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# INDIAN OPINION

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## Abba

*Lord! Am I now no longer  
worth thy care?*

*Hast thou forgotten me?*

*Have I been too presum-  
tuons? Hast thou turned  
away Thy face from me?*

*Shall I now, helpless and  
abandoned quite,*

*Be the grim urchers prey?*

*Already wherr the arrows!  
Shall my life be lost at  
dawn of day?*

*Lord, thou dost smile. I  
know my faith is weak  
and faint,*

*\*The foe is nigh.*

*But never can he rob me  
of thyself;*

*"Abba," Thy child am I.*

—Max Josef Metzger.



## Archbishop Hurley On White Man's Responsibility Towards The African

THE average African has lost faith in the word of the European and is convinced that the White man will do only what is strictly necessary to maintain the African as a cog in the machinery of European economy, that was a statement reported to have been made by Archbishop Hurley at a Round Table meeting in Durban last week.

"The European, in African eyes is never prepared to give the African permanent tenure of any land, because he may need it for himself," added the Archbishop.

"The African views the White man as a greedy, rapacious land-grabber, who will break faith and trust with the helpless occupiers of land whenever it suits his pocket. And, what is worse, the Europeans have done everything to deserve that reputation.

"Anyone who knows the African realises his splendid qualities, cheerfulness, hospitality, loyalty to family and tribe, social discipline.

"Even his failings, such as lack of initiative, lack of interest and steadiness in our concept of work, can be condoned as the failings of a poetic, good-humoured easy-going race.

"But in the cities the African is losing his morals, his social stability and his lovable character. He is becoming a vice-addict. Drink, gambling and debauchery are becoming his one purpose in life.

"And once his moral sense is blunted by the excesses, nothing remains sacred to him—neither life, nor property, nor honour.

"It is easy to guess what company the young impressionable boys and girls from the country-encounter in cities.

"The average house girl comes unspoiled from farm or reserve. She takes up quarters in some dark corner behind a European house. In the evening after work she mixes with the boys and girls of the neighbourhood.

"She finds some boys somewhat persistent. If she is a good girl she will resist at first. But she has no protection; no home jealously guarded by her parents; no one from whom to seek advice.

"She finds that the only way to have any peace is to accept one boy as a regular.

"I do not think that any African girl can last more than six months in any of our cities," said Archbishop Hurley.

"It is so easy for the White man to shrug his shoulders; so easy for one group to blame another; for the citizens to blame the Government; and for the Government to plead that they have no time or money to deal with the situation.

(Continued on page 453)

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 14TH NOVEMBER, 1952

## The Archbishop's Advice

**W**E have the deepest respect for Archbishop Denis Hurley and we do not in the least doubt the sincerity with which he has offered advice to Indians to accept the principle of residential segregation to allay the fears of the Europeans and to shame the authorities into magnanimity. We regret to have to say, however, that Archbishop Hurley has thus unconsciously allowed himself to play in the hands of those who wish by hook or by crook to see the Group Areas Act implemented.

Archbishop Hurley will no doubt admit that there are certain fundamental principles in life which should under no circumstances be violated. Man's whole life is based upon God's Law, which must at all costs be respected above man-made law. The Group Areas Act is a man-made law which is condemned by all thinking people of South Africa. Moreover that law has been passed by a section of the White people without consulting or taking into consideration in the least degree the feelings of the people against whom it is actually directed and which will in its effect result in their moral and material ruination.

The Archbishop admits in effect that the Group Areas Act is based on the doctrine of permanent White supremacy, and the present Government makes no secret of

the fact that it stands for that doctrine and for nothing else. "Permanent White supremacy means," says Archbishop Hurley, "that, irrespective of the stage of development of non-White races, they are never to be allowed political and economic equality with Europeans. When stated like that," the Archbishop further states, "this principle does not sound like a principle at all, it has the ring of stupidity, arrogance and conceit." The situation regarding the Indians in Natal, as is very rightly stated by Archbishop Hurley, "was simply that the Europeans were taking, and would continue to take all steps necessary to ensure that Indians would not have equality with them." Under these circumstances where was there any room for Indians to make a gesture of goodwill? Any acquiescence on their part in the Group Areas Act would amount to accepting a permanent inferior status purely on the ground of their race and colour; in other words, selling their manhood for a mess of pottage. Neither Christianity nor any religion, we humbly submit, allow that. It is certainly true that one should stoop to conquer but that does not mean that one should forego one's national self-respect. It means that one should conquer evil by love and non-violence. That one can do not by stooping to the greed and lust of power of the evil-doer but

refusing to submit to the evil and humbly submitting to any punishment the evil-doer may wish to inflict without bearing any hatred towards him. How can any gesture of goodwill be expected from the victims of the evil-doer. Any gesture of goodwill has to come from the rulers and they will find the non-whites to be the easiest to deal with in the world. It is not power that they are seeking. What they are seeking is elementary human rights which the unjust and immoral laws of the country seek to deprive them of.

## Shooting To Be Order Of The Day

**A**T a Nationalist Party rally at Klipkoppies on Sunday night November 2, the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart is reported to have said: "The police had instructions to act and to act swiftly and drastically, and they would have his support. The organisers of the defiance campaign should heed this warning. If the existing laws were inadequate for the security of the country the necessary legislation for the safety of the country would be introduced when Parliament met in January next year... Where people deliberately broke the law the only solution was to take severe action and teach them that they could not break the law. That would be done.

The police had instructions to take drastic action wherever there was a threat of clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. They will use batons where necessary, and they will shoot where necessary.

Speaking at a Nationalist Party rally at Pretoria North on Sunday night November 2, the Minister of Lands and Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, Mr. J. G. Strydom, is reported to have said, "it was necessary (for the White people) to remain master if they wanted to remain White. If the power should go into the hands of ten million non-Europeans, the White people of the Union would have to go under or would have to leave as the British had to leave India and the

shall we go? We shall fight to the last drop of blood before that happens."

Since the above statements were made by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart and the Minister of Lands, Mr. J. G. Strydom, shootings by the police have taken place on a larger scale in other parts of the country—particularly in East London and Kimberley, where riots are alleged to have taken place.

In East Bank Location at East London a European nun, Sister Aiden, of the Mater Die Hospital, is reported to have been killed and her motor car burned while she was inside it. An official police statement issued on Sunday night said four Africans and a European had also been killed and several policemen and several Natives were injured.

Trouble is reported to have started when the police went into the location to disperse a meeting being held in violation of the Riotous Assemblies Act ban on meetings.

