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SERIALIZED  
30 JUN 1953

# INDIAN OPINION

No. 26—Vol.—I.1

FRIDAY,  
26TH JUNE, 1953

Registered at the C.P.D. as a Newspaper

Price 6d.

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



## An American's Faith

### The Conditions Of Leadership

*"When a nation...attains to world leadership! it preserves that rank only so long as its culture...commands respect and some degree of emulation. For though leadership is procured through power, it is maintained over a significant span of time only by the free assent of the led; and free assent is given only to moral, and not to material authority. These are the conditions of world leadership."*

—Lewis Galantieri.



### Happiness

*"If all who count themselves happy were to tell very simply, what it was that brought happiness to them, the others would see that between sorrow and joy the difference is but as between a gladsome, enlightened acceptance of life and a hostile, gloomy submission."*

—Maeterlinck.



**W**E are called, as a people, to give testimony, in the sight of the world, to our faith that the future shall belong to the free.....

"This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws.

"This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men great in His sight.

"In the light of this equality, we know that the virtues most cherished by free people—love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country—are all pleasures, equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted.....

"This faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world. This common bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes.....

"Honouring the identity and heritage of each nation of the world, we shall never use our strength to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions.....

"Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honour. We reject the insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable

"Respecting the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not only an eloquent symbol but an effective force.....

"The peace we seek, then, is nothing less than practice and the fulfilment of our whole faith, among ourselves and in our dealings with others. It signifies more than stilling the guns, easing the sorrow, of war. More than an escape from death, it is a way of life.

"This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with charity, and with prayer to Almighty God."

—By Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States (from his Inaugural Address.)

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1953

## Education Conference

**L**AST Sunday's Conference in Durban on Indian Education was a unique one in the history of Indians in South Africa, for never at any time have we seen all shades of opinion thus united together to work for a common purpose. The Congress and the Organisation—the two political bodies showed no signs of ever meeting together, but even they put aside, for once, their differences and met together on one platform. To that extent it may well be said that the repressive policy of the Government was a blessing in disguise. The time has really come when not only the education of our children is at stake but our own future and that of our future generation in this country is at stake.

What worth is academic education if one cannot live with self-respect? As pointed out by his Grace the Archbishop Hurley, in his opening remarks, the development of the spirit was of far more importance than the development of the mind. He quoted the instance of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who was solving the land problem in India, which is baffling the whole world today, and is the root cause of all the destructive wars, past and present, by the force of his spirit. It is his great and noble heart, and not the mind, that is attracting so many people to him and is causing them to part with millions of acres of land to be distributed to the

landless. He makes no show of his intellect nor of his attire for he goes about in a loin cloth just as Mahatma Gandhi did.

We must confess that we are not so enamoured with the type of education imparted in our institutions and the so-called civilisation exhibited in South Africa. Apart from what material gain that might be derived from it it is destroying us body, mind and soul. So much was said at last Sunday's conference about the lack of education swelling the ranks of juvenile delinquents. We wonder what percentage of our grown-ups are leading pure lives and setting an example to the juveniles. It is not an exaggeration to say that the system under which we are living our educational institutions are delinquent-producing factories. Our remarks apply both to the Whites and the non-Whites. What we wish to point out is that while we are over-much concerned about imparting literary knowledge to our children very little attention is being paid to moulding their character hence they become victims of their environments. This can only be remedied by the parents and the gurus themselves leading exemplary lives. It has been rightly said, "an ounce of practice is worth more than a ton of precept."

After these introductory remarks, which we hope will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered, we

wish to congratulate the sponsors of last Sunday's conference on the brilliant preliminary success they have achieved. Much has yet to be done. The Indian community is ever grateful for the little concessions it gets from the local and the central authorities. It must be admitted that the Natal Provincial Administration has in recent years done a great deal to improve Indian education. But it will not do for it to sit self-satisfied at that. What it has done amounts, comparatively speaking, to very little indeed. The initial work has been done by the Indians themselves at tremendous sacrifices. They have been doing what it is the duty of the authorities to do. The authorities pay all their attention to the Whites whose vote sustains them and are hopelessly callous in paying attention to the needs of the non-Whites since the latter have no vote. We do not wish to be critical of our Provincial

Administration who is being kind to us but it should indeed realise that the grievance under which we are labouring is a real one and to ignore it does no credit to the authorities in the eyes of the civilised world. Last Sunday's conference, it must be appreciated by all reasonably-minded people, has been very moderate in its requests and it is to be sincerely hoped that they will receive the sympathetic consideration they merit.

At the same time our humble advice to our own people is: Let us not rest at claiming what is due to us. Let us do our duty to our children as we have been doing to the last ounce of our strength and as we have put aside our differences on a vital matter such as the education of our children let us put aside all our petty differences in all public matters and unite together in fighting the common battle for our existence in this country as self-respecting human beings.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Ladysmith Indians Defeat Group Areas Plan

**DR. A. H. SADER**, Chairman of the Ladysmith Indian Ratepayers Association, issued the following Press statement on the boycott of land sales in an area set aside by the Town Council's Group Areas Plan for the Indian people of Ladysmith: "Last week the Borough of Ladysmith put up 169 building plots with an upset price and with a building clause attached to each lot for sale to the Indian community. These plots are situated in an area set aside by the Town Council for Indian occupation under their Group Areas Plan. My Association realising the danger that this meant to the community, organised a boycott of these sales. During the course of our preparations for the boycott of these sales we had obtained signatures supporting this move by the Association from almost every Indian in Ladysmith and numerous mass meetings were held at which unanimous support was given to the Ratepayers Association. It is to the credit of the Indian

community of Ladysmith and of the Klip River county as a whole that not a single buyer turned up on the day the sales were to have been held. The only Indians present on this occasion were two representatives of my Association who went as observers. It has come to our notice that the Council intends selling 12 business premises soon and I have no doubt that these sales like the last one will be totally boycotted. The Town Council's plan is quite clear. They are endeavouring to uproot 90 per cent of the settled Indian community from their homes and businesses and we shall not rest until any plan emanating from the Group Areas Act is defeated, as this obnoxious and unjust legislation is designed to strangle the Indian community both economically and socially."

