dangers from the Government side we all know. It is the dangers from the underground communists which do not appear to be more widely known, even among some of the people who should know better in Congress.

When Malan talked of the Suppression of Communism Act the communists at the time were scared pale. They could not imagine themselves jailed, persecuted or even hanged for loyalty to their political faith. They would not fight apartheid openly, come what might. They rushed into their bunkholes underground and there waited to see what would happen. The Congress took up the Malenite challenge and fought back with exemplary courage; that is, it fought back in a manner which shamed the communists. In this, of course, it was joined by the Indian Congress.

These two bodies know what fate awaits them. Their leaders have made colossal sacrifices to date. But this has not deterred them. They both fight on and are determined to go down fighting than try and play safe and scuttle the resistance movement.

This stand of theirs has enabled them to send 8,000 men and women to jail from all walks of life, representing all races. It has won for them world wide respect and admiration. This has convinced the underground communists that they made a blunder by running away from the struggle in the way they did. They have been quick to mend their ways and are now making determined bids to stage a come-back at any price.

Their tactics are simple. They do not return to the struggle as underground communists; nor do they espouse clearly communist cause. They are, firstly, planting some of their trusted

men in non-European political, trade union and social organisations. One point where the communists beat all their opponents, barring the Malenites, is their absolute devotion to their cause. If they are instructed to join a movement to influence its decisions, they will work harder than anybody, very often for no material gain whatsoever, to bring its objects nearer realisation. In that way they quickly rise to the top in very many organisations. Secondly, they are well-grounded ideologically. They know precisely what courses will best advance communist goals from day to day.

A movement might all along think that it is still on its rails when, in fact, it has long abandoned them and is clearly on its way to Moscow.

Where planting is not effective, they bring into being new organisations with perfectly plausible aims and objects. These organisations are used as "fronts" which underground communism employs as platforms or sounding-boards. They might enter into alliances with other bodies or work with them, not so much to achieve the goals of the latter as either to destroy them or encourage them to keep closer to the Moscow line.

Thirdly they skillfully play-up or play-down leaders whom they dislike. At the moment distinguished African leaders like Dr. James L. Z. Njongwe, president of the Cape Congress, do not get the publicity they deserve from the leftists. Dr. Njongwe is cited here because his is a typical case of a man who is being played down because he is dangerous to the underground leftists. He has built up his own Cape Congress independently of the communists and shown that he has a firm hold on his following. Nobody can touch Dr. Njongwe in the Cape. Well, if they cannot corrupt or undermine him, the next best thing is to bottle him up in the Cape and prevent him from being universally recognised as the national hero that he is.

There are very many Dr. Njongwes in all the four provinces whom the underground leftists are subtly trying to destroy to pave the way either for making Congress one of their "fronts" or for strengthening the men they have planted or seek to plant in it.

As soon as the contents of the draconian bills in Minister Swart's briefcase are more widely known, we might find a number of organisations under underground communist domi-

nation coming forward with suggestions of a bigger alliance embodying all the enemies of apartheid, regardless of colour. There would have, of course, to be a supreme co-ordinating body to dictate to all the national bodies constituting such an organisation. And in this co-ordinating agency, the underground communists will sort things out in such a way that they dominate without anybody suspecting them.

The African National Congress is, of course, target-Number One of the underground communists. By showing that it enjoys the confidence of the African people it has won for itself regard as a good host to the leftist political parasites.

Strenuous efforts might be made to force Congress to take and follow courses which might bring about its early elimination. As things stand, pressure might be exerted on Congress to prepare now for a national strike. Such a strike might well prove disastrous. I do not suggest that Congress is afraid of disaster. But Congress would be extremely unwise to invite disaster its way when it knows very well that it will not cope with it. Thus, for Congress to call a national strike in a hurry and without making the necessary preparations would suit the underground communists very well because it would antagonise the Africans against Congress and justify Minister Swart in crushing the Congress.

Congress would find it next to impossible to regroup underground except on terms dictated by underground communism—which has a longer and more expert tradition in this respect.

One of the advantages favouring underground communism is the fact that all they need to do is to pull strings only along the Reef and they have the African National Congress at their beck and call. The underground leftists do not conceal the fact that the election of Mr. Luthuli as President-General is a major calamity for them for two reasons. Mr. Luthuli is first and foremost a nationalist—the farthest he can go is towards the centre, from the right. Secondly, the residence of the chief executive officer of Congress in Natal, miles away from Johannesburg, threatens to decentralise the control of Congress and in that way weaken the central hub which is within their easy reach.