Captain Pohl said the Natives would not desist and stoned the police heavily. He had to order his men to fire.

A number of buildings in the location are reported to have burnt out.

In the two Kimberley locations 13 Natives, including two women, are reported to have been shot dead and 78 injured.

At No 2 location, the rioting is reported to have originated in a beer hall quarrel.

A force of about 300 armed police under the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel P. Grobler, made a show of strength in both locations early in the morning.

Damage in the locations has been estimated at several thousand pounds.

All seven members of the Executive of the African National Congress in Kimberley were arrested.

All this makes sad reading. While we deeply sympathise with the relatives of those who have lost their lives, we must say that the Government is unwisely determined to use terrorism to crush the movement. The Passive resisters will have to be prepared for all that.

We have stated before and we repeat that the time is very far yet for any form of mass struggle. The unfortunate things that have happened should serve as a grim lesson. Our struggle is directed against unjust and immoral law

## NOTES

of the Government and it must be carried on in the most dignified manner. In our opinion the strike in the Eastern Cape was not a wise step. A great deal of preparation and a proper realisation of the grave consequences are required before taking such a step. We understand thousands of workers have been thrown out of work. That was of course to be expected. People who go on strike must realise that they stand in danger of losing their means of livelihood and should not depend on the public or anybody to maintain them. They would have to face starvation and even death.

That in a huge population of uneducated, half-civilised or uncivilised people who have never known any other weapon but the worst form of violence to settle disputes, who have had no training whatsoever in the technique of non violence, we should have thousands who have shown such wonderful spirit of non-violence under the strongest provocation is very creditable indeed. Let that reputation not be marred by any unwise and thoughtless act.

The time to suspend or to call off the movement has not yet come. It cannot be done simply on police reports or threats on the part of the Minister of Justice. There has been no talk of blood on the part of the Passive Resisters. Such talk has emanated from responsible Cabinet Ministers who are expected to know better. If the leaders of the defiance campaign are guilty of acts of violence it should be proved. It can only be proved by holding an impartial judicial inquiry, for which the African and the Indian Congresses have made repeated requests and so has the whole country. But Mr. Swart has spurned those requests and relies on the strength of the gun to maintain law and order. The Government's refusal to institute an inquiry creates a justifiable suspicion about its integrity. Let it be remembered that a sin can never be hidden. It is bound to overwhelm the sinner in some form or other. The Government needs to remember that force does not pay, it will not pay. We fear the Government will learn the lesson perhaps when it is too late. In the meantime we think the individual campaign should go on quietly without any demonstrations of any kind and the African people should be taught the ethics of Passive Resistance.

New Political Party  
In The Making

"I EXPECT the present resurgence of liberalism in South Africa to become articulate and take the form of an association or a new political party which could save the country." This was said in Maritzburg last week by Mr. Alan Paton, South Africa's famous sociologist and writer of the world acclaimed "Cry the Beloved Country." Mr. Paton visited Maritzburg in connection with the formation of a new liberal group in the City. He told the 'Natal Witness' there were signs everywhere of a rising liberalism in this country. This movement must become coherent—perhaps in the form of a new political party. Such a party could save South Africa by proclaiming certain principles of justice and common sense. "Such ideals cannot be ignored forever," he said. These principles were based on the maxim: "Equal rights for all civilised men," he said. That was the only solution to the Union's racial and social problems. Asked about the New Brighton riots, Mr. Paton said that the events in Port Elizabeth were most tragic. "We will not solve movements like New Brighton by building up a United White Front." We must extend our hands to the articulate among the Natives and other non Europeans, and encourage the civilised and progressive elements to lead the masses towards peaceful co operation with the Whites. A common ground between White and non European was essential, he said. If we rejected the natural claims of civilised non Europeans, we allowed hooligans to take over, and then we had to shoot. Certain people were saying: "We must have bigger forces." But co operation, not force, was the answer. The hooligans ignored the civilised non-Europeans because the Whites did so also, said Mr. Paton.

Dr. Donges Demands  
Country's Support To Crush  
Defiance Campaign

"The Government are entitled to expect the support of every right-thinking citizen of South Africa, irrespective of Party, in any action they may take against leaders of the defiance campaign, and as a Government we are entitled to demand that support," said the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, when he addressed a Nasionale Party meeting in Pietersburg on Saturday, November 8. The Minister said the great majority of Natives and

Indians did not associate themselves with the policies of the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress. There was a group of agitators among the Natives and Indians which was under the influence of the Indian Republic and Russia. The whole defiance campaign was Indian in origin and the Indians had tried to get the assistance of the Natives. The intention was to create chaos and unrest. "This movement is not against one Party. Most of the measures against which the defiance campaigners are protesting have been in operation for years in South Africa. It is a movement against the White race as a whole and a movement which is aimed at absolute equality between Black and White. It is against the authority of the State and is designed to undermine law and order," said the Minister. There is no reason for panic in South Africa, but the Government are justified in depending upon the support of every right-thinking person in any action they may take against the movement."

Verwoerd Threatens Drastic  
Action

Speaking in the Johannesburg City Hall on Saturday afternoon, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said drastic measures would be taken against non-Europeans who defied the laws of the country and he was considering the banishing of agitators from trouble spots such as New Brighton, in Port Elizabeth. The Minister told a Nasionale Party meeting that those who incited others to break the law deserved punishment. In the terms of the Natal code—"a very good British-Zulu principle" which had been extended to other Provinces Native agitators in Reserves could be banished from the Reserves. He was now considering whether Natives in the cities who were inciting others to break the laws should not be removed from areas where they were stirring up trouble.

## Naude Calls Upon Women

To Be Prepared  
A warning that women might have to be trained in the use of firearms was given by the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. J. P. Naude, at Pietersburg last Saturday. "We have our Skiet Commandos, upon whom we can rely for the defence of our country in the event of an emergency, but the time may come when the women of South Africa may also have to defend themselves, as in the past," the Minister said.

Mr. Mitchell Advocates  
All-White Front

Mr. D. E. Mitchell, M.P., leader of the United Party in Natal, is reported to have warned a meeting of the Underberg branch of the United Party that if the non-Europeans formed a common front against the White man it might be necessary for all White men to stand together.

Call For Policy On  
Non-Whites

It was revealed in a statement issued last week that the Association of Chambers of Commerce decided at its recent congress in Johannesburg to call a national conference of non-political organisations to formulate a non-European policy for South Africa.