### Bravo Ladysmith Indians!

Ladysmith Indians are to be heartily congratulated for their courageous stand. It is to be hoped that that their example will be emulated by our brethren everywhere.

### Responsibility Of Every Indian Outside India

Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, addressing the staff of the High Commissioner of India House, London, on June 8, appealed to them to apply themselves to their work on the sound principles on which the nation is founded and serve together, British of Indian, for the good of India and for the furtherance of good relations between India and Britain. "I come here after two and a half years. Much has happened in these two and a half years, and in many ways our country has assumed, even reluctantly, heavier responsibilities," said the Prime Minister. "I am very glad to meet you, but I must say that I do not feel happy when at this kind of meeting. It is not very satisfactory, but perhaps there is on other way to meet large numbers of people at one time. If I had time and leisure I would have liked to visit your separate offices and meet some people individually and separately, not only to find out about their work but to get to know somewhat of them more personally. Mr. Nehru dealt in detail with major world developments and the important role that world

powers had thrust on India from time to time, and said that he was a little terrified at the new responsibilities. He added: "A sense of discipline, co-operative working, and shouldering obligations and responsibility accompany freedom. Those of our people who work abroad in our missions or elsewhere naturally have to shoulder a peculiar measure of responsibility because, in a sense, every Indian abroad, apart from the work he does, is in a measure an ambassador of our country abroad and is a bit of our country abroad, and by his acts our country is judged. If a person behaves well or badly in our country, well, it is good or not good, but does not make much difference. But it makes a lot of difference how any Indian student or other behaves in a foreign country because he becomes a symbol of India and by his acts his country is judged. And now, more especially, when the world's eyes are more directed toward India and what India and Indians do, it is like a spotlight on all of us and we have to be particularly careful that we do not do anything which might bring discredit to our country. Well, that is a general proposition which I would like you to bear in mind."

## EDUCATION CONFERENCE

WHAT is regarded to be a unique Conference in the history of the Indians in Natal was held at the Albert Cinema, 37 Albert Street, Durban on Sunday, June 21, under the aegis of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, Natal Indian Council for Child Welfare, Natal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Organisation, Durban Combined Indian Ratepayers' Association, Durban Indian Benevolent Society and the Friends of the Sick Association, on the all-important question of Indian education with particular reference to the lack of school accommodation for the tens of thousands of Indian children of school-going-age in Natal.

Conference was well attended by over 200 delegates representing the whole of Natal as well as the seven convening bodies, 12 Trade Unions and a large number of Grantees and School Committees as well as the Natal Indian Blind Society. The South African Institute of Race Relations was also represented.

Conference was opened by the Right Reverend D. E. Hurley, O.M.I., D.D., Archbishop of Durban.

The Presidential address was delivered by Mr. P. R. Pather,

Chairman of the Convening Committee.

Mr. I. O. Meer representing the Natal Indian Congress strongly urged Conference to set a definite target for the fulfilment of its object and suggested that by the time the Indian community celebrated the centenary of their arrival in this country, every Indian child should be in school.

Mr. O. I. Amra representing the Chemical and Allied Workers Union said that "because of the low educational level of the Indian the community suffered economically. He said that secondary industries required highly educated labour and therefore debarred Indians. He said that with the education of the Indian, the economic level of the Indian would also be stepped up.

Resolutions No. 1 and 2 were passed unanimously, the conference deliberated on the main resolution for well over five hours.

During discussion on the main resolution delegates strongly emphasised that if practical measures were not taken immediately the Indian community would be faced with a very serious crisis in the near future.

Mr. J. N. Singh in moving for the adoption of the main resolution said that among other things the most serious cause contributing to the present crisis of the Indian population of Natal was the disparity of expenditure per child on Indian and European education.

Mr. M. B. Naidoo was warmly applauded when reference was made to his contribution towards the establishment of the Congress High School. Dr. S. Cooppan, who recently arrived from India, was officially welcomed to the conference and contributed much to the deliberations of the conference.

Mr. J. N. Singh, general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, said in reply to an assurance by Mr. P. R. Pather that the Natal Indian Organisation would lend its wholehearted support to the Standing Committee, that it was for the first time that the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Organisation were speaking from a common platform. He said that both these organisations realised the danger ahead and have sunk all political differences on the most vital question affecting the Indian community in Natal.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

"This conference attended by delegates representing the following organisations: Natal Indian Teachers' Society, Natal Indian Council for Child Welfare, Natal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Organisation, Durban Combined Indian Ratepayers' Association, Durban Indian Benevolent Society, Friends of the Sick Association, Natal Indian Youth Congress, South African Institute of Race Relations, Natal Indian Blind Society, 15 Trade Unions and a large number of Aided-School Committees and Grantees, emphasises that the provision of primary and secondary education is the duty of the Natal Provincial Administration, a duty which has not been fully discharged in the case of Indian children with the result that a serious crisis has arisen in this Province in regard to Indian education, in that nearly one-third of the population of school-going age is out of school.

"This conference whilst expressing its appreciation of the part played by the Administration, particularly in recent years, in taking practical measures to meet the grave situation that has arisen, places on record that almost all the Government Aided Primary and four Secondary Schools have been erected by

the initiative of the Indian community assisted by grants from the Natal Provincial Administration; records that the Indian community is finding it extremely difficult to continue to make increasing sacrifices to erect further schools, and more so, on the present financial basis.

"This conference is deeply distressed to find that notwithstanding the financial sacrifices of the Indian people and the building programme of the Administration, there are still thousands of children of school-going age who, because of lack of accommodation, are growing up in enforced illiteracy.

"This conference is firmly of the opinion that unless immediate steps are taken to provide accommodation for these children many of them will inevitably swell the ranks of juvenile delinquents and thus create an added social problem.

"This conference therefore urges upon the Natal Provincial Administration to:

(1) carry out its responsibility for the education of Indian children by extending the principle of compulsory education to them; and, as first steps,

(2) (a) embark on a programme of erecting Government schools particularly in localities where the need is greater and more urgent in such areas as Sydenham, Overport, Clare Estate, Cato Manor, Clairwood, Pietermaritzburg and Durban-Central;

(b) built additional classrooms at existing Government Indian schools;

(c) increase the building grant to Government-aided schools from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. so that the Indian people would be helped and assisted to accelerate the erection of more schools,

as practical measures towards providing the much needed accommodation for Indian children."