Johannesburg's role has always been unfortunate because in the sacrifices and organisation, the Transvaal, and Johannesburg in particular, have not made the contributions which qualify

them for being regarded as the national headquarters of the African National Congress. But this is not the point really at issue. The point is: Too much centralisation of Congress control in Johannesburg deprives the other provinces of an effective say on how their affairs shall be run and, secondly, holds Congress bound hand and feet readily to its underground enemies of tomorrow.

The fact that such a distinguished fighter for African freedom like Dr. James L. Z. Njongwe should not have an effective say in the inner councils of Congress or the resistance movement is very significant, and, I might add, dangerous.

What Congress needs is to make every province have an equal voice in the administra-

tion of our political affairs—even if this means the transference of the headquarters, as was the case in the past, to where the President-General is. A refusal to do this today might tomorrow create dangerous tensions inside Congress itself, apart from helping the underground communists. The call is therefore for a statesmanlike attempt to give all the provinces an equal say in the inner councils of Congress and the resistance movement, if to entrench in them the feeling that these bodies are their own and do not have to be dictated to by the Reef.

Given goodwill, these adjustments can be made smoothly without trouble and the African people and their true allies will stand to gain tremendously.

## NON-EUROPEAN LEADERS ARRESTED

THE President of the African National Congress, ex-Chief A. J. Lutshuli the President of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr. G. M. Nafoker, and Mr. J. N. Singh a vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress and Mr. O. I. Amra an Executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and Mr. Denton Mqandl a member of the A.N.C. were arrested at the Nisool Square, Durban last week.

The N.I.C. had called a mass rally of protest against the acute shortage of school accommodation for non-European children in Natal. It is estimated that no less than 27,000 Indian children alone are without school, and there are thousands upon thousands of African children who have no schools to go to.

The meeting was opened by Chief Lutshuli who said that it was non-political in the sense that the people had come to ask for education for their children. Indian schools had already opened and many thousands of children had been refused admission. In the case of Africans, facilities exist for at most 40% of the children of school going age.

The N.I.C. had not been given permission but it was felt that on account of the urgency of the matter the meeting had to go on.

Mr. J. N. Singh said that he saw no reason why the Durban City Council has seen fit to refuse permission to hold the meeting. They had made it a policy to refuse permission for all meetings called by the N.I.C.

Mr. Singh had only spoken for about five minutes when an Police Officer and two plain-clothes policemen stopped on the platform. The Officer inter-

rupted Mr. Singh's speech and said "Have you permission to hold this meeting?" The plain-clothes policeman then said "Dr. Nafoker—I am arresting you, and you Lutshuli."

Mr. Singh asked the Officer if he could say something to the gathering of several thousands who were at a loss to understand the police intervention. The Officer refused. And, he himself came to the microphone and said "I am warning you that this meeting is illegal. I am warning you to disperse. Otherwise you lay yourself open to criminal action."

Then he got two African policemen to translate his words into Zulu and Sesutu and an Indian policeman in Tamil.

The people however refused to leave, but the leaders from the platform beckoned to them to go away peacefully. The people shouted "Africa" and started singing "Mayi Baye Afrika" and dispersed.

When the police officer came on the platform a big cordon of armed policemen quickly formed round the platform and the square. They carried guns and batons and looked threateningly upon the people.

Earlier in the afternoon the police had threatened the owner of the loudspeaker equipment that he would be charged if he hired his equipment for the meeting, but notwithstanding this threat, the loudspeaker was installed.

At the meeting hundreds of people signed a petition to the Administrator of Natal calling for more schools.

Shortly after his release Chief Lutshuli said:—"The authorities are apparently very much frightened because they do not

allow us to speak ever about a non-political subject. I regret very much the attitude of the Durban City Council which is so much out of touch with English traditions of freedom of speech. The English speaking people talk so much about the totalitarian Nationalist government, but what can be more totalitarian than the ban placed on our meeting. We shall continue to speak to our people. That is our duty. We pray as leaders that God may make us truly responsible and not make us fall in our duty."

## Treated Like Criminals

The five non-European leaders appeared in the Durban Magistrate's Court last week charged with holding an unauthorized meeting in Nisool Square, Durban, one of the defence attorneys, Mr. R. L. Aronstein, said that the accused had been treated like common criminals after their arrest; their finger-prints had been taken for an alleged contravention of a by-law.