The following is the text of the statement:

"The Association resolved at its 50th annual congress that the Association's views on a sound non-European economic and sociological policy should be formulated, and that the Association should call a national conference of all non-political interested organisations to make such recommendations as may be deemed advisable for the future welfare of South Africa."

Union Of Jewish  
Women Of S.A.Grants Bursary For  
Advanced Study

The Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa is inviting applications for the TONI SAPHRA BURSARY for advanced study. The bursary is open to any woman, irrespective of race, creed or colour, who holds a suitable degree or professional qualification, and whose proposed course of study will equip her more effectively to render some form of social service for the community. The maximum amount of the bursary is £250 per annum, renewable annually, subject to satisfactory progress. The closing date for applications is November 30.

Further particulars may be obtained from The Secretary, Union of Jewish Women of South Africa, P.O. Box 4500, Cape Town.

"Work is now being commenced on the formulation of a proposed non-European policy on a purely objective basis, in keeping with the Association's traditional treatment, as a purely business organisation, of all economic problems of national importance.

"The work involved is most extensive, and at this stage it is not possible to state at what time the Association may be in a position to convene the national conference called for in the congress resolution.

"It is the belief of the Association that the business community generally, to which community the non-European races represent an important source of labour and a significant section of consumer demand, must give serious consideration to the evolution of a policy designed to assess the role which should be played in our economy by the non-European peoples."

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## THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERAL POLICY

By C. W. M. GELL

(11)

TURNING to the survival of civilisation in our small corner of the world, Dr. Harris begins the second part of his booklet by underlining once again that "unless western civilisation's characteristic moral principles and political ideals are preserved, nothing essential to white civilisation is at all likely to be preserved." This is what both Schweitzer and Radhakrishnan mean when they say that civilisation is based upon a vision. Dr. Harris continues: "As the moral and political principles involved in true democracy run counter to, and in fact forbid, the practice of racial exclusion and discrimination, the preservation of our civilisation, the essence of which is the Christian democratic tradition, is incompatible with racialism." We have, therefore, to choose whether we desire to preserve the mythical purity and evident domination of the white races at the expense of everything which gives them the right to call themselves civilised. Do we Europeans want civilisation or whiteness (though Dr. Harris agrees with Sir James Rose Innes, "there is no logical tie between franchise equality and sexual intimacy")? Considerations of the survival of distinct racial types is, in fact, irrelevant to the preservation of civilisation. What alone matters is the survival of values. Dr. Harris would certainly agree with Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood's recent BBC broadcast:

"It seems to me much more important to try to guarantee that our descendants have civilised values than to waste energy in attempts to ensure that they will have brown or white surfaces."

And with Father Trevor Huddleston:

"We are constantly told that white civilisation is in danger. So it is. But not from the Native. It is in danger because its moral and spiritual content is almost gone. It is just not worth preserving any more; for the value of "white" civilisation does not lie in its "whiteness" but in its ethical and moral force."

Dr. Harris proceeds to show how the present policy of white domination leads to deterioration of both white and black and to the denial and eventual destruction of civilisation. It distorts and lowers values in every phase of life, political, social, educational, economic and psychological. Exclusive white nationalism must breed exclusive coloured national-

ism. White domination invites communist revolution. Civilisation cannot survive these tensions.

In his last 10 pages Dr. Harris makes specific suggestions for a programme designed to preserve civilisation in our multi-racial society. He rejects partition or total apartheid as physically impossible and economically disastrous. He stands uncompromisingly for the removal of the economic colour bar, compulsory education and social services for all and the admission of all who satisfy educational, vocational and other tests to the common electoral roll of civilised persons. Those who cannot yet reach these standards would have indirect communal representation. Dr. Harris explains that, since comparatively few non-Europeans would be able to satisfy either the political or economic standards without better and longer education, his suggestions would bring about no immediate revolutionary changes, except in men's attitudes and prejudices. But it is just there that a revolution is required now, opening the eyes of the whites to the implications of the rights they claim for themselves and offering the coloured people the hope of an enlarging future. If that revolution could be achieved, a period of gradual transition would be accepted by all reasonable men as the true interest of our society. Without that revolution in outlook, social and racial revolution must follow as night the day. "The longer a decision of principle is delayed, the more inevitable becomes the latter alternative from which neither white nor black would profit and which civilisation would not survive."

Mr. Marquard's book provides the wider historical and contemporary picture of the South African scene in which Dr. Harris's urgent views are set. Himself an Afrikaner, seventeen years a teacher and now South African representative of the Oxford University Press, Mr. Marquard belongs to the South African liberal tradition which owes even more to Afrikaners than to British descendants. Quietly and unemotionally he discusses the various elements of our social mosaic, describing their historical background and present aspirations. Without straining to be original he has illuminated many subjects with fresh vision, notably the effects of urbanisation on Afrikaner and African and the problem of Afrikaners religion and education. His case against a

return to tribalism is irrefutable. His views on a policy of gradual de-reservation of African land may provoke criticism, but I believe he is right. African special privileges will eventually have no more place than European special privileges. But the removal of whatever small privileges Africans now have must await their admission much more fully to the common status of citizenship. Apart from all the inherent defects and injustices of their racial policy, the particular folly of the Nationalists has been to push ahead with restrictive measures without so far doing anything at all to fulfil their promises of "full development in their own sphere." It has been all take and no give.

Of the many facts and figures quoted by Mr. Marquard these especially stick in my memory—European urban revenue £39 million a year, expenditure £37 million; location revenue £15 million, expenditure £18 million. Since approximately equal numbers of Africans and Europeans live in the towns of South Africa, nearly thirty times as much is spent per European as per non-European. This is, of course, justified on the ground that the Africans (and other non-Europeans) must pay for their own amenities. But in no other civilised country that I know are the poor so openly loaded with all their burdens and at the same time forcibly prevented from entering better paid employment. Sound and sensible as it is to insist that all peoples shall contribute something towards their own betterment, which they then feel as something earned not something given, no sane, Christian or compassionate policy today limits the poor only to the education and services they can themselves afford. For in the true conception even of our own self-interest the poverty, ignorance, ill-health and homelessness of others is an impediment and a danger to the welfare of the whole community.

In his final pages Mr. Marquard says some sensible things to importunate overseas critics. The practical and psychological problems confronting the white population are very great indeed and it does not help the liberal cause to minimise them. I believe there is a much broader understanding of this among our own non-European population than most white people think possible. The proclamation now by a influential section of the white community of the ultimate goal of equal citizenship and equality of economic opportunity would loose the chains of frustration and bitterness which we are daily binding on more firmly, and create an atmosphere of goodwill

in which a gradual programme might receive the assent of moderate men on both sides of the colour bar.