"This conference elects the Convening Committee as a Standing Committee and requests it to present the foregoing resolution, together with a memorandum, to the Administrator in-Executive, at an interview to be arranged by the Convening Committee within two months of this conference and requests the Committee to continue working until the above resolution is implemented, and to report progress to the participating organisations and if it is deemed necessary call a conference."

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## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

## RACIAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

By C. W. M. GELL

(Reproduced by Courtesy of 'Public Affairs' in which it was published in November 1952.)

## II

IN an article in last Summer's 'Public Affairs' I quoted Dr. Malan as saying that his basic motive is to maintain "the European dominance over the overwhelming majority of the non-Europeans." It is well to remind ourselves of the 1951 population figures, as recently revised:

|           |            |        |
|-----------|------------|--------|
| Europeans | 2,643,387  | 20.8%  |
| Coloureds | 1,102,323  | 8.7%   |
| Indians   | 365,524    | 2.9%   |
| Natives   | 8,535,341  | 67.6%  |
|           | 12,646,375 | 100.0% |

All the Coloured races significantly out-breed the White and, despite high death rates, will increase their proportionate preponderance unless there is heavy White immigration, which the Nationalists discourage lest it diminish the present Afrikaander majority (64 per cent.) among White population. It is, of course, a fact that the bulk of the non-European population, especially the Native, is backward, uneducated, little civilised and at a very early cultural level. There is, however, a small but growing social and economic elite to whom these general remarks no longer apply. It is this, at present, minute minority which constitutes the challenge to and test of "white civilisation," and which is leading the current agitation.

In their attitude to this challenge there is little practical difference between the Nationalists and their European opponents. Both condemn the Defiance Campaign unreservedly, though each blames the other for provoking it. Both stand for exclusive White political supremacy. The Opposition's stand against disfranchising the Coloureds is motivated rather by fear of the immediate electoral consequences than by objection to the principle of curtailing non-European political rights. All European parties uphold the industrial colour bar which confines non-Europeans (at least in theory) to unskilled employment. All approve of residential segregation and social segregation in public places and public transport. All agree to prohibit sexual intimacy between the races. As regards the Unjust Laws specifically mentioned by the ANC, the United Party (UP), which is the chief Opposition party, would withdraw the Coloured Voters Act and amend the Suppression of Communism Act to bring alleged Communists to public trial. This would satisfy

non-European opinion on these two laws. But it would only amend the Bantu Authorities Act and Group Areas Act in important but not fundamental details. It would repeal some of the latest and most irritating of the petty pass regulations and administer the others less aggressively than the Nationalists, until it could implement the general and gradual amelioration to which it is committed. But its attitude on two of the four Nationalist Acts and these most controversial of all discriminatory regulations is very far short of present African demands.

When it claims to stand for "White leadership with justice" or for "Christian trusteeship practised with humanity," the Opposition is using verbal formulas little different from Dr. Malan, who is "seeking to solve the problem by way of differentiation based upon just and fair treatment for each group in its own sphere." No European party envisages a day when its wards will grow up and justice is viewed by nearly all Whites from one side only. Where the parties differ, it is in degree and in methods of application. Nationalists proclaim a militant racial ethos of permanent, unbending White supremacy, founded in predestinarian Calvinism and literal Scriptural sanction (Genesis IX 25 and Joshua IX 23-27). Historical circumstances, the present cultural and technical superiority of the White races and self-interest, together with the fervent patriotism of a small and isolated people, confirm Afrikaander Nationalists in their conviction of being "chosen," both inter-White and contra-Coloured. There is, therefore, a special sense in which the "un-South African" loyalties of Jews, Catholics and Anglicans are depicted by Nationalist politicians and cartoonists. And it is precisely because the colour policy of the Opposition parties is unfortified by religious dogma that Nationalists regard themselves as the only sure custodians of "white civilisation." Paradoxically they desperately fear the cultural advantage of the non-Europeans even while denying the possibility of their ever becoming responsible citizens or economic competitors on level terms. This explicit, if wishful and fearful, assertion of a *herrenvolk* ideology leads to all too frequent discourtesy and bullying of non-Europeans (and Europeans too), to the con-

temptuous and callous brutality of all too many of the police in their dealings with coloured peoples and, inevitably, to a great exacerbation of racial bitterness. But, while it avoided the more blatant of the Nationalist excesses, the UP's record of 1933-49 was only a little less discriminatory, against non-Europeans. It accepted implicitly the doctrine of White supremacy and its advantages. Much of its racial legislation foreshadowed Nationalist measures and, when it created non-European consultative bodies, it did not greatly defer to them.

Thus, while it can justifiably say that four years of Nationalist strong-arm methods have provoked—a unified non-European movement such as could hardly have been thought possible in 1949, it must share the blame for several generations of Coloured discouragement and frustration which provide the agitation with its background and residual strength. The Nationalists merely sparked off something which had been long maturing and the ANC has announced that it will continue civil disobedience even if the UP wins the 1953 election. By carrying the doctrine of "White supremacy with justice" to its logical and dogmatic conclusion, the Nationalists have brought to the surface and to the active consideration of educated non-Europeans all the latest contradictions of South Africa's traditional racial policy. No amount of "development in their own sphere" or of welfare, medical and educational services will compensate men for their per-

manent exclusion from the country's higher political and economic life on the grounds of the colour of their skin. The affront to justice and self-respect is too great for any material palliation, as all recent Asian history is there to prove. "White civilisation" is a philosophical and moral aberration, a contradiction in terms, no longer acceptable to articulate Coloured opinion.

Nationalists are fond of saying that White South Africa spends more per head on its Native population than any British colony. This is true. But it is also true that a much smaller proportion of the national income is spent per African in South Africa than in British colonies. South Africa is a rich, industrial state. It is all too apt to take credit for every penny spent on non-Europeans above what is extracted from them in taxes. This attitude overlooks the truth that in every country which hopes to avoid revolution the wealthy must contribute to the uplift of the poor. In South Africa, owing to historical circumstances and a colour-rigid economy, that distinction is still largely racial; and one views with alarm the recent trend to restrict expenditure on Native education and municipal locations (Native townships) to what the Natives alone can afford.

