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Indian Opinion

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India And General Smuts

INDIANS from all over South Africa attended the Conference of the South African Indian Congress at Capetown following the announcement that General Smuts was about to introduce legislation in the Union Parliament to control acquisition and occupation of land by Indians which in other words means the segregation of Indians. Segregation has always been opposed by Indians and the Conference at Capetown reiterated that opposition.

Mr. Deshmukh the High Commissioner for India left for India to consult his Government before the announcement and there was a feeling abroad that General Smuts would not make any announcement about Indians until after the return of the High Commissioner from India.

The announcement was however made in the Press before his return. Hopes had been cherished that the High Commissioner on his return would prevail on General Smuts to agree to a Round Table Conference between representatives of their Governments so that matters may be discussed on an international basis. General Smuts has rejected the idea of a Round Table Conference.

The Conference in spite of his known attitude decided to interview him. Some 60 representatives from the Conference waited on him. Messrs. Kajee, Rustomjee and Christopher spoke at the interview. Opposition to his proposals was expressed and his broken promises were referred to particularly that he would not resort to compulsory segregation. Appeals were made to him not to proceed with his proposals but that in the Round Table Conference was the means to find a way out which would be acceptable to all. Indians

did not desire to see any trouble in the country and if Indians were involved in any suffering it would not be of their seeking but it would be the doing of General Smuts if he passed the law of compulsory segregation to placate the white voters of the country.

But General Smuts is the same old General Smuts of the days of the Indian Passive Resistance movement in South Africa which was led by Mahatma Gandhi. Implacable as ever: the defender of the white races: whose every wish shall be a law to the non-whites of South Africa. He claims that he is carrying out the Atlantic Charter and the principles of UNO. He desires he says peace and harmony among the races in South Africa and that every race shall progress but separately. It is another way of saying the white voters are the privileged race of South Africa who shall decide the order of the life of non-whites in this land.

We fail to see in all that General Smuts says the spirit of the Atlantic Charter or the UNO. He has the power to legislate as he will. Indians can never be a party to their humiliation. It is for them to do everything possible to oppose General Smuts when he differentiates between human beings on the basis of race or colour: yielding as he does to the dominant white minority.

The Congress is still hoping against hope that General Smuts will reconsider the attitude he has taken up against the request for a Round Table Conference.

Much is expected from the deputations particularly from the deputation to India. It is essential if Indians are to maintain their self-respect and national honour, there must be a full understanding and appreciation

of the position of Indians in South Africa on the part of the people of India. Deputations of Indians from this country to India and vice versa would help towards such an understanding. So long as the Union Government runs this country on laws based on race discriminations, Indians will never be free from trouble at the hands of Whites: and at such times Indians must look to India for such help as she could give.

India now is on the threshold of freedom and is participating in the Councils of the Nations as a nation in her own right. Her position grows stronger and stronger and she will without a doubt in due course take a place among the big powers. India will never cease to take an interest in her children abroad but she will not unnecessarily interfere in the countries where they have made their homes. We certainly think that she will make herself heard when it becomes necessary for her to do something for her children abroad. We believe that when she becomes an independent nation that she will act like all independent nations when the rights of her children are concerned in some way.

If we are discriminated against and the worst happens to us we have but to keep up a struggle of some kind which would be decided upon by us according to the circumstances from time to time. If the High Commissioner is withdrawn from this country there is no reason for us to doubt that India would not keep fighting for our cause in such manner as is open to an independent country.

All India during Mahatma Gandhi's Passive Resistance in South Africa stood by us. Whatever may be the form of struggle we may pursue in this country

we shall always have India behind us.

There are suggestions in the Press that in the proposed law, there may be a prohibition against Europeans lending money to Indians more than 50 per cent. of the value of the land and buildings. If the Government includes such a provision then it means there would be a quick method of economic strangulation of Indians. Day by day this is becoming clearer and clearer that the European agitation though ostensibly aimed at the acquisition and occupation of land by Indians is really an attack upon the economic position of Indians. General Smuts protests that there is no question of economics in his proposals, but he fails to recognise the consequences of his proposals as he is at the moment only concerned with satisfying the Whites: both his White friends and White foes.

To us General Smuts's proposals hold no hope of the future. Even when he talks of the Communal Franchise he talks of a Franchise which would give us the right to send Europeans to represent us in the Assembly and in the Senate on a level with the Natives of this country. He has no objection to sit with Indians in the Councils of the Nations even under the Chairmanship of an Indian.

General Smuts and those who think like him cannot for ever keep down the non-Europeans. Would to heaven instead of using his powers to discriminate against the races within his borders, he would peep into the future to see where his discriminations are leading to and he will find there is already the beginning of a colour conflict in South Africa which will in due course lead to a world conflict.

JOHN DUBE A GREAT ZULU DEAD

DR. the REV. JOHN L. DUBE was the son of a Chief. To become a Christian, he gave up all his rights to the Chieftainship.