I, therefore, sincerely welcome the manifesto issued on September 28 by 22 prominent South African liberals, led by the Native Representatives, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Chief Rabbi and including Mr. Marquard among other names well-known in religious and intellectual circles. As Dr. Harris concludes: "That 'White Civilisation' would be preserved (by such a programme as these men and women proposed) is not absolutely certain, but the probability that it would be very considerable—as great, in fact, as we can hope for. It is certainly a far better alternative than the certainty of its destruction implicit in the continuation of the present system," which is based on the confusion of race purity with cultural achievement and capacity.

What books and the printed word can do, these three books under review go far to perform. But it is in our hearts and deeds that the message must work the miracle of transformation. First clarify our creed—here our authors give valuable service and one wishes them a wide public. Then practice it—here they only point the way which we must follow ourselves; but, let us pray, in a goodly and growing company.

White civilisation is the most pernicious myth afflicting the politics of this country. It is used to justify every sort of evasion, procrastination, repression, brutality and downright selfishness. It is a parrot cry appealing to all the basest instincts and short-term interests of the enfranchised classes Dr. Radhakrishnan might have been thinking of when he wrote: "We often refuse to admit facts, not because there is evidence against them, but because there is a theory against them."

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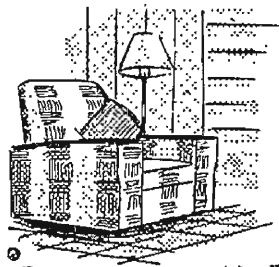
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## ARCHBISHOP HURLEY ON WHITE MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE AFRICAN

(Continued from front page)

"But the blame remains, and it is a stain on the honour of every European.

"In the long run it is up to Europeans to face the situation squarely. The other alternative is to permit the development of a debased and barbarous town population, which one day will find its leaders and organisers, and then our sins will visit upon our heads in ruin and bloodshed.

"The only way to right a wrong is to turn on the pressure. The men in the Government depend on our votes. If we desperately want something done we must form a pressure group and use the threat of the vote until we get what we want.

"Because we are the guardians of the rights of the Africans they cannot turn on the pressure.

"But we can—through groups of citizens and organised industry

and commerce. We have got to push the Government, co-operate with the Government, come forward with plans and propositions and not expect everything from the State.

"We Europeans bear the awful responsibility of safeguarding the rights of Africans and seeing that they get a square deal.

"We must aim at home ownership and security for Africans. In addition to this, we have a big responsibility to single African males and females housed in those monstrosities we call compounds or kios.

"We have far more responsibility for their moral welfare than we care to assume, especially if they are young.

"The master-servant relation is far more than an 'I pay—you work' contract. We have got to safeguard his or her morality."

## ARCHBISHOP'S ADVICE TO INDIANS

ARCHBISHOP Denis Hurley told a meeting of the Indo-European Council in Maritzburg last week that he would propose that the Indian community should make a gesture of goodwill, and accept residential segregation as a means of allaying European fears, in the interests of better understanding and as a means of furthering their own development towards full citizenship.

"Sometimes you gain more by appearing to retreat; sometimes by the patient acceptance of something undesirable you shame your opponent into magnanimity," said the Archbishop.

"It would amount to this, that the leaders of the Indian community, influential men, wealthy men, would draw up concrete plans for Indian residential areas.

"Certain areas would be planned for home ownership, others for economic and sub-economic rental so as to cater for all pockets. In your plans provision would be made for a fair share of the rates to be administered by your own township councils.

"You would manage your own civic affairs as far as possible you would provide out of the rates, roads, sewerage and lighting and other necessary services.

"Being attached to the city on which you would depend for water, light and such commodities, you would not have complete civic autonomy.

"The immediate objection to this is that the city you depend

on would not give you too much freedom of action.

"That danger does arise, but on the other hand the European rulers of South Africa and of Natal particularly are so concerned with what they term the 'Indian problem' that I feel they would welcome with open arms constructive plans from Indian leaders along the lines I have suggested. They would be willing to make fairly generous concessions in regard to administrative control and finance."

One got a little weary of preaching principles sometimes, and was tempted to offer practical suggestions.

"This may be an unwise step for a bishop, but I have succumbed to the temptation."

"Residential segregation is associated with political principle when it comes up as part and parcel of a doctrine of permanent White supremacy," Dr. Hurley added.

Permanent White supremacy means that, irrespective of the stage of development of non-White races, they are never to be allowed political and economic equality with Europeans. When stated like that, this principle does not sound like a principle at all, it has the ring of stupidity, arrogance and conceit."

The situation regarding the Indians in Natal was simply that the Europeans were taking, and would continue to take, all steps necessary to ensure that Indians

would not have equality with them. This statement was perhaps a little too sweeping, as in the sphere of education Indians were going forward rapidly.

Outside of educational rights, however, there appeared no tendency on the part of Europeans to raise the Iron Curtain of the colour bar.

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## A LETTER THAT 'THE STAR' REFUSED TO PUBLISH

THE following letter was sent by Mr. C. W. M. Gell to 'The Star' (Johannesburg) in reply to a series of articles on total Apartheid written by Mr. O. Pirow but 'The Star' refused to publish it:

Sir,—In his first article Mr. Pirow joins Dr. Malan in alleging that the East, (i.e. India) casts covetous eyes on Africa and that "the hundreds of thousands of Indians between Mombasa and Durban are a grave economic menace to the Africans and a potential fifth column in the conflict which lies ahead."

In round numbers the population of the areas referred to is:—

	Europeans	Asiaties	Africans
Kenya	38,000	115,000	5,200,000
Uganda	3,500	34,000	4,900,000
Tanganyika	11,000	55,000	7,300,000
Nyasaland	2,000	3,000	2,000,000
N. Rhodesia	30,000	1,000	2,000,000
S. Rhodesia	140,000	3,000	2,000,000
	<u>276,000</u>	<u>212,000</u>	<u>23,400,000</u>
Union	<u>2,600,000</u>	<u>365,000</u>	<u>8,500,000</u>
Total	2,876,5000	577,000	31,900,000

These figures, the fact that Indians came to these territories at the invitation of the Europeans, that Indian immigration into these territories has been closed because of Indian commercial rivalry to some European interests while European immigration continues, and that in so far as India has any ambitions in East and Southern Africa they are indistinguishable from and far less effective than European ambitions, should dispose of the allegation that Indians are an economic menace to Africans.