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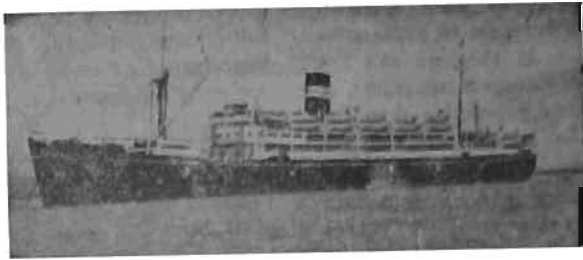
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**THE WIDER WORLD**

By John Gild

**PULL TOGETHER**

THE number of political bodies actively opposed to the Government now includes: The African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, the Federal Party and the Liberal members of the United Party.

There are some good people, who mean business, in all these organisations. I wonder when it will occur to them to begin to make common cause, at least on certain immediate issues. Of these, two important ones are likely to arise during the coming session of parliament. The first is the Bill to control industrial relations. It will include sections designed to put all non-White trade unions under some degree of Government control. The other Bill will bring all Native education under the control of the Native Affairs Department, depriving the Christian missions of their independence. Both these measures are fraught with great danger to African progress. Would it not be a splendid thing if men of goodwill in all the six organisations listed above were to co-operate in gigantic protests against these Bills? There is an old saying that in times of crisis those who won't hang together may find themselves hanging separately. It is certainly true of these times. I know, of course, how hard it usually is to get men in different organisations to work together, even in a limited way and for a limited purpose. But I am convinced that the effort must be made if the Opposition forces are to restrain this Government to some effect.

**Mr. Lutuli Banned**

The banning of Mr. A. J. Lutuli from all the main centres of the Union is an outrageous act on the part of the Government. It shows to what extremely unjust lengths the Government is going in its eagerness to crush all legitimate expression of African opinion. Such banishment of individuals is allowed under the Act to suppress "communism" and under the earlier Riotous Assemblies Act. But both these laws require the Minister to be sure that the person about to be banned has been "creating ill-feeling or hostility between White and non-White people." Now it is quite monstrous to suggest that Mr. Lutuli has been guilty of any such conduct. On the contrary, everyone,

including White people, who has ever heard Mr. Lutuli speak in public or in private, has recognised his quality of statesmanship. His speeches have been bold and frank, but also careful and sensible. If he had ever "created ill-feeling between the races," he should be charged with that crime and properly tried in a court of law. It is significant that the police have been unable to frame such a charge against any leading Congressman.

**British Colour Bars**

Mr. Fencer Brockway, a Labour member of the House of Commons, is one of the few Englishmen who are determined to break down the colour bar. Not for the first time he opened a debate on the subject at Westminster last month. He not only asked the House to condemn the colour bar, but he also demanded that the Conservative Government pass a law to prohibit the maintenance of the colour bar in British colonies. The second part of this motion proved to be a sad embarrassment for the Conservatives. They don't mind saying in theory that the colour bar is a bad thing, but they feel that it is going too far to make its continuance impossible in practice. So four Tory members put forward an amendment to cut out the second half of Mr. Brockway's motion. And, rather indelicately, they issued an urgent written summons to all Tory members please to attend this debate and get ready "to vote against the abolition of the colour bar." Then, at the end of the debate, they need their majority not to carry their amendment, as they could have done, but to adjourn the proceedings so that the House should not vote on either the motion or their amendment to it.

Successive Governments in Britain have evaded this simple issue. Following American precedents, reformers have urged Britain to make racial discrimination illegal both in Britain and in British colonies. There is no technical difficulty about doing this, yet the British won't do it. Their colour bars can be broken, it seems, only by the action of the people who suffer under them. Note that in Northern Rhodesia apartheid in post offices is being withdrawn at a time when Africans are entering hotels and shops and asking to be served just like White people.

**Britain In Debt**

The decline of the British empire is an inevitable process. It is obscured from our eyes by the obdurate attitude of the English Press in South Africa which chooses to pretend to its readers that the year is 1913, not 1953. Many people believe that Britain is today pursuing a progressive colonial policy. This is true only in the limited sense that the British have a habit of making a virtue of necessity. When, after a long, long struggle, they were forced to withdraw from India, their withdrawal was soon represented as a voluntary act of self-denial. What it really signified was that the British are too humane to use force and actual warfare beyond a certain point of time. That time approaches when the cost of holding an empire, or parts of it, is greater than the benefits to be derived from it. In these days, these benefits are often invisible to the ordinary eye. For instance, as Professor G. D. H. Cole has pointed out, Britain is today borrowing money from her colonies instead of lending it to them. Some of the bigger colonies earn more, especially in precious dollars, than Britain allows them to spend. Their dollar and sterling balances are used by the Bank of England to meet the sterling area's deficit. The colonies, regarded as poor

relations, have actually in recent years been compelled to accumulate in London sterling balances that now run to the astounding figure of over £1,000 millions. West African leaders are among those who have discovered this fact, and they are highly critical of its implications. They ask why the colonies should be forced to save money in order to lend it to Britain. They point out that the money granted under the schemes of colonial welfare and development, schemes advertised and praised to the skies, is in fact only a small fraction of the sums that Britain withholds from the colonies whose exports have earned them. The principle has been described as "steal a pound and give a penny to charity."

**On Waiting For Freedom**

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

It was Lord Macaulay who said this—in 1840

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# Pakistan News

Karachi, June 1953.

(From Our Own Correspondent)

IN the sphere of politics, there has been much interesting activity, stimulated by the fact that the Coronation has provided a convenient meeting place for Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Nehru.

There cannot be any doubt about the Pakistan Prime Minister's wish to reach a friendly understanding with India and it is equally clear that Mr. Nehru desires the same. In this aspect of policy, Mr. Mahomed Ali will have the support of the Governor-General who has long stressed the wisdom and, indeed, the necessity, for harmonious relations between the two countries. No sensible person will dispute that such relations would confer great benefits on both of them; still it has to be recognised that the problems existing between them are not small.