Educated at Adam's Mission, the then institution of the American Board of Missions, at Amanzimtoti, he proceeded to America to study medicine. On his arrival there he gave up the idea of studying medicine to enter the Church and in due course returned to South Africa as a Minister under the American Board of Missions.

He later established the Ohlange Institute at Phoenix which is the only Native School for higher education which is conducted by Natives.

The Native newspaper *Ilanga Lase Natal* was founded and edited by him for very many years.

He was elected as the first President of the South African National Native Congress as well as the first President of the Natal

Native Congress.

In all matters affecting Natives he took a prominent part. He was an able speaker both in Zulu and English and was the spokesman of his people.

He was a member of the Native Representative Council. He was the first Native to receive the honorary degree of a South African University as a great Zulu scholar.

He was an influence among his people and it was said that he had much influence with the Zulu Royal House.

His passing at the age of 75 leaves a void in the country: for he was known and respected by all and the presence of thousands of all races at his graveside was a testimony to his greatness in the service of his people and his fellowmen.

To us at the Phoenix Settlement from the days of Mahatma Gandhi he has been a kindly neighbour and we shall miss him.

S. A. INDIAN CONGRESS CONFERENCE

PROTEST AGAINST PROPOSED ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION

IN the rising storm of dissatisfaction in Parliament and in the country, the Government was trying to regain something of its popularity by clamping down the Indian community, said Mr. A. Ismail, president of the South African Indian Congress in his presidential address to a conference of the Indian Congress convened in Capetown to protest against the Government's proposed Asiatic legislation. Over 100 delegates from Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape Provinces attended the Conference. There were 35 official delegates from each province and a number of fraternal delegates from Northern Natal. The conference was opened by Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger, M.P.

The High Commissioner for India, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, who has recently returned from a visit to New Delhi for consultation with the Government of India, attended the opening.

There were present among others the Deputy Mayor of Capetown, Bishop Lavis, Mr. Talbot Smith, the American Consul, Advocate Molteno and Alex Wanless M.P.

Referring to the proposed Asiatic Land Tenure legislation,

Mr. Ismail said "the most sinister, the most dangerous aspect of this matter is that what the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts, of world renown as a statesman, as the defender of justice and truth, of equality and rights of man, proposes, is a deliberate attack upon every principle of right government for which he has stood, for which he has been acclaimed and honoured in most of the capitals of the western world; upon which, in fact, his whole prestige relies and rests."

The Government's proposals had a two-fold significance—that which concerned the Indians and that which concerned the world in general, said Mr. Ismail.

"I am convinced that this crisis is not only a crisis for Indians. It is a crisis for the Prime Minister—the greatest test in his career. As the facts become known, as the history of our times is written, this crisis will enhance or dim the lustre of the Prime Minister's reputation. The test is his as well as ours. If he persists in driving his present proposals to the statute book, I make bold to

say that his glory will fade and the measure of his greatness diminish. The responsibility is his; whether he will go down to moral defeat or be raised up in moral triumph."

The indictment of the Union and its Government was overwhelming. The Government proposed to saddle the Indian community with an almost exact replica of the notorious Areas Reservation Bill—that obnoxious creation of Dr. Malan.

After quoting from the Prime Minister's speech in the House of Assembly during the debate on the Pegging Act in 1943, Mr. Ismail said it was as if General Smuts had said in 1943 "I stand by the Capetown Agreement" and said in 1946 "I stand by Dr. Malan's Areas Reservation Bill." How could General Smuts accommodate such contradictions?

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Hofmeyr, had said during the debate on the Pegging Act that he doubted very much whether the Pegging Act could legitimately be passed before the Capetown Agreement was abrogated. So contrary was it in spirit and provision.

The Capetown Agreement has not been abrogated. In the words of General Smuts, it still stands—rickety, it is true, knocked to pieces by the same General Smuts in the present proposals which are a repetition of the very proposals Dr. Malan withdrew, and which he exchanged for the Capetown Agreement. Nowhere in the world would such expediency pass unpunished by a democratic people.

"Time and again we have been assured that the only issue on which Europeans took exception to Indians was the issue of residential proximity, the president continued. In the presence of some of us General Smuts said that acquisition was not the problem. Yet now the Government proposes to forbid acquisition and occupation of property except in certain exempted areas. The Government changes its attitude to the whims of any passing politician.

It was poor compensation to give Indians a communal franchise after imposing on them a legislative design which no franchise could alter.

What was the use of any kind of franchise, common or communal, unless it could be used to modify existing circumstances, remedy injustices and redress grievances?

At a time when South Africa was called upon to make a contribution to the human problem of accommodating a self-governing India within the comity of the United Nations,

was the proposed legislation the best the British of Natal could offer as a British way of life?