Since in the most troubled territories Indians have joined with Africans to demand rights for all the underprivileged, Mr. Pirow presumably regards them as a fifth column against the Europeans, although from his context he might appear to be concerned with African interests.

The presence of Indians in the Eastern half of Africa is undoubtedly an additional complication in an already complicated racial scene. But it is one for which we Europeans are responsible and which it will become us, therefore, to try and father off on "the East's covetous eyes."

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## SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED BY INDIA TO INDIAN AND OTHER STUDENTS

THE following Press Note has been issued by the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa:—

In pursuance of their desire to promote cultural relations between India and foreign countries and to extend educational facilities available in India to students of other countries, the Government of India propose to award 100 scholarships to Indian and indigenous students from 39 Commonwealth and foreign countries for higher studies in India during the year 1953. The following allotment has been made for South Africa:

(1) Non-Indian students—African 1, Coloured 1. (ii) Students of Indian origin domiciled in the Union of South Africa 4.

2. Scholarships will be awarded for studies in the Arts and Humanities, Sciences, Agriculture, Medicine, Nursing, Technology, Education, Law, Commerce, Forestry, Veterinary Science, Civil Engineering etc. Preference will be given to students desiring to take up post-graduate courses. But applications for post-Matriculation courses will also be considered. Applications of students below 19 years of age will not be entertained for post-graduate courses.

3. Consideration will be given to students who have already had some training in South Africa in the course of which they propose to pursue in the Indian institutions. Candidates offering themselves for technical and professional courses must possess certain minimum qualifications to be eligible to take up the course, e.g. for Medicine the candidate must have passed the Intermediate Sciences (medical group) of an Indian University or an examination recognised as equivalent to that examination; a Matriculate or one who has passed an equivalent examination will not be eligible for such course. As training facilities in certain subjects such as Engineering, Medicine etc. are extremely limited it will not be possible to find more than a very small number of seats for study in these subjects.

Students who are already studying in India on their own will not ordinarily be eligible for these scholarships. Only an exceptionally hard case in which the student deserves financial help might be considered.

4. The value of the scholarship has been fixed at Rs. 200 p.m., exclusive of capitation,

tuition and examination fees, which will be paid by the Government of India direct to the institute concerned. Miscellaneous fees and payments, such as library fee, laboratory fee, games fee, admission fee, statutory deposits for libraries and hostels etc., will have to be paid by the scholar himself from out of his stipend. The Government of India reserves the right to reduce the amount of scholarship if they think that circumstances justify it. The amount of the stipend is considered to be ample for all the expenses of a student in India including miscellaneous fees and expenses indicated above, normal medical charges and expenses during vacations etc., and in no circumstances applications for additional allowances will be considered.

The cost of passage either way and all expenses on journeys in India will have to be met by the students themselves.

5. The scholarship will be tenable for the period necessary for the scholar to acquire the degree, diploma or certificate of the course for which he has been selected, depending upon the satisfactory progress of the student. The scholarship will commence from the date on which a candidate actually joins the institution in India selected for him for studies or from the

date on which that institution commences its session, whichever is later, and will normally terminate on the last date on which the final examination for the prescribed course ends.

The scholarship is, however, liable to cancellation any time during the currency of the course, at the discretion of the Government, for misconduct, unsatisfactory progress or failure to pass his annual examination.

6. Applications from persons satisfying the above qualifications should reach the Assistant Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, P.O. Box 8327, Johannesburg, on or before the 15th December 1952 in the prescribed application forms, which can be obtained from the office of the High Commissioner for India. Each application must be accompanied by particulars of the courses, theoretical as well as practical, including the detailed syllabuses, curriculae etc., already completed by the student.

7. Suitable candidates will be required to appear for an interview soon after the closing date.

8. The final selection of the candidates will be made by the Government of India. The successful candidates will be informed of their selection through the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union. After the completion of their studies in India the students will be expected to return to the Union.

## A HEROIC STRUGGLE

[Mr. Prarela, who was one of the secretaries of Mahatma Gandhi, and is at present engaged in writing a detailed account of Mahatma Gandhi's life, has written the following article on the Defence Campaign in 'Harijan'.]

"It was in May 1946 that an Indian deputation from South Africa waited on Gandhiji at Valmiki Mandir, Bhangi Colony in New Delhi, to discuss with him the situation arising out of further disabilities that were proposed to be put on them on top of the Peggling Act. The deputation was headed by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, son of the late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, and included such veteran Satyagrahis trained under Gandhiji as Mr. Christopher. Gandhiji had before that opposed the Indian community inviting the Natives to join them in a united anti-White front. For, that would have been exploiting the Natives by the Indian community for its own ends. The Natives had a far bigger stake than the Indians in Africa, but were not yet ready to

launch a struggle for it. But a great awakening had come over them of late. Gandhiji had therefore no hesitation in advising the Indian deputation to join the common anti-White front. "Yes, we should associate with the Bantu etc. It means you take them along when you have developed the power of non-violence. . . . One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their White oppressors unless some one presents to them the weapon of Satyagraha. But if you allow yourselves to be overwhelmed and sweep off your feet, it will be their and your ruin."

When the present struggle was started, some had doubts whether it would be on strictly non-violent lines because of some persons with alleged communist leanings being involved in the leadership. Mr. Manilal Gandhi was one of the doubters. With great insight he decided that the most effective contribution he could make to the cause was to purify the atmosphere of the

danger of violence through self-purification, and accordingly he launched on a 'twenty-one day's fast. It must have been a source of the deepest satisfaction to him as to all friends and sympathisers, that his worst fears have so far been belied. In a recent letter to a friend he wrote that he was amazed by the extent to which both in method and in spirit the people had observed non-violence. "He said," the friend writes, "that his father's spirit was at work in the situation."

Non-violence often works in a mysterious way. But for Bapu's spirit Mr. Manilal himself probably would not have been prompted to go in for a self-purificatory and all-purifying fast. It dramatized for all Bapu's spirit which he strongly felt at work within him self.

"What is happening, clearly enough, is," wrote 'The Statesman and Nation' some time back, "that the three principal non-White communities—numbering some four-fifths of the population of the Union—are learning to use their power of numbers and to use it intelligently. So far, they are not using it at more than a fraction of its possible strength. But what a few thousands can do today, a few tens of thousands can very well do tomorrow. When that happens, the Whites of South Africa will be forced at last to make their choice—either to bring down their world in chaos, or to concede to their non-White fellow-countrymen the elementary rights and privileges of human beings."