Mr. A. S. Knox, one of the counsel for the defence, said that it would be necessary to call the Mayor of Durban, Mr. Percy Osborn, to prove that no permission was required to hold

the meeting. The defence, he said, would also take the point that the by-law was ultra vires.

Mr. Knox said that, while agreeing to the adjournment of the case to February 17, he wished to protest at the manner in which the authorities handled the accused.

The police and municipal authorities had been advised that the meeting would be held with the intention of inviting a test case, but in spite of that the five men, who were responsible people, had been arrested and taken away in a police van in custody.

That this was unnecessary was shown by the fact that the men were released on their own recognisances after giving their particulars at the charge office.

Since the promulgation of the by-law permission to hold meetings have been positively, arbitrarily and unreasonably refused, said Mr. Knox.

Mr. A. Choudree, who appeared for Dr. Nafoker and Mr. Mqandl said that when he visited the charge office to ascertain the nature of the charges he was told to wait outside until the charges had been made out.

The magistrate, Mr. C. E. Russel, said he would go into the matter.—Sapa.

## INDIA REPUBLIC DAY CELEBRATIONS

In Cape Town Celebrations were observed at the Palace Theatre, Salt River by about 2000 people of a cosmopolitan nature.

Mr. J. L. Mahantia, assistant secretary to the High Commissioner for India said, the people of India wished to make their contribution towards the peace and the stability of the world and the ideals incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting passed a resolution extending greetings and good wishes for the future progress of India as an independent country and praying that the people be given guidance to conduct their future progress with wisdom and peace.

The resolution expressed gratitude to India for the moral support she had given to the oppressed peoples in different parts of the world, and particularly in South Africa, in their struggle for democratic rights.

Mr. B. D. Chavda, chairman of the Republic Day celebration committee, paid tribute to the part Mahatma Gandhi and the other leaders had played in the struggle to obtain freedom.

The celebration ended with a programme of Indian national songs and music by the Chauhan Brothers, children of the Gandhi Memorial School and the Habibia Institute.

Miss Champa Chameli presented the Arabian and Indian Classic dances.

In Durban, a joint meeting was held by the Kathiawad Hindu Sava Samaj and the Surat Hindoo Association.

In Nysaland, the Indian community celebrated the third anniversary of the Indian Republic, at the Bantyre Indian School. Mr. D. M. Patel presided. Mr. K. T. Patel, principal of the school paid a tribute to those who have died for the country and to those who are today carrying on the fine work.

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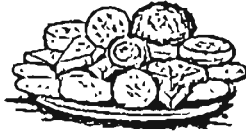
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# INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, January 20.

**M**R. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister of India and the president of the Indian National Congress completely dominated the 52nd session of the Congress, which ended on Sunday the 18th January at Hyderabad. His views prevailed on every issue under consideration. The session unanimously endorsed his foreign policy.

The Congress reiterated its admiration and appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination, to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

The Congress in its resolution further said that the Government of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of UNO, which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the acts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that it does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilized world has given its approval and also that it dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations.

Protagonists of linguistic provinces provided some fireworks at the otherwise tame session, but ultimately they also bowed down to Pandit Nehru's will and the re-organisation of provinces on linguistic bases, for which the clamour had reached a new height after the decision to form separate Andhra province, was postponed for at least four or five years. Led by Kaka Gadgil, former Minister of Public Works at the Centre and Shri Nijalingappa, president of Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, the forces demanding immediate formation of linguistic provinces beat a hasty retreat when they found that Pandit Nehru and the Congress High Command held very strong opinion in this matter. And Kaka Sahab himself presented the resolution deciding to postpone the issue till "Andhra State was stabilized."

Main reasons for this postponement were that if reorganisation of provinces was taken in hand at this juncture, it would create bitterness bordering on hostility between the peoples speaking different languages, staking their claims on each other's territories. Already heated controversies going on between various States. Gujarat

and Maharashtra are squabbling over Wang area, Gujarat and Rajasthan over Abu, Andhra and Tamilnad over Madras and some other talukae, Bihar and Bengal over certain Bengali speaking areas of Bihar. So if immediate reorganisation was taken in hand, people's and their leaders' energy would be diverted towards this question, generating unnecessary heat and animosity. Such situation will be the biggest impediment to the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, on the success of which the fate of the Congress at the next general elections depends. The Congress is staking its all on the success of this plan and wants to employ all its energy and resources to its implementation. Surely the people who have never had linguistic provinces before can wait for a few more years.