Let us use all possible means to persuade General Smuts of the reasonableness and justice of our claims to effective citizenship in South Africa, the president said. I should like to see legislation based on the principle of an expanding citizenship, offering us a share in the privileges and responsibilities of government. I am satisfied that our immediate course is to ask General Smuts to implement the recommendations of the Judicial Commission, immediate consultation between the two Governments and a postponement of the present proposals.

Let us have, as Mr. Justice Broome wrote, a new start, which I believe would lead to a new charter of rights, a reinstatement of the Capetown Agreement. In this way shall we find a common salvation. If we fail to persuade the Prime Minister, what else is left for us to do, but to appeal to India first, so that she, in her maturity, might come to our aid, and, second, to all who care for the principles of democracy.

Advocate A. Christopher urged the way out of the present position was by way of a Round Table Conference between representatives of the Union and the Indian Governments.

Indians were not without their difficulties since their arrival in this country and after Mahatma Gandhi had been here for some years, matters came to a climax. He then put into operation the principles of soul force and we in our thousands followed him. And General Smuts in the end entered into an agreement which was known as Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. It was also described as the Magna Charta. And so time passed and the next stage was the Round Table Conference which gave us the Capetown Agreement and an Indian Agent and then again some time passed and another Round Table Conference took place and the Capetown Agreement was continued. And now the Agent has become the High Commissioner still under the Capetown Agreement. It seemed but the right thing to continue with the Round Table Conference in the furtherance of the Capetown Agreement.

General Smuts has taken the lead in preaching that the method of the Round Table Conference was the way to peace and happiness and freedom of mankind and to carry out that method the UNO has been established. Besides India and South Africa were sister Dominions of the British Com-

monwealth and the Round Table Conference would be the family method of settling disputes between relations. The Broome Commission appointed by Gen. Smuts also recommended to him the way out was a Round Table Conference between the two countries. If General Smuts persists in rejecting the Round Table Conference, there will be no settlement even temporary on his part and South Africa under General Smuts would be pioneering a world war in the years to come on the conflict of colour.

Addressing the South African Indian Congress Conference, Dr. A. H. Gool said that there could be no question of the Indians accepting communal franchise. What we would like to see was the extension of the municipal franchise to the Indian community of Natal,

then the Provincial franchise and eventually full franchise on the same conditions as the Coloured people at the Cape.

Dr. G. M. Naicker said he brought greetings to Congress of 210,000 voteless underfed, under-schooled, overcrowded and over-exploited Indians. The message of the people of Natal was that they were sick and tired of broken pledges and promises. They were sick and tired of having common rights taken away gradually. They were not in South Africa on sufferance. They were not going to dilly dally with their demands. They were not going to compromise on principles. When they had gone to General Smuts they had not gone to him to beg any favours but to ask for what was their birthright. They were going to

march together with other progressive peoples throughout the world to get what was theirs.

It was not very long ago when the same Provincial Council which was today so anti-Indian in its attitude had begged and pleaded with the Government of India to send a few shiploads of her sons to work in Natal and subsequently a law had been passed to enable indentured Indians to remain in with a promise that their rights would in no way be inferior to those of the Europeans. He as a descendant of an indentured labourer felt that he had been cheated of this. The people of Natal on whom the proposed legislation was going to fall were prepared. The Prime Minister who had bleated over the wireless about freedom had again broken his pledge.

organisation, India is called on to see that all racial and national minority groups, wherever they may be, are accorded that justice of treatment which will ensure a peaceful and progressive word, based on the common rights of man. Even though the safeguarding of the interests of the Indian community here were not a contractual obligation laid on India, it would still be the duty of India as a member of the United Nations to help to secure the fair treatment of such a minority, wherever they may happen to be.

"It is the realisation that questions of minority groups have in the past brought mankind to the brink of disaster which stimulates India's anxiety to see that there is fair and just treatment accorded to all minorities, and, naturally enough, particularly to minorities composed of their own countrymen. This is the feeling which has prompted the recent debate on the South African question in the Indian Central Assembly.

"The extremist utterances of what I think I may properly describe as some of the less responsible politicians in Natal have perhaps been paralleled in some of the speeches in the New Delhi debate. The task of Statesmanship, however, is to ignore the extremist assertions on either side and to find the path of justice that leads to reconciliation. This is my appeal this evening—my appeal to those who guide the destinies of this country—and my appeal no less to you, the delegates of this conference, who will have to contribute your own statesmanship, your own experience and political wisdom to the solution of the problems with which we will soon be confronted."

HIGH COMMISSIONER DESHMUKH ON POSITION OF INDIA IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

THE High Commissioner for India, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, addressing the South African Indian Congress Conference in Capetown on Friday night, appealed to South African Indians to "ignore extremist assertions and to find the path of justice that leads to reconciliation."

Mr. Deshmukh said "I have been asked to say a few words to you. This is an honour I greatly appreciate but I would have preferred to have been a silent observer at this Conference because there is so little that I can say or, in the interests of the Government which I represent, that I should say.