The question of the canal waters is a life and death issue for Pakistan and apart from its legal aspect (as to which Pakistan's case is by no means a poor one) it is inconceivable that millions of acres of land, now producing food, shall be allowed to return to the desert. This is a matter which goes beyond the direct interests of India and Pakistan. It is of vital concern to the world at large which does not produce sufficient food for its ever-growing population. This is doubtless one of the reasons for the close practical interest which the World Bank is showing in this particular affair.

The Kashmir dispute and the dispute arising on the question of evacuee property laws are more local in their interest, although the Kashmir problem has international implications which could be exploited by people of ill will. Be that as it may, both of these issues affect the lives and property of millions and therefore are of lively concern.

In our last letter to 'Indian Opinion,' we took the view that nothing should be said or written that might embarrass the discussions between India and Pakistan. It is believed that at all levels, such discussions are now going on, are infused with much cordiality and goodwill. This is most gratifying to hear and at present it would be grossly out of place to indulge in critical and controversial expressions of view.

Mr. Mahomed Ali's recent pronouncement on the subject of Pakistan's constitution is somewhat disquieting. He has said that it will be introduced piecemeal. This comes close to a confession of inability and to the substitution of tinkering for resolute action. It seems clear that this approach will give rise to many difficulties, legal and other, and it does not give proper weight to the patent fact that a constitution is now a basic and urgent need in Pakistan, many of whose current problems are traceable to the absence of an appropriate constitution.

No doubt the question bristles with difficulties and, in the case of Pakistan, presents certain complications of its own. There is, for example, the question whether Urdu alone shall be the state language of Pakistan, or whether Bengali shall rank equally in that status. There are the difficulties arising by reason of the division of the country into two wings. But such matters are not insoluble. Other countries have found ways of dealing with similar problems and the Pakistan Government has the clear duty of doing the same.

In some respects, however, the matter has taken a clearer shape. The differences between those who desire an Islamic emphasis and those who do not share this view, seem to have led to a victory for the latter. It is unlikely that the mullahs will enjoy the place in the constitution which, at one time they hoped to secure. In other words, the liberal view has prevailed.

The recommendations of the American Wheat Mission which recently visited Pakistan, justify the hope that the USA will give a large measure of assistance and that from this source, 1,000,000 tons of wheat will be received. This quantity will not cover the estimated deficiency of 1,500,000 tons, but it is expected that the balance will be made good from a better local harvest, from the gifts received from the Commonwealth countries and from purchase or barter deals to be effected in the next few months.

The solution of this grave and urgent problem will take Pakistan a long way forward in the arduous climb to its former prosperity. The setback of the last eighteen months has been

severe and its consequences are still felt. There will be no easy recovery, but as soon as the country's food supply is assured, a great burden will have been lifted and the morale of the public is bound to rise.

Since the day of its creation, Pakistan has sought, in the face of great difficulties, to establish its own industry. It is well known that, at the outset, the degree of industrialisation in Pakistan was negligible. Apart from four cement factories, one soda ash factory, a few pucca jute baling presses at Narayanganj, a small cotton textile production, together with the sports and surgical goods production of Slalkot, Pakistan had no industry worth the mention. There has, therefore, been a considerable emphasis on the need for development and it should be interesting to review the extent of the accomplishment.

At the purely organisational level, a great deal of useful work has been done which is giving good results. The Government has set up the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation Ltd. an autonomous body, existing by statute, whose tasks are to initiate and encourage industrial enterprises to be handed over to private interests as soon as they have been firmly established. The chairman of this Corporation is Mr. Ghulam Faraque, a man of great energy and ability, who had a successful career in the railway and coal administrations of undivided India. There is also the Pakistan Industrial Finance Corporation Ltd., a similar autonomous body, whose duty is to make loans to suitable private enterprise of an industrial nature. A top level Planning Board is shortly to be set up, under the chairmanship of Mr. Zuhid Husain, who will then retire from the governorship of the State Bank. The Planning Board will have a very wide brief, covering all aspects of economic life and its work is likely to add further stimulus to industrial development.

Industrial estates have been successfully developed, of which a good example is the Sindh Industrial Trading Estate whose property is situated on the outskirts of Karachi. The work of such estates follows the usual pattern by providing demarcated plots with shell buildings erected on them. Roads are constructed and drainage, water, power and telephones are provided. The Sindh Industrial Estate has a considerable number of factories now in full production covering textiles, sulphuric acid, paints and var-

nishes, light engineering, tobacco and plastics.

Plans for future development of industry in general are on an ambitious scale and designed to fit the needs of the country. It is not, however, now intended to discuss what is projected, but to give some brief idea of what has been achieved in fact.

With respect to jute, Pakistan's valuable cash crop, pucca baling capacity in East Bengal now suffices to enable Pakistan to press all that part of the crop which is exported, other than to India. Four important jute spinning and weaving mills are in course of erection. Of these, the Adamjee Jute Mills are in part production, most of which is used in Pakistan, but a small part has been released for export and the manufactures are well spoken of.

In textiles (cotton, rayon and wool) progress has been remarkable. It is expected that by the end of 1954, Pakistan will be self-sufficient in cotton textiles and the degree of progress so far made justifies this hope. Approximately 1,200,000 spindles have been sanctioned for installation of which, at the end of 1952, about 600,000 were in operation. Of this quantity, 177,418 spindles existed at the time of partition. The erection of a woollen mill at Haroa has been started.

The important paper mill, established in East Bengal, has now entered production. The raw material used is the bamboo which exists in ample quantity and the total capacity of this mill will meet the paper needs of the whole country, except for newsprint for which another mill is to be started.

A factory located at Quetta has for some time produced santolin and ephedrine from the artemisia and ephedra which grow abundantly in Baluchistan. In Bahawalpur a new soap factor now produces 5,000 tons of superior quality washing soap along with 250 tons of glycerine. At Haripur, in the N.W.F.P., a factory for the production of telecommunication apparatus has been started by Siemens-Halske, in conjunction with Pakistan interests. Two factories, each with a capacity of seven tons per diem, are now producing hollow glass. It is also worth noticing that the capacity for re-rolling reinforcement steel now equals the present requirement of the country. Two cycle tyre factories are in full production and in Punjab a factory is producing high quality machine tools.