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of 19 passive resisters including four women defied Permit Regulations at Germiston, on November 5. The batch was led by Mr. Peter Reboroka, a graduate and a former medical student.

The volunteers entered Germiston Location at 5.45 p.m. formed into a procession and marched through the streets singing songs composed by volunteers behind prison bars how they have served their terms of imprisonment in the Campaign.

They were all sentenced to 74 days hard labour or £2, they all elected to go to prison.

In a statement to the court Mr Reboroka said: We regard the Pass Laws as being unjust because they severely restrict our freedom of movement; we cannot go where we please, when we please; they are unjust because they restrict our freedom to choose where we shall and where we shall not live, what wages we are prepared to accept and what kind of work we are prepared to do. They are unjust because they deny us the right to strike, they deny us the right to withhold our labour until our conditions of service are ameliorated, they are unjust because for us the mere breaking of a contract of service made it a criminal rather than a civil offence. They are unjust because they deny us, as pass bearers, the unrestricted rights to organise. As a result of the operation we the real workers of this country are denied the status of workers and all the privileges and amenities flowing therefrom.

A handful of our compatriots carry exemption certificates and as a result they are alleged to be free from the obnoxious provisions of these Pass Laws. These certificates do exempt the bearers from the service contract pass but this is only one of the many Pass Laws Regulations. The bearers are not exempted from the Curfew Regulations, the Location Permit Regulations, Influx Control Regulations and disabling clause of such laws as the industrial Conciliation Act, or the Native Labour Regulations. It is thus a mockery to call them exemptions. The abolition of Passes Act adds insult to injury by merely consolidating the existing Pass Laws and abolishing none."

Dr. G. M. Naicker, chairman of the meeting, said that he was pleased to see all sections of the South African people represented at the meeting. He said: "There is no sign of violence at this meeting, and I can assure the Council and the

police that no matter where we hold our meetings there will be no violence on our part. The reason why the authorities have banned our meetings is that they are afraid of the truth. The police should curb Nationalist leaders who are openly preaching violence. There is no need for them to come to our peaceful meetings in large numbers for we have no intention whatsoever of advocating any form of violence."

gresses have satisfied us that the police had no grounds whatsoever for using batons and violence. What happened was that a large number of people were legitimately using their right of way to get back to their homes and places of work from Court. There was no organised profession.

Such acts by the police only help to engender racial tension in our country at a time when all endeavours should be in the



The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, who celebrates today his 64th birthday. Indians in South Africa wish him Many Happy Returns Of The Day.

Mr. Yengwa announced amidst cheers that on Sunday, November 23, a batch would go into action in Pinetown.

The meeting was most orderly and peaceful throughout. The traffic police's request to tone down the loudspeakers was complied with and Dr. Naicker announced that the gathering was prepared to assist the traffic police as much as they could.

### Police Action Criticised

The following statement was issued jointly by the African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress:

"The African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress are deeply concerned at the action taken by the South African Police against Africans and Indians who were returning from Court this morning (November 5) after hearing the trial of resisters led by Dr. W. Z. Conco.

Reports available to us from leading members of our Con-

direction of creating race harmony.

We feel that recent statements by the Minister of Justice and the action of the police following soon thereafter have been motivated by an unnecessary attempt to provoke the people.

No matter what happens, our people will refuse to be provoked, and will continue on the path of non-violence. That is the message to our people by our Congresses.

We call upon the Minister of Justice to desist from making irresponsible statements, and to instruct the police to refrain from using unwarranted force on a peaceful people.

### J. N. Singh Leads 14th Batch

Mr. J. N. Singh, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, led the fourteenth Natal batch of resisters to defy unjust laws. Mr. Singh and thirteen members of his batch were sentenced to 14 days' hard labour.

Indian Congress when its headquarters were in Durban and has been an active executive member of the Congress.

Owing to the ban imposed by the Mayor of Durban on campaign meetings in public places, the meeting which bade farewell to Mr. Singh's batch could not be held at Nicol Square. Instead a huge meeting was held at a private-owned square at the corner of Carlisle Street and Albert Street on Sunday, November 9.

### Protest Against Ban On Meetings

A resolution protesting against banning of meetings at Nicol Square was passed at a meeting held at the Bantu Social Centre on Sunday, November 2. The resolution read: "This mass meeting of the citizens of Durban called under the joint auspices of the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress, lodges its strongest protest at the refusal by the Mayor of Durban to grant permission to hold mass meetings at Nicol Square.

"The Mayor of Durban has under a traffic bylaw of the City taken action which has the effect of stifling the voice of over 300,000 non-Europeans of Durban. The non-European people have no civic forum in which they could make their views known and now even peaceful meetings are subject to an arbitrary ban. At none of the meetings or processions organised by the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress—and there have been hundreds of them—has there ever been any violence or threat of violence or any interference with traffic. The Mayor's refusal can only be interpreted as an action motivated by political considerations."

Permission has been refused to Congress to hold 15 meetings at the John Nicol Square Pine Street, Cartwrights Flats, Umgeni Road and for the holding of seven processions from the Nicol Square to the Berea Road Railway Station on various dates between November 2 to December 13.

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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## WE SHALL REJECT ANOTHER NRC

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

QUITE a number of political bites are being flung at the moment, from both the Government side and the official Opposition. All are aimed at bringing to a halt the defiance campaign led by the African and Indian Congresses. The most significant of these came from the United Party recently in which suggestions were made that if the United Party were returned to power, one of the things it would do would be to rescutate the defunct Natives Representative Council and give it more powers to administer purely African affairs.

This is a not too clever attempt to evade the issue—the basic issue—raised by the defiance campaign: extension of the franchise to the non-Europeans. We shall not deal with the powers, it is intended the revised NRC shall have. We shall deal only with the principle—because it is wholly unacceptable to us, for a number of good reasons.

Firstly we reject the principle of regarding the African people as a people apart, for whom especial machinery has to be created, to cater for their political and social needs. This marks out the African with the permanent stigma of an inferior being in the land of his birth and anything which smacks in any way of this suggestion is altogether unacceptable.

Secondly, quite a number of devices have been tried out since 1920 by which to enable the African to make his wishes known. There was first the so-called Native Conferences, created with the purpose of getting hand-picked "good-boys" of the Government to meet periodically in Pretoria to voice the grievances of their people before some potentate or other of the Native Affairs Department. These conferences lasted only seven years and were soon scrapped because, from the Government's point of view, they did not concern themselves with the "real needs" of the African people. In African eyes, however, the conferences failed because they were wholly inadequate for purposes of ensuring white respect for African wishes. It must be noted that it was the exclusively white Government which took the initiative in scrapping them.