"As you know I have just returned from India. I can assure you that India is watching anxiously political developments here. You are well aware that on the South African question there are no differences amongst political leaders in India, and you have doubtless observed that even non-official European opinion in India fully supports general Indian public opinion as expressed in the Assembly debates.

"We in India recognise that Indians here are connected with us by history and tradition but at the same time they are South African nationals.

"Talk of their being compulsorily repatriated from this land where they have as much if not more right than many persons claiming full rights of nationality is rightly rejected as irresponsible and impracticable since it provides no basis of a solution of the question.

"We in India also recognise that the main burden of the fight to establish and maintain their rights in this country must fall on Indians here. Their success must depend upon their capacity to unite for a common purpose and their preparedness to make the sacrifices which all struggles of this nature involve, and their ability to organise their efforts towards their goal.

"Compromise, when opportunity offers something reasonable and honourable, is a necessary part of the equipment of those who would organise such a movement, and I hope you will not exclude the possibility of taking what is good and useful without surrendering your right to continue to strive for your further objectives. You appear at the moment to be likely to be called upon to face a grave crisis. May I sincerely express the hope that with wisdom and patience you may be able to find a way out.

"India, you may be sure, will make every attempt to assist in finding a reasonable and honourable settlement, and will continuously keep in view the need to avoid occasions that cause friction between the people of the two countries. India's object is to promote good relations, and she is inspired by no desire to interfere in the internal governance of the country. When she is critical of the administration and policies of the country, it is because of the obligation imposed on her under the contract between the two Governments which brought Indians to South Africa's shores.

This is an obligation imposed on all Governments to protect their countrymen overseas. Particularly when those countrymen have not been accorded in their new country of residence the full rights of citizenship which would enable them to protect their own interests.

"Moreover in the circumstances of modern times there is an obligation imposed on all Governments, called on to take part in the councils of nations, to see that minority groups are accorded that fair treatment which ensures international harmony. Thus, by reason of her place in the United Nations

CONFERENCE'S RESOLUTION TO GENERAL SMUTS

THE Conference of the South African Indian Congress, after a session lasting more than 12 hours in Capetown on Sunday, elected a delegation of about 50 to meet the Prime Minister, General Smuts, at 3 p.m. on Monday to protest against the proposed Asiatic land tenure legislation and to ask for a Round Table Conference.

It was decided that the delegation should consist of the officials of the South African Indian Congress, three past presidents, 10 representatives each of the Cape Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Congress and the Fraternal Delegates.

The High Commissioner for India, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, attended Sunday's session. Mr.

E. Talbot-Smith, the United States Consul in Durban, was also present.

After sitting in committee all day, the Conference unanimously resolved "that the South African Indian Congress is gravely perturbed at the proposals, announced by the Prime Minister, to deal with land tenure in the Transvaal and Natal Provinces.

"Embodied in legislation to be introduced during this session of the Union Parliament, these propose seriously to limit the land rights and free economic and social development of the Indian community in Natal and the Transvaal.

"The proposals of the Prime Minister to deal with the Indian question are totally unacceptable to the Indian community

in that they constitute an attack upon human rights and human freedom of an unrepresented substantial minority in South Africa.

"Moreover, they violate the high principles underlying the Atlantic and United Nations Charter on which their authors put their implicit faith for the future peace of the world.

"This Conference authorises the deputation to interview the

Prime Minister with a request not to introduce any legislation to the detriment of the Indian community.

"It respectfully asks that the Union Government immediately invites the Government of India to send to the Union a delegation for the purposes of holding a Round Table Conference with the representatives of the Union Government. In this way a solution of all matters affecting

Indians in South Africa may be reached in accordance with the only recommendation of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission to whose findings the Prime Minister attached so much importance.

"This suggested conference would be a continuation of the round table conference already held between the Union and Indian Governments."

CONGRESS IN CONFERENCE AFTER INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL SMUTS

THE leaders in the South African Indian Congress made continuous and bitter attacks on General Smuts for his proposals to introduce legislation dealing with the Indian question.

There were calls for India to introduce economic sanctions, to recall the High Commissioner, for passive resistance, civil disobedience, suggestions to send deputations to England, America and India, if the Prime Minister does not agree to hold a round table conference on Indian affairs. At 2 a.m. a committee was appointed to draft resolutions.

Earlier members of a deputation of 60 heard General Smuts say that he could not agree to such a conference with representatives of the Government of India as it meant interference in the internal affairs of the Union, and that any appeal by them to the Government of India would only be "rubbing salt in the wound."

Those who attended the meeting with the Prime Minister said General Smuts had never spoken to them so boldly and in such forcible language. He emphasised that there was a tremendous agitation against the Indians. He was bound to take cognisance of this both in the interests of the Europeans and of the Indians themselves. On the other hand it was intolerable he said that Indians should be without political rights.