This somewhat dry recital of fact is intended to show the  
(Continued on page 399)

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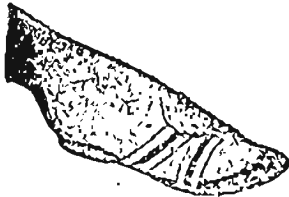
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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SOME men change the course of history by design, others are destined to influence it. To the latter class belongs quietly-spoken and handsome Professor Z. K. Matthews, head of the department of African Studies at the Fort Hare University College who recently completed a lectureship tour of the United States.

Born in the Barkley West district of the Cape Province on October 20, 1901, Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews has spent his fifty-one years quietly bringing up to nationhood a whole community—both in the classroom and on the political front. If we men wield as great an influence on the life of the Union's eight million Africans it is because Professor Matthews has and for no personal gain whatsoever, used his truly remarkable talents for the good of his own people and of his countrymen of all races.

He comes of Bamangwato stock—Secretse Khama's people. His family went into voluntary exile early in the nineteenth century as a result of the periodic dynastic quarrels which are so marked a feature of Bamangwato national life. The family attached itself to the Barolong tribe and settled down in Kimberley where young Zachariah had his early schooling.

From there he went to Lovedale and thence to Fort Hare where he obtained his Arts degree in 1923. At the time a few white people in high places still clung to one or two silly notions about the educability of the African. One was that the African student did not have the capacity to absorb a high school education. A growing number argued that given the opportunity the African would acquit himself as creditably as anybody else. One of the latter was an American missionary—Mr. A. E. Leroy, then Principal of Amanzimtoti Institute, which later became Adams College.

When at last the Natal Education Department allowed Mr. Leroy to prove that the African student could cross the *pons asinorum* like everybody else, he selected young Matthews to do the job. The results opened everybody's eyes. In due course Mr. Matthews was appointed

headmaster of the high school—the first African to hold this post in Natal.

The innovation was received with mixed feelings on both sides of the colour line. This shook neither Mr. Leroy nor Mr. Matthews. The pupils mastered their algebra, geometry and trigonometry and before many years were over Amanzimtoti High School was mentioned with respect on either side of the colour line. It has been respected ever since. What is more, the success of the Adams experiment emboldened the Natal Education Department to introduce the high school curriculum in the day schools as well.

But for Mr. Matthews his success at Adams merely opened up wider horizons of service to his people. With this in mind he accepted a scholarship which took him to London and Yale. A short while after his return he accepted an appointment on the staff of the department of African Studies at Fort Hare under the renowned Professor D. D. T. Jabavu. Here again he applied himself with the same tenacity of purpose, industry and loyalty which had always been his most outstanding qualities. When Professor Jabavu retired on superannuation Mr. Matthews was invited to take over the chair of African Studies. This was in every sense a deserved recognition of distinguished scholarship.

Although Professor Matthews has both his hands full administering the department of African Studies at Fort Hare, he has at all times taken an active and unflagging interest in the political and social life of his people.

While at Adams he played an active role in the affairs of the teachers' association and for many years held responsible positions in it. When the spirit of national solidarity made itself felt, he worked as hard as anybody else to bring into being the African Teachers' Federation linking up the associations of the four provinces.

But, apparently, this did not absorb all his energies for he still found the time to do important research work on African tribes in Bechuanaland, write scientific papers, serve on the Royal Commission on African Education which toured the greater part of Africa during the '30's and, on top of it all, still remain a familiar and respected figure at the political gatherings of his people.

An interesting incident took place at a political gathering while he was at Adams. As headmaster of the high school and, of course, an outstanding scholar, the Zulus in Natal held him in high esteem. One afternoon he attended the conference of the African National Congress then in session in Durban. He tip-toed into a seat and made himself comfortable among the ordinary people at the rear of the hall.

The presence of a university graduate in a political meeting caused quite a stir. It was the fashion at the time for university men and teachers generally to keep aloof from the political struggle of their people. The older Congress leaders saw in his entry an omen of unqualified evil. A man of his stature coming into their conference, they felt, could very easily play the role of a bull in a glass shop! The President-General of Congress took precautions promptly. He tip-toed quickly down the dais during the interval and made his way to the side of the young headmaster.

"Tell me, Mr. Matthews," he gaped not too discreetly between pangs of thinly disguised anxiety, "which position do you want in the executive? We shall soon be having elections."

"None," replied Mr. Matthews characteristically. "I came only to witness for Africa's freedom." The elderly gentleman beamed with unconcealed relief.

I mention this incident because it brings out one of his most outstanding qualities in the political field—the desire to serve, not for vain, but for the good of his people, his country and, one might add, for the betterment of mankind.

He has the mind, the stature, the power, the self-confidence and the capacity to become the President-General of Congress—a position of tremendous power, influence and importance in this country at the moment. But he has been satisfied with serving in humbler capacities for purposes of giving strength to Congress. Perhaps he was not yet too sure of himself and his political standing during the Adams days, it might be said. Another incident, more recent, shows up his selfless devotion to the ideal of service.

It was election year and the Congress Youth League had made up its mind that Dr. A. B. Xuma, then President-General of Congress, should go. Very many Youth Leaguers did not like Professor Matthews as an alternative. But they respected his views and judgment. All this he knew very well because for very many years there had been a very active branch of the League at

Fort Hare. And even if he knew he was not popular, it is pretty certain that it would not have affected his attitude to the League one way or the other. When he was formally approached with the request to stand he declined politely on the score that he wanted to stabilise affairs in the Cape Province first, over which he was president, before he accepted national responsibilities.

Some Congressmen outside the League attributed this to his fear of Dr. Xuma. But they were badly in the wrong. No political leader inside Congress barring Mr. A. J. Lutuli, is more sure of his grip on the minds of all sections of Congress than Professor Matthews and no top notch Congressman (Mr. Lutuli always excepted) is more confident of himself or knows his mind better. Prof. Matthews never throws his weight about and very rarely speaks. Nor does he ever lose his temper nor resort to theatricalisms on the platform. But when Professor Matthews speaks, all the wings of Congress listen—and so does South Africa too—both black and white, for that matter.