The Natives Representative Council was next tried. It went

the way of the so-called Native Conferences for similar reasons. Before its demise the late General Smuts called a few Councilors to Capetown where he outlined to them the increased powers he proposed to give to the enlarged NRC. The African people wasted little time in rejecting the proposals because, they said, the enlarged and more responsible NRC would be powerless to influence legislation as long as the African people did not have the franchise. As long as the African people did not sit in Parliament the Council, in Prof. Matthews' historic phrase, would remain a "toy telephone."

Both Prof. Matthews and Dr. J. S. Moroka, as senior members of the NRC and senior leaders and spokesmen of the African people, walked out of the NRC in protest against not only the futility of trying to speak through a "toy telephone" but also against denying the African the only way to ensure respect for his wishes—the franchise. Since then their action has been overwhelmingly endorsed by the African people in every part of the Union.

Incidentally, it is very significant that the NRC "moderates" who would rather have accepted the Smuts proposals—with a few improvements—have all, almost to a man, been either swept out of political office in all the four provinces of the Union or thrown into oblivion. Dr. Moroka, Prof. Matthews, Chief A. J. Luthuli and those who rejected wholly the "toy telephone" idea are the accepted leaders of the African people today. How far they enjoy the confidence of their people can be gauged from the fact that thousands of Africans from every part of the Union have gladly gone to jail in response to Dr. Moroka's call for volunteers to defy unjust laws.

Thus, apart from being a demonstration against unjust laws, in favour of extending the franchise to the African, the defiance campaign is also a spectacular vote of confidence in the men who rejected the "toy telephone."

Against this background, it is unrealistic for any United Party politician or statesman to suggest that we should seriously consider the prospect of seeing the NRC restored to life. As a people we did not reject it to see it revived. We did not want

it reformed. We did not want the very idea of a separate representative council set aside for us. We rejected it because we wanted to send our own representatives to parliament and we shall never accept it under any circumstances. Secondly, we are not going to jail in our thousands merely to revive the NRC. We have risked everything because we want unjust laws wiped off the Statute Book of the Union. The only effective way to do that is to have the franchise. Rather than have the NRC, we would elect to carry on our defiance campaign as a people.

If the United Party hopes to settle the racial deadlock on the basis of the revived NRC, we might warn it in advance that it is wasting its time. If the consultation we hear so much about these days has the underlying idea of a separate body for us, then, quite frankly, the United Party might reckon without us around the much-publicised conference table.

On the other hand a positive gesture of goodwill from the white side will meet with a positive response from the African side. There has been nothing from the white side which could be called really positive up to now. It is true that a number of important feelers have been made public and almost without exception the most important and worthwhile of them have insisted on the franchise being extended to the African and the Indian as well. I have in mind the liberal manifesto signed by 22 leading liberals and various endorsements—direct and indirect—of this measure from leading churchmen in all parts of the Union.

It is true also that very significant negotiations are going on among men and women of liberal persuasion in the white camp with a view to getting a substantial section of white opinion to make a tangible gesture of goodwill to the non-white peoples. But with the very best will in the world, both the feelers and the negotiations are at best only a straw in the wind.

Both the groups sponsoring them and their strength are not known at the moment—at least not known for purposes of influencing the general elections next year. Unfortunately, the only gauge of their strength will be the elections. A substantial swing of white opinion away from apartheid will indicate that liberal strength is growing; that the feelers might see their way into political party programmes. All men who love this fair land

wish that could happen. But if the results of the by-elections to date as well as the speeches of people like Douglas Mitchell are any guide, Dr. Malan can confidently look forward to returning to the Government benches in Parliament with an increased majority.

For, it must be clear to every thinking man that in spite of the drum-beating going on in the Opposition camp, the United Party does not work with the will to win. From Mr. Strauss downwards, both the world and South Africa look in vain for a clear and unequivocal lead on South Africa's most vexed problem: the colour question. People clamour in vain for something more specific and more constructive than the platitudes of the leader of the Opposition and the distinctly unwise pronouncements of Keymen like Douglas Mitchell.

If the United Party fought with the will to win, it would certainly have by now crystallised its colour policy in such a way that a substantial portion of the Balgowan—Nottingham Road branch of the United Party would not have publicly revolted against the leadership of Douglas Mitchell. Certain leaders of the Torch Commando would not have resigned from the United Party by way of registering their protests against the provocative things said by Douglas Mitchell on the colour question. A party which indulges in these luxuries six months (or less) before the general elections clearly lacks the will to win.

Alternatively, the United Party might be realising that it would fail as lamentably as the Malanites in evolving a workable answer to our defiance campaign. The Party might just be thinking, too, of locking resistors inside concentration camps, rather than give us the franchise. But a party which has mouthed so many holy things about democracy cannot in another breath build concentration camps to silence demands for democratic rights! If this surmise is correct, it might be convenient for the United Party to allow Malan to win at the next elections so that he might build the concentration camps and (in white calculations) crush the defiance campaign. The United Party might be thinking that it would then seriously seek to form the Government when the dirty work has been done. Otherwise, how explain the things going on in the Party as well as in the so-called United Democratic Front?

Of course, there is only one clear-cut road for us, as non-whites: To stand firm behind our leaders and give everything to strengthen the defiance campaign. In that alone lies our only strength.

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# FIRE-WALKING DISPLAY BY SONNY GOVENDER

(Contributed)

Sonny Govender, 39-year-old Durban factory worker, is fast becoming known as "the man who walks on fire." He displayed his ability to do this and other amazing feats at a concert held at Lever Brothers factory in Durban on October 23 in honour of a number of distinguished visitors from England, including Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Hansard, Mr. and Mrs. P. Came, Mr. I. G. Norton and Mr. A. W. Walker.

Mr. Govender, who is a Hindu, began his demonstrations with prayer, while his attendants robed him in a shimmering wine-coloured loincloth. With the scent of incense filling the air he cracked a rope whip and proceeded to climb a 22ft. ladder of razor-sharp knives. At the top of the ladder he put a live coal into his mouth to the amazement of the audience.

Then he descended from his precarious perch and, while a pit of glowing embers was being finally prepared and the temperature taken at 1,200 degrees F., he hung heavy

weights on his body with hooks forced through his flesh. Wearing wooden sandals pierced by hundreds of sharp nails he walked slowly, impressively, towards the glowing fire and at the edge paused to pierce his tongue right through with a sharp skewer.