There was a striking cleavage between two political groups in the Congress causing Mr. Mirza of the Transvaal for instance to appeal to the members to refrain from casting aspersions against one another and against one province and another and not to indulge in hasty oratory.

Mr. A. I. Kaje said "we must educate world opinion. We must ask the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner and to take action to bring about an economic breach between the two countries. We

must say that we shall suffer the consequences that will come to us."

"After accusing the Prime Minister of breaking assurances Mr. Kaje said the Government of India had asked for a round table conference. The result of an economic breach would be the stoppage of trade and of shipping movements."

"If these economic sanctions are applied the people who will suffer most will be the Indians," he declared.

"The Government of India should continue its representations in a constitutional manner and with dignity, but if that fails then an economic rupture will be the first step. If there are any retaliation measures we must be prepared to face up to them."

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee said: "I make bold to say that General Smuts may have had quarrels with us in the past but today he has waged war against the Indian nation."

Urging the Indians to refrain from mentioning personalities and for making charges against one another, Mr. Rustomjee said there should be a day of humiliation throughout South Africa "to cleanse our hearts."

Some of the members of the Natal Indian Congress claimed to be trade union leaders. Here they had a chance to organise a demonstration and to say: "I am not going to work on that day."

Dr. G. M. Naicker, spoke of the "myth" that the high birthrate of the Indians would enable them to swamp the Europeans. He denied that Indians were buying much land. What they had bought in 85 years was not very much.

If the round table conference failed he agreed that there should be economic sanctions and that the High Commissioner should be recalled.

Mr. P. R. Pather complained that Britishers were the very root of the trouble in Natal.

"General Smuts told us plainly: "If I don't stop you buying property everywhere in Natal there is going to be hell in South Africa," he said. "Therefore we must consider a basis on which we can counteract this British element. General Smuts made a grave mistake in 1943 in giving way to this element."

"My opinion is that we must try to put a little sense into their heads by sending a deputation to England to tell the British people that there must be justice.

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, said the proposals meant ghettos for the Indians of South Africa. With the limited areas no man would be able to live where he liked in Natal.

The Bill would mean the death knell of the Indians in the Transvaal as well. Out of the magnanimity of his heart the Prime Minister had offered them communal franchise.

"This franchise cannot be accepted in any circumstances," he said. "It is an insult to the self-respect of the Indians. I am sure that there is not a single Indian who will accept it. It is a smoke screen."

"If the invitation of the Government of India for a round table conference is rejected, then India must impose economic sanctions and recall the High Commissioner."

"We must prevail on UNO to take some action. I submit with seriousness that the situation demands that we prepare ourselves to offer civil disobedience."

In the past, he continued, this measure had failed through half-heartedness. Now the leaders should give the proper stern lead to the people.

"With such a struggle we can force the hands of the Government. We are not prepared any longer to give in to the Government. We are willing to undergo sacrifices and suffering."

Dr. Dadoo said he had no doubt that Natal would prepare itself for such a struggle.

"If we all sincerely believe that there is a necessity for such a struggle then it must succeed! So let us go into it. Let us fight it out. Let us prove that it is better to sacrifice and suffer and die than live in this country under terrible conditions."

Advocate A. Christopher, said that General Smuts was a man of steel. When India was a free nation perhaps General Smuts would be prepared to settle the matter at a round table conference. If the Government of India were not prepared to take decisive action then there was the power of the people of India which was growing daily.

"Even if we have to fend for ourselves after the High Commissioner is withdrawn they cannot eliminate us from this country. We must arrange to send delegations abroad to carry on a propaganda for our cause. Our next step must be to keep on pressing the Government of India to ask for the round table conference."

"Let us search our hearts and follow no foolish struggle that cannot be maintained. If we in South Africa are prepared to live under an inferior status it will be a shameful heritage for our children. General Smuts is a man who respects a fighter and is no cringer."

General Smuts To Deputation

General Smuts saying that he was speaking as a friend of the Indians, and not as a neutral, appealed to a deputation of the S.A. Indian Congress not to turn down lightly the proposals contained in the legislation he proposed to place before Parliament on the land and franchise questions.

General Smuts made it clear, says a report to the Congress, that in his opinion the proposed Bill would comply in every respect with the United Nations Charter, and that the sovereign status of South Africa demanded that this Indian problem be treated as a domestic affair without the interference of any outside parties.

India had a High Commissioner occupying the same position as that of High Commissioners of other Dominions. Representations had been made and would continue to be received from the Government of India.

The Prime Minister said he proposed to solve the problem by making provision for the setting aside of free areas where Indians and others could buy and occupy property which would thus not bring any indignity of segregation upon the Indians. There would be a commission of two Indians and two Europeans, with an impartial and technical man as chairman, which would

from time to time examine the situation in any given area for the setting aside of areas which would meet the needs of Indians and others who may wish to buy and reside in those open areas.