The newly created provinces will upset the existing administration which will have to devote its energy to stabilize the newly created provinces, with its numerous problems. Further they will be financially deficit provinces during the initial period requiring substantial aid from the Centre, thus depleting the already short funds for the Plan.

Regarding the malpractices that prevailed in the Congress Committee's last elections the Congress passed a resolution authorising the Working Committee to draft amendments to the Congress constitution to eradicate this evil.

Mr. Nehru deprecated the Anglo American plan to include Pakistan in the proposed Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO). Inclusion of Pakistan in MEDO is regarded by New Delhi as a bait to hook in the unwilling Arab nations in the proposed Organisation. Creation of such alliance will, over and above other difficulties, bring cold war nearer India's border, by the establishment of Anglo American bases in Pakistan against Russia. It is felt by the unpolitical circles here that the last resolution by Anglo-American block regarding Kashmir passed by the Security Council was the result of a secret deal between Pakistan and the Anglo-American countries by which in return for joining MEDO, Pakistan was promised help in obtaining Kashmir.

We have seen policemen lathi-charging and arresting people, but Madras city witnessed a rare scene of policemen being lathi-charged and arrested on a mass scale.

Policemen's Association had put forward certain demands regarding pay, leave etc. These demands were, according to the Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. Rajgopalachari, just, but the Government was not in a position to satisfy them. On the contrary Government arrested two office bearers of the Association. Policemen numbering about 4000 refused to draw their salary as a protest. The Government regarded this as an act of indiscipline and acted swiftly. All the policemen were disarmed and nearly 126 policemen including 50 members of the executive committee were arrested. Now the situation is normal.

Justice Wanchoo, appointed by the Government of India to examine and recommend on the formation of Andhra province has started his work. Prof. Ranga, leader of the Krishak Lok Party, presented a demand to include certain talukas of Tamilnad in the proposed Andhra State. Wrangle over Madras city continues unabated.

In Santhashtra anti-sales tax agitation continues. The strike and satyagraha started on 1st December 1952 has not been abandoned, despite the generous concessions given by the Chief Minister Shri Dhebar. All the prisoners sentenced for breaking the law were released and the Sales Tax Act was toned down to a great extent. While giving these concessions, Shri Dhebar said that the Government had gone as far as it could and no more concessions would be granted. After his announcement negotiations were started by Mrs. Sucheta

Kripalani, the leader of the Praja Socialist Party, for rapprochement. But Praja Parishad wanted to make political capital out of the agitation and so placed impossible demands which could not be accepted by the Government. So the negotiations broke down and after two days' pause satyagraha was resumed.

In Punjab 13000 District Board school teachers went on strike, which ended after the intervention of Maulana Azad, Education Minister, Government of India.

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches which met at Lucknow practically refused to take effective action against racial discrimination, which according to its own resolution was against God's will. It passed a six-point resolution offering support and encouragement to all peoples and agencies labouring for a solution of the racial problem in South Africa. The Committee, affirming its conviction that all political, social and economic discrimination based on groups or race, wherever it existed, were contrary to God's will, recognised the fact that the existing racial discriminations were increasing tension and bitterness in different parts of the world. It urged member churches to engage in the Christian reconciliation ministry and do all in their power to end such discrimination.

The majority of the delegates felt that the Council should not merely confine its proposed reforms to the churches alone, but call for an outright denunciation of racial discrimination wherever and in whatever form it existed.

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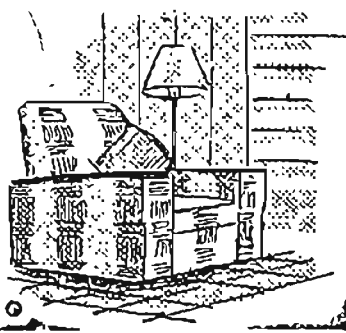
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## TERMS OF ANTI-RESISTANCE BILL

## NEW BILLS OPEN DOORS TO POLICE STATE

THE Criminal Law Amendment Bill, more popularly known as the Anti-Resistance Bill makes it an offence for a person to "advise, encourage, incite, command, aid or procure any other person or persons in general" to commit an offence by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign against a law.

It also seeks to outlaw the offer or acceptance of financial or other assistance for organised resistance against the laws of the Union and provides for special measures for the recovery of fines imposed in terms of the legislation.

It provides for deportation for those convicted who are not South Africans by birth or descent and for the restriction of movement of persons within the Union.