Nor could he have been scared of the League. Its rapid growth ignited a series of violent political explosions in all the provinces where the Congress conservatives were firmly established, barring the Cape where Professor Matthews was at the head. Although he had under him some of the stormiest Youth Leaguers, there never were fireworks in his Congress. Congress older leaders blundered to his right and left and fell down equally rapidly to his left and right under the League's political axe, but Professor Matthews sailed through it all without even as much as an angry word! He was not and could not have been afraid of the League. His point was as simple as he put it—Congress needed to be strong in the provinces before the central body could become a power to reckon with. He went down to the Cape and set himself to work, putting his own house in order.

Anybody placed by history in the position of guardian or tutor to a young and rapidly growing community of 10,000,000 souls requires plenty of foresight—and something more. That "something more" Professor Matthews has in the precious heritage bestowed on the world by the universities. He has that sense of honour, that depth of human understanding; that breadth of knowledge and that tolerant understanding of Man's infirmities which alone are the firmest foundation for a true love of one's fellowmen.

(Continued on page 100)

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## SPREAD OF RACIAL BITTERNESS IN AFRICA MUST BE AVERTED

**I**N an interview, after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, told prominent British Editors and other journalists:

"However anxious I might be in regard to the problem in Africa, direct approach is not helpful. We in India are tremendously concerned about Africa. If I may say something in this context, many of you gentlemen have visited Africa and other places and have an acquaintance with developments there. Nevertheless, in the press of other countries I do not think there is an adequate awareness of what is happening in Asia and Africa. I am not talking about things which are reported but rather of a certain upsurge in people's minds which is really changing Asia and Africa more rapidly than people imagine. Unfortunately most discussions now take place on the basis of communism and anti-communism. But it is a very partial picture and most certainly of problems in Asia and Africa, because you have something which is neither Communism nor anti-Communism. It is nationalism, a demand for economic changes and a surge, and a person or an idea is welcome if it seems to them to be a liberating idea, if it seems to them to make vocal the questions in their minds, political or economic. It is no good going to a country in Asia on a stand of Communism or anti-Communism unless it fits in with their problems. You must appear as a liberating force from what they at present suffer from, whether it is political or economic distress. Unless there is awareness of these changes in the mind of Asia you will not understand it. The various events that have happened since the war, the ending of colonial conditions in certain countries, independence—all this has released forces which had been more or less suppressed. These forces have to function. They may function for good or for evil, but they have to function. The only right policy is to recognise those forces and direct them so far as we can in right channels. Merely not to recognise them and trying to suppress them is no good.

"Africa is different from Asia, and is less well developed, more immature politically and otherwise, but it is certainly developing a political consciousness, which is justified, and what

they tolerated in the past they are not prepared to tolerate now. That is the question in a nutshell and any attempt to force conditions or to maintain the status quo leads to resistance in their minds. They misbehave and they do wrong. Punish the wrong but understand the background and try to deal with it in a very sympathetic way...

The land question is a primary question of Asia. The Chinese revolution succeeded because it dealt with the question; even in Japan the Americans were wise enough to tackle the land question, with what success I do not know but they put through far-reaching reforming legislation. Every country in Asia is troubled with the land question. That applies to Africa, too. Neither will be solved by carrying on in the way they are carrying on. What frightens me is the depth and extent of the bitterness all over Africa. It will be a bad thing if this is not met in a constructive way."

Asked if during the Prime Ministers' Conference he had been engaged in trying to help solve the African problem, Mr. Nehru said: "No, I can say that we have not been so engaged."

### Indian Nationals In Africa

Mr. Nehru explained that the position of Indians in Africa was a United Nations problem. "The U.N. has passed several resolutions about it and nothing has happened, and the South African Government have ignored the resolutions and did not permit the Commission the United Nations appointed to go there. So there it is. In regard to Indian matters before the Conference, even persons who disagreed in these matters agreed not to bring them up, because we do not wish the Commonwealth Conference to be treated as a super-state dealing with different Commonwealth countries. That would be something not in keeping with the growth of this Commonwealth status.

"About Africa and Indians there, I may tell you the policy we have pursued for many years—not with regard to Indians in South Africa, because they are not Indian nationals but South African nationals—I am talking about Indian nationals in Africa—we have told them very definitely and precisely that we as a Government do not encourage or support them in anything they might want which goes against the interest of the Africans. We have made that perfectly clear.

We shall support them, of course, in their legitimate demands but not if these demands are to gain any privilege at the expense of the Africans. We have told them that they are there with the goodwill of the Africans. If the Africans want to push them out they will be pushed out. Of course, that may be an idealistic attitude if you like, but it is also a constructive attitude, because that is the only way they can live there in peace and quiet. We have to educate opinion. There was a conflict in their interests. Indians are mostly merchants and traders and some Africans did not like them. But this policy having percolated down, there has been much more goodwill towards Indians than there was previously, and in all these troubles it is very seldom that you find Indians involved.

"In South Africa, the question of Indians, though important to us, we have deliberately allowed to become a secondary issue to the larger question in South Africa of racial discrimination. As you know, the opposition resistance movement there is far more African than Indian; the leadership is African—we want it to be so."

Referring to a statement by Mr. Nehru at his Press Conference on June 8, when he said that he did not want the Commonwealth to develop into a super State, a correspondent asked: "Would it not be better to take problems like the South African issue in such conferences as a family matter rather than referring them to the UNO?"

Mr. Nehru replied: "Inevitably you go to UNO as world forum. Maybe it has not all that sanction, but nevertheless it has a power to affect world opinion and create that type of sanction. We do not want to convert this Commonwealth Conference into that, one of the reasons being what we have just said, that it becomes some kind of a tribunal; the second being once we treat it in that way, the informal and friendly nature of our talks would be lost. We should become advocates before a tribunal."

Talking about Asia and Africa on various occasions here I have drawn attention to the state of affairs in Africa, which distresses me very deeply. All over Africa—North Africa, the Arab part, Morocco, Tunis, South Africa, of course, because of the policy of racial discrimination, East Africa, Central Africa; problems differ in each part, and the only part which I would say is more or less satisfactory is the Gold Coast, What

I lay stress on is not a particular problem of Africa, but the whole background of Africa. Large numbers of people there are politically conscious. No continent and no people in the whole wide world have gone through such a frenzy of martyrdom as the people of Africa in the last several hundred years. So our sympathy goes out to these people and we feel that that they should take every chance to develop.