He took off his wooden shoes and the audience watched in dead silence as Sonny Govender walked through the fire with bare feet. He repeated this feat twice more to be greeted with resounding applause.

Mr. Govender first discovered he had the ability to walk unharmed through fire in 1938 shortly after the death of his mother. He explains that he was at a fire-walking demonstration when he heard his dead mother's voice urging him to walk through the fire. He did so with no ill effects and has been repeating this act of faith ever since.

When walking through the fire, says Mr. Govender, his whole being is changed and he believes that his mother's spirit enters his body. He can

remember nothing of what has happened when he comes out of his trance, but he has been told that his voice changes to that of a woman.

## Road Courtesy

(Contributed)

In these days of alarmed road accident rates it is a pleasure to record the courtesy of an Indian taxi-driver who, on the night of October 23rd, assisted at the scene of a car accident in Maydon Road, Durban.

The accident took place outside Lever Brothers factory where a concert was in progress. The Company's Bantu St. John Ambulance team, who were on First Aid duty at the concert, went to the assistance of a native who had sustained a fractured leg and other injuries.

Though carrying a full complement of passengers, the driver of the taxi stopped his car and offered to help. He spent some time on the scene and greatly assisted the first aid workers by shining the headlights of his car on the injured man.

## Society Of Friends Makes An Appeal

The Natal Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), believing in the power of the living Spirit of Christ to reconcile people of conflicting views, appeals to all the Christian people of this land to seek a way out of the present political bitterness and disunity by accepting the mutual responsibility of all professing Christians one to another, as well as towards all peoples of South Africa, of whatever race or creed, as above every other consideration.

Surely the present policies of threat and counter threat of force, and the actual use of force must rather intensify than do anything to relieve political and racial tensions.

Believing that our political leaders would claim the common purpose of preserving our Christian inheritance and safeguarding the fundamentals of our Christian faith, we especially urge upon them that they agree to lift the matters in dispute out of the party political arena, and to come together earnestly seeking a solution in His Spirit of whom all Christian people and peoples must be, above all things else, disciples and followers.

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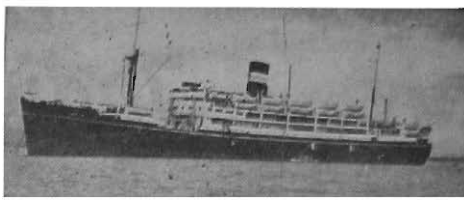
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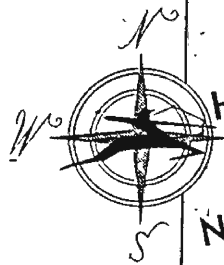
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## NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS OPPOSES ARCHBISHOP HURLEY'S ADVICE

THE Natal Indian Congress has issued a statement opposing Archbishop Hurley's advice to Indian to accept residential segregation.

The statement says: The Indian people have learnt through bitter experience that those who advocate residential segregation do so with the avowed purpose of denying the Non-European people equality of opportunities in our multi racial society. In the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 lays down the legal basis for residential segregation as far as the non European people are concerned. Streets, wards and locations were set aside for Indians under this Law and to-day these areas are the most neglected areas in the Transvaal. The Location at Benoni and the Asiatic Bazaar in Pretoria give us some idea of what is in store for the non-European people who accept residential segregation. For these voiceless people the local authorities have done little to provide them with even the most elementary civic amenities.

Archbishop Hurley, we have no doubt, is aware of the neglect of the Durban City Council to provide amenities to the City's non-white people and yet we are surprised that he should call upon the Indian people to make

a gesture of goodwill. Segregation is wrong in principle and in these days when so many principles are being sacrificed at the altar of apartheid and segregation one would expect at least the leaders of the Churches to take a firm stand on this question. With the threat of the Group Areas hanging on the head of our people, with economic ruin facing them under this measure it is the duty of all right thinking people to oppose residential segregation for residential segregation to-day means the uprooting of over 80,000 Africans and over 60,000 Indians from the boundaries of Durban alone.

"Recently leading members of various Churches in South Africa have made important pronouncements on race relations and we are most thankful to them. Unfortunately Archbishop Hurley's statement has come as a most painful-blow to the Indian people. We feel that it is necessary for Archbishop Hurley to make clear what he really means when he asks the Indian people to accept residential segregation when they have unitedly opposed it for so many years fully realizing that by accepting it they would be abandoning one of the most cherished principles of equality."

Indian Congress, in a statement issued in Johannesburg on Tuesday night, said that police shooting and other methods of terrorism which the Government were using to implement their Apartheid policy would

not bring about submission of the non-White peoples. The statement said the orders given to the South African Police to shoot by the Minister of Justice was "fraught with dire consequences for all."

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## REQUEST FOR A JUDICIAL ENQUIRY REPEATED

THE African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress, representing the Indian and the African peoples of the Province, in a Press statement make an urgent request to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, to appoint a judicial commission to enquire into the recent tragic disturbances at Port Elizabeth, Denver, Kimberley and East London. "We are deeply shocked at the serious loss of life and property at these disturbances" says the statement.

Our Congresses have at all times emphasised that we are against all forms of violence. The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign that has been launched by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress is based on the noble ethics of Passive Resistance and at all Campaign meetings the non-European leaders have stressed the need for observing peace. In the many meetings we have held since the campaign started there has been no violence of any nature and we reiterate

that it will be our endeavour at all times to continue to preach the gospel of non-violence. Any one committing violence is an enemy of the Campaign.

In these critical days in our country it is the duty of all responsible people to condemn violence. We deeply regret that leading members of the Nationalist Party have in many of their recent utterances spoken of the baton the gun and the blood and we feel that such utterances are doing a serious harm to the cause of racial peace. The recent disturbances have caused many rumours to be in circulation as to the causes of the violence that has taken place. We feel that the country requires full facts before it and that can only be done through an impartial enquiry through a judicial commission. We trust that the Government will without any delay appoint such a commission so that the truth can be made known."

The national action committee of the African National Congress and the South African

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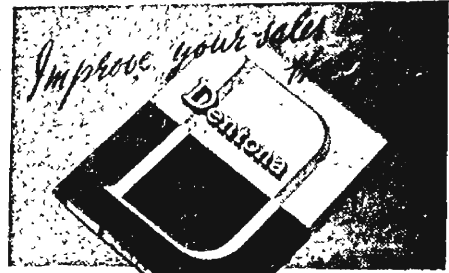
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