Trade which was controlled through the licensing law would not be interfered with nor would any vested right in Natal or the Transvaal. Provision would also be made for political representation.

If the Indians turned down the proposals, went on General Smuts, there would be great trouble and the Indians would be suffering because there would

be in the end "hell for us all." The problem had to be settled. The Europeans of Natal were very restless and there was grave disquiet. They feared that they were going to be undermined. They were afraid of the Indians economic competition. The Government had to face the facts and therefore the proposals were going to be enacted as a matter of policy.

Mr. Talbot Smith, the American Consul in Durban, who came to Cape Town specially for the conference, was present throughout the five hours' debate.

UNCOMPROMISING ANSWER TO SMUTS

ANGERED by General Smuts' refusal to abandon the proposed legislation to replace the "Pegging" Act and to call a round-table conference between the Governments of India and South Africa, the South African Indian Congress resolved to mobilise all the resources of the Indian people of South Africa for a "prolonged and concerted resistance."

The Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution: "Having heard the report of the deputation that waited on the Prime Minister, the S. A. Indian Congress expresses its grievous disappointment at his refusal to abandon the proposed legislation and to convene a round table conference between India and South Africa.

"This conference interprets this refusal as the very negation of the principle of solving human problems by negotiations and mutual discussions and as indicating a legislative design of repressing the Indian community and settling its fate at the altar of political expediency and sacrificing it to appease extreme White reactionaries in this country.

"The legislation dealing with land tenure and communal franchise to be introduced by the Prime Minister is totally unacceptable and is an insult to the national honour and dignity of the Indian nation.

"This Conference of the South African Indian Congress, having regard to the Prime Minister's refusal, resolves to mobilise all the resources of the Indian people in this country in order to take every-measure possible to secure the lapsing of the 'Pegging' Act and to oppose the proposed legislation of the Government by:

(1) Sending a deputation to India;

(a) To urge upon the Government of India the convening of a

round-table conference between the Governments of India and South Africa;

(b) Failing which, to request the government of India to withdraw the office of its High Commissioner in South Africa, and to apply economic sanctions against South Africa;

(c) To carry out a campaign of propaganda in India to secure the fullest support of India's millions; and

(d) To invite Indian leaders to come to South Africa;

(2) Sending deputations to America, Britain and other parts of the world;

(3) Proceeding immediately to prepare the Indian people of South Africa for a concerted and prolonged resistance, the details of which this Conference instructs its Executive to prepare for submission and action to its constituent bodies.

The conference also unanimously adopted a resolution "affirming its faith and hope on the principles on which the foundation of the Charter of the United Nations is based and, as an unrepresented minority permanently settled in the Union of South Africa claims its human rights to be heard before the General Assembly and the Security Council of United Nations Organisation on the grounds, among others, of a breach of undertaking which assured equal treatment to the Indians on their introduction to this country, and a breach of the Cape town Agreement entered into between the governments of India and the Union of South Africa in 1926."

MESSAGES TO CONFERENCE

General Smuts

The Prime Minister, General Smuts, in a message to the South African Indian Congress Conference said:—

The Pegging Act which expires on 31st March was an interim measure intended to give time for a more comprehensive solution of the Indian question in Natal. The inquiries held so far have not led to any satisfactory result.

At the same time the Pegging Act cannot be allowed to lapse without more legislation as that would lead to a state of chaos which would of all results be the most lamentable. The Government has therefore announced its intention to deal with the whole matter of land tenure in Natal on a broad basis which will take into consideration the more important of the complicated issues involved.

Both the Indian community and the European public have laid their views and claims before the Government by way of deputations and memoranda, and the Government is now busy drafting a measure which will in due course be laid before Parliament. It is hoped that a satisfactory issue out of the existing troubles may then be found. It is not considered probable that this measure will be completed before the holding of the South African Indian Congress, but as soon as it is in order it will be published for general discussion by the public and action by Parliament. The early passing of the Pegging Act makes it necessary to expedite action and finalise the new legislation as soon as possible.

Mr. Deshmukh

The High Commissioner for India, Mr. Deshmukh, in a message to Congress dispatched from New Delhi before his departure to South Africa by air, said "Organisation and united action is essential in your defensive struggle for existence. Remember high ideals and principles are always good, but compromise in emergency and expedience is not always bad. Wisdom lies in doing the proper thing at the proper time."

Dr. Khare

A message from Dr. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member, Overseas Department, New Delhi, said:—"My best wishes for success of Conference session. It is no mean tribute to vitality and self-reliance of Indians in South Africa that they have survived all the disabilities they

have been labouring under for two generations. They are again facing a grave crisis. Undoubtedly they will not fail in upholding their self-respect in the country of their adoption. Trusting that they will exercise self-restraint worthy of history and culture of India in their struggle I assure them it will be my constant endeavour to do all I can to assist them in upholding their self respect.