The measure includes a section entitling the Postmaster-General to intercept mail suspected of containing money for organised resistance movements.

## Sentences

Any person who commits such an offence will be liable on conviction to the penalties prescribed for incitement to break the Union's laws.

For offences committed by way of protest or in support of a campaign against the laws of the Union, or in support of a campaign for the repeal or modification of any law or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law, a court may, on conviction, impose the following sentences:—

- (a) A fine not exceeding £300;
- (b) Imprisonment for not more than three years; or
- (c) A whipping not exceeding 12 strokes; or
- (d) Both fine and imprisonment; or
- (e) Both fine and a whipping;

(f) Both imprisonment and a whipping.

For incitement to commit offences in support of a resistance campaign, the court may impose the following penalties:

- (a) A fine not exceeding £500;
- (b) Imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years; or
- (c) A whipping not exceeding 12 strokes; or
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## Incitement

The penalties for incitement apply to any person who, in any manner whatsoever, advises, encourages, commands, aids or procures any other person, or persons in general, to commit an offence by way of protest against a law or in support of a campaign of resistance against the laws of the Union, or to any person who uses any language or does any act or thing calculated to cause any person or persons to commit such offences.

The Bill makes it an offence for any person to solicit, accept or receive from any person or body of persons, whether within or outside the Union, or who offers to give to any person or body of persons any money or other article in support of a resistance campaign.

Offences under this section will be punishable by the penalties provided for incitement.

In addition to imposing these penalties, the court may, on conviction of any person, confiscate to the State any money or article in possession or under the control of the person convicted.

Provision is made for the joint trial of persons alleged to have committed similar offences at the same time and place.

Where a person convicted in terms of the Bill fails to pay the fine imposed on him within 48 hours, the court may issue an order to recover the money by attachment and sale of movable property.

A magistrate's court will have jurisdiction to impose any of the sentences provided in the Bill except that no magistrate's court will have jurisdiction to impose a sentence of a fine exceeding £300 or imprisonment for a period exceeding three years.

## Deportation

The Bill provides for the deporting of any person who is not a South African citizen by birth or descent, and who has been committed in terms of the Bill, if he is deemed by the Governor-General, or in the case of an inhabitant of South-West Africa, by the Administrator, to be an undesirable inhabitant.

Such a person may be removed from the Union or from the territory and, pending removal, may be detained in custody in the same way as prohibited immigrants.—Sapa.

THE Working Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress in a Press statement says it views with grave alarm the introduction by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, in Parliament of the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The so called Public Safety Bill is the most serious challenge to the civil liberties of the people and will pave the way for a new system of governing the country by proclamations and Martial Law.

The power to declare a state of emergency in the Union of South Africa under which the existing laws of the country may be suspended and the powers of the state be exercised by the Governor-General or the Minister of Justice himself will leave the entire fate of the country in the hands of Mr. C. R. Swart. Such wide and sweeping powers will be used to render the courts ineffective, to destroy not only the Congress but also all the anti-Nationalist groups, to round up leaders and throw them into concentration camps, to crush the rights of the citizens to express their legitimate opposition to the oppressive policies of the Government.

It should be realised that if the Bills were allowed to become law, the draconian measures contained therein will make the country undergo all the horrors of the police state. No person, no home, and no organisation will be safe from the witch-hunt it will let loose. It will be a mistake to assume that these measures are intended merely as an electioneering hunt, to make the electorate believe that the Government is only dealing with the Defiance movement. Such an attitude is fraught with tragic consequences for the people.

The present Government is notorious for its abuse of power. The history of the last five years is full of such examples which need not be enumerated here. The Congresses, therefore, call upon all the democratic forces within the country to raise their voices and organise a Union-wide

protest to these Bills and to do all that is humanly possible to prevent a grave catastrophe befalling South Africa. The Congresses call upon the Whites and non-Whites to join hands in this country-wide campaign.

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As a preliminary to these conferences Sunday, February 8, has been set aside for holding of public meetings in as many centres as possible throughout the Union.

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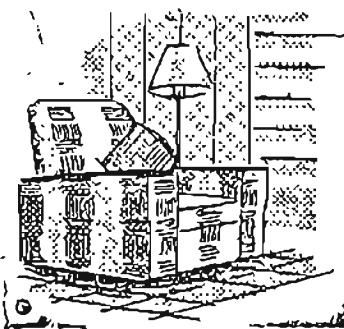
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