Perhaps you know that we have nearly a hundred Government of India scholars from Africa in India, and the number is likely to increase. Their hunger for education is tremendous. Thousands and thousands of schools are being started in East Africa from the pennies of the people. Whether the schools are good or bad is immaterial, but it shows their hunger for education. And it is a terrible thing that this desire to make good is frustrated. It is that which turns to terrible bitterness, and I fear that bitterness is spreading into other parts of Africa. If that becomes strongly entrenched, it is a bad outlook for the future of millions and millions of people in Africa. It inevitably takes a racial aspect, as it must. The principal economic problem of Africa is land. They have been deprived of their land. Then there is the racial discrimination problem, and unless this is met constructively you get the basis for future racial conflict on a big scale. That is why I am greatly worried about it."

### PAKISTAN NEWS

(Continued from page 395)

degree of accomplishment. It is not a complete picture since, for example, no mention has been made of the important power projects which have gone a long way towards completion. Nevertheless, it can be seen that, starting with nearly nothing, Pakistan has realised a substantial proportion of her industrial ambitions, thereby achieving a greater balance in her economy and reducing her dependence on foreign manufactures with its inherent threat to exchange stability.

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## PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS

(Continued from page 397)

When the Congress Youth League was formed, towards the end of World War II, the older Congress leaders saw in it the beginning of the end of their political lives. They made every effort to crush the League. Others, equally apprehensive, went to the opposite extreme of embracing it blindly in the hope that they would use it for their own purposes inside Congress. Professor Matthews took up a characteristic attitude and warned that the League's emergence was a well-known historical phenomenon which deserved to be received sympathetically, rather than smothered up or dictated to.

The Old Guard in Congress was full of derision. "Professor Matthews has stayed so long with the young people at Fort Hare," they said, "that he has lost the capacity to see things from anything but the standpoint of the young people."

A man who sets himself the task of bringing up a nation is bound to be misunderstood and Professor Matthews has known moments when his people misunderstood him. Perhaps at no stage in his life was this so sharply done during the last ten years of the now defunct Natives' Representative Council. Throughout that period he remained the target for concentrated fire from all sides. From one extreme the All African Convention proclaimed its appreciation of the man's role in influencing national thinking by pouring forth an incalculable volume of logic and venom in efforts to persuade him to resign from NRC.

For the opposite extreme came General Smuts and some of his white liberal supporters who worked day and night to convince Professor Matthews that if he stayed on the NRC, he would have rendered his people the greatest service.

Even inside his own Congress, he was not treated with much understanding. The Congress Youth League, in particular, cajoled, threatened and reasoned with him in rapid succession to bring nearer the collapse of the NRC.

From the very beginning the political debate took on the form and dimensions of a theological controversy—with Professor Matthews always the central figure. Perhaps in no other way could all the people of South Africa unite in paying tribute to one who works untiringly behind the scenes for a better, happier and greater South Africa.

In spite of the strains and stresses he has had to bear, he retains his charm. A life which has been through political bitterness shows no marks of what he has been through. In the African community the shortest route to political fame is to be blindly partisan in one's approach to the racial question. To-day, Professor Z. K. Matthews, M.A., L.L.B., is an institution inside Congress as well as in the country as a whole, but he still adheres to the readiness to meet the other man half-way as long as there is the possibility of achieving an honourable and reasonable compromise for the greater good of South Africa.

## PORT ELIZABETH RIOTS

### HEAVY SENTENCES

ELEVEN Africans, including one woman, were sentenced to a total of 72 cuts and 49½ years' imprisonment with compulsory labour when they were convicted of public violence at the Port Elizabeth Criminal Sessions on Thursday last week.

The sentences brought to a close a six-day trial which arose from the New Brighton riots on October 18 last year.

The Africans and their sentences were: William Gova (29), eight cuts and seven years; Michael Mango (27), eight cuts and seven years; Douglas Ntswahlana (24), eight cuts and seven years; Daniel Nyatela (22), eight cuts and three years; Enoch Dynatela (32), eight cuts and

three years; Alf Matmoela (19), eight cuts and five years; George Skumga (45), four and a half years; Wilson Merile (20), eight cuts and three years; Edwards Qoko (21), eight cuts and four years; Petsbiwe Lobese, a 40-year-old woman, three years; Pinki Kade (26), eight cuts and three years.

The Judge, Mr. Justice F. G. Reynolds, said the offence was a terribly serious one. "There was on the station an isolated group of Europeans trying to do their duty," he said, "and there is no question that the non-Europeans combined and tried to drive them out of the building.

But for the devotion to duty and the courage of Constable,

now Sergeant G. P. Burger of the Railway Police, the Europeans would have been driven out and their lives would not have been worth an instant's purchase at the hands of that savage mob.

It was defiance of law and order. It is absolutely impossible to resist that conclusion."

The Judge told Mango that the way in which he behaved precipitated the trouble. He might have not been the ring-leader, but he set in motion all the occurrences which caused the harm and trouble.

"You resisted arrest and you tried to murder Constable Burger. One of the most terrible features is that the whole train of events started with a petty brazen theft. Your own people are the chief sufferers from this act. Your own people have been wounded, and I have no doubt some of them have been killed. Through your act the facilities provided by the Government at the station have been damaged."

The Judge told Ntswahlana that he was one of the original thieves of a drum of paint with Mango, and was responsible with him for what happened.

He told Gova that he tried to burn down the station and had he succeeded some of the Europeans would have perished.—S.A.P.A.

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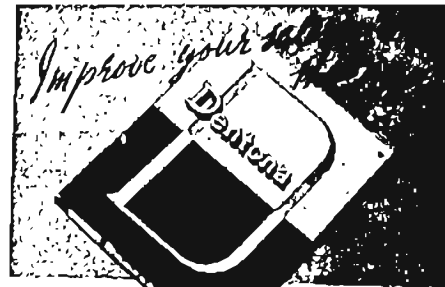
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