Numerous other messages were read including the following:—

Maulana Azad

President Indian National Congress

"We are fully conscious of the difficulties which confront you. We support your struggle which is part of India's struggle for freedom. We assure you India is behind you in your efforts. India's freedom is much nearer today than it has ever been and the South African Indian question will always claim independent India's closest attention."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

"Wishing Capetown Conference complete success learnt with resentment Smuts proposals degrading Indians never agree policy involving segregation don't lose heart better times coming India on eve of freedom and Free India will protect you with all her strength"

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

"My heart always with you in your struggles and at this moment especially for your human rights to ensure your security and survival. Let unity and courage be your watchwords and ideal of freedom be your Talisman."

Seth Govind Das M.L.A.

"Your heroic struggles evoke admiration, sympathy and full support."

Seth Ghanasyamdas Birla

"India will be mistress in her own house soon. Then alone she will be able to solve South African Indian problems. Meanwhile we should fight as best we can."

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh

"Segregation as policy always wrong undesirable and unjustifiable and especially, at time when co-operation and brotherhood of men and nations are watchwords of day all India sympathises

deeply with you in your protest against continued injustice and repression".

Dr. Rajendra Parsad

"South Africa furnishes a good test for professed ideals of British Commonwealth and Empire. Indians can't accept anything less than full citizenship with common franchise equal rights to trade and own land no segregation open or camouflaged struggle must continue and shall succeed".

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INDIAN

The *Natal Mercury* writes as follows under the above heading: THE Indian problem in South Africa will be very much to the forefront during the next few weeks. Nor will its reactions be confined to this country. Already there has been abundant indication of the attitude that will be adopted in India; questions have been asked in the British House of Commons and more are likely to be forthcoming; Indians in Rhodesia and East Africa are taking a hand; and it is noteworthy that Mr. E. Talbot Smith, the American Consul in Durban, held a watching brief at the proceedings of the Indian Congress meetings in Capetown. General Smuts's approach to the immediate issues has now been made clear. He intends to control both the occupation and acquisition by Indians of properties in European areas, while throwing open to them other areas in which there will be no restriction on their development. Whatever theoretic views may be held outside South Africa as to the justice of this policy, anyone with the slightest knowledge of South African affairs knows that no South African Prime Minister could go further and hope to remain in office. European opinion will be satisfied with nothing less, and only a small but powerful minority of rich Indians demands anything more.

So far as representation is concerned, General Smuts intends to give the Indians three seats in the House of Assembly and one in the Senate. In addition, provision is to be made for seats in the Provincial Councils and, presumably, in the Municipal Councils. A separate electoral roll is to be created, and, to begin with, Europeans will be elected to represent the Indian interests. The South African Indian Congress, as was expected, is up to arms at these proposals. It regards what it calls "segregation" as a slur on the Indian

Hooseinbhai Laljee

"We anxiously watching developments there India's demand for freedom cannot be delayed and Free India will not tolerate your humiliation meanwhile unite and fight befitting your great nation India will support you".

Hon. V. S. S. Sastri

Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his illness sends greetings to the Conference.

community, and contemptuously rejects the franchise offered, even though separate rolls for minorities are an integral part of every proposal that has been put forward for a constitution for India itself. All sorts of threats are being made. India talks of recalling the Indian High Commissioner and imposing economic sanctions, while there are also hints of something in the nature of a civil disobedience campaign in Natal. This attitude, so far from frightening Europeans into further concessions, will only make them more reluctant to grant any concessions at all. Indians in South Africa have everything to lose and nothing to gain by a display of intransigence at this juncture.

Nor will appeals to countries outside the Union serve any useful purpose. The problem is one that has to be settled within South Africa itself. General Smuts has flatly rejected the proposal for a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa. He was wise to do so, for South Africa would not for a moment tolerate outside interference with what she justly regards as a purely domestic matter. She would equally resent any pressure that Britain or America might be tempted to bring to bear. During the next few months the Indian in South Africa has to choose for himself. While he is certainly not getting everything he wants, he is being given a chance to prove himself to be a worthy South African citizen, capable of playing a growing part in the Parliamentary deliberations of the country. Nothing is final in this world, and the essence of real progress is gradualness. Probably General Smuts hopes for no more than to introduce legislation which will tide over the difficulties of the next ten years or so. Should the Indians reject his proposals out of hand, they will have only themselves to blame if they find that they have brought

about a revulsion of feeling in South Africa, causing them to be regarded as complete outcasts rather than as an important minority worthy of encouragement on the path to progress.

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In this setting, the advent of Gandhiji is probably not a mere accident. There may be a divine purpose behind it, viz., to save humanity from the kind of agony we are passing through. But how will he do it? He has no army, no police at his back. He would not apply any force on the miscreants. He would not take away the wealth of the rich by force and give it away to the poor. He does not believe in such fits. He thinks that it only leads from one injustice to another, from one oppression to another, from one oppression to another wrongs do not make one right. He must improve the lot of the poor who have not, who are oppressed. But the question remains, how can he succeed, if he will not apply any force or violence? The rich will not give up their superfluous ill-gotten wealth to the poor simply because the poor wants it or by mere

SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

By PROF. ANATH GOPAL SEN In "The Modern Review"

(Continued from last week)

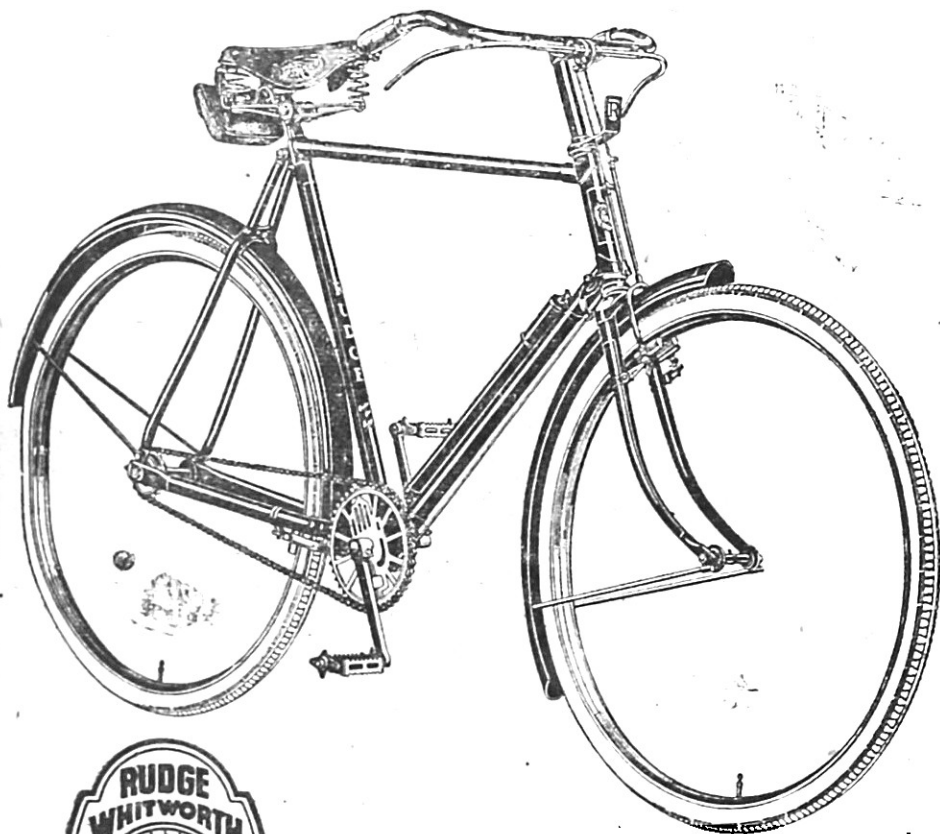
sight of him? Quite true. But who says that Gandhiji has no power or will not apply force? If he had no power, how could he move and sway millions of Indians as he pleased, how could he be the undisputed leader of the largest mass of humanity in the present-day world, though half-naked, with a crutch as his only outward support? Why does the mighty British Government have to declare war against him again and again and negotiate a settlement with him, in spite of an Indian army of one crore of men and all the valiant and learned Indian Knights standing behind and in support of the Government? His power is a dangerous power; it does not out outwardly, but causes internal haemorrhage. We do not know that power, nor have we tried to know it. So he has not

yet been able to gather the laurels of victory for us, but he has neither been defeated, because the cause of Truth can never be lost. Look at the West. See how they are losing their costliest victories attained by beastliest methods. That is the way of God, the way of Truth. So Gandhiji, though outwardly defeated, is really advancing. You may depend on it. The enemy has no peace of mind even after achieving so called victory over him. They know the brute force, can fight against it without any qualms of conscience or any weakness of heart, can enjoy a brutal pleasure after victory. But by shooting the followers of Gandhiji, breaking their heads or putting them in jails in thousands, there is no peace of mind. Besides, the people of the world have begun to behave strangely!

Their heads sometimes ache for Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and Azad and they do not even refrain from asking unpleasant and unsavoury questions about India, in spite of crores of rupees spent in world propaganda in favour of our friends' benevolent activities here! Truth is inexorable. It is not afraid to face the combination of all the dangerous weapons of warfare invented by men, not even the atom bomb; because truth is divine law, or if we are shocked in the name of divinity and think it as 16th Century trash, then call in the law of nature or the law of the universe. So, if we deviate from this law, we are sure to come to grief in the long run, though we may achieve temporary success. "Permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence," says Gandhiji. To him, to quote his own words, "There is no wall of separation between means and end. Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means."

(To be continued)

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