YUSUF MOHAMED DADOO

SOUTH AFRICA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Statements, Speeches and Articles including Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi

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With a foreword by
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President of India

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FOREWORD TO THE INDIAN EDITION

The South African struggle against apartheid occupies a cherished place in our hearts. This is not just because the Father of our Nation commenced his political career in South Africa and forged the instrument of *Satyagraha* in that country but because successive generations of Indians settled in South Africa have continued the resistance to racial oppression. Hailing from different parts of the Indian sub-continent and professing the different faiths of India, they have offered consistent solidarity and participation in the heroic fight of the people of South Africa for liberation.

Among these brave Indians, the name of Dr. Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo is specially remembered for his remarkable achievements in bringing together the Indian community of South Africa with the African majority, in the latter's struggle against racism. Dr. Dadoo met Gandhiji in India and was in correspondence with him during a decisive phase of the struggle in South Africa. And Dr. Dadoo later became an esteemed colleague of the outstanding South African leader, Nelson Mandela. Thereby Dr. Dadoo not only bridged India and South Africa but also Gandhi and Mandela. The reference to Dr. Dadoo made by Nelson Mandela in his very first public statement following his release from prison last year was a touching tribute to this leader. But it was also a great deal more. It was an affirmation of the vision of a multi-racial and just South Africa which was dear to the Father of our Nation and is Nelson Mandela's goal.

I am glad Shri E.S. Reddy has brought together a selection of Dr. Dadoo's writings which are bound to increase awareness in both the countries of their revolutionary mutuality.

New Delhi
August 10,1990

R. Venkataraman
(President of India)

FOREWORD TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN EDITION

Dr Yusuf Dadoo was my compatriot and soul mate - nothing divided us in our commitment to the cause of South Africa's freedom - not religion, nor ideology and not ethnicity.

He was one of the most outstanding leaders in our movement remembered by all, in our country and by many beyond. He inspired us. He was *bafa begiya*.[1]

His contribution to the people's struggle was so highly valued that he remains today one of only three South Africans to be honoured with the *Isitwalandwe* which was bestowed at the Congress of the People in 1955. The two other recipients were Chief Albert Luthuli and Father Trevor Huddleston.

Yusuf Dadoo's contribution to the struggle began in 1938 with the founding of the Non-European United Front in Johannesburg. Right from the outset, his vision took in the common degradation of disenfranchised South Africans and he focussed his attention on uniting all democrats into a single cohesive force against racism. As early as 1940, a square in Orlando was referred to as Dadoo Square, in recognition of his tough approach to colour discrimination.

Yusuf worked closely with Dr Xuma against the Pass Laws, and with Chief Luthuli in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign; and he was a tower of strength to Oliver Tambo during all those years of exile.

At the time of his death, he headed the South African Communist Party, a party he joined in 1939. His prolific speeches and writings brought together in this volume, record his leadership on all fronts. We miss his leadership today as we plan to move South Africa into non-racial, non-sexist democracy.

Nelson Mandela
September 1991

[1] A person who dies dancing

DEDICATED

TO

NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo played an outstanding role in the South African liberation movement for over half a century - in persuading the Indian community to link its destiny with that of the African majority, in building the unity of all the oppressed people and democratic whites of that country in a common struggle against racism, in promoting fearless and militant resistance to the oppressors, and in developing the international outlook of the movement and international solidarity with it. He led the non-violent Indian passive resistance movement - uniting Gandhians, Marxists and others. He was a founder and leader of the Non-European United Front, and of the Communist Party when it was revived as a clandestine organisation. And since going into exile in 1960, he played a key role in promoting underground and armed struggle in South Africa and a world-wide anti-apartheid movement.

His contribution was recognised by the national Indian organisation and by the Communist Party which elected him chairman. It was acknowledged by the African National Congress which awarded him its highest honour, *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe* in 1955, and elected him the Vice-Chairman of its Revolutionary Council and later of its Politico-Military Council. It was also recognised by the racist regime which imprisoned and restricted him on numerous occasions.

Dr. Dadoo began his political activities as a young pupil in South Africa in his teens. Inspired by the spirit of defiance of injustice that Mahatma Gandhi tried to impart in the Indian community in South Africa, he took part in demonstrations against anti-Indian measures by the racist regime and organised a meeting of students to hear Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poet and national leader, who saw, already in 1924, that the struggle of the Indian community is linked with that of the African and Coloured people. Though he came from a prosperous Indian family, he developed a sense of solidarity with the African people suffering inhuman exploitation, and took an interest in the African trade union movement (ICU). He even helped African workers in his father's business in their strike for better conditions.

In later years, during his sojourn in India and in Britain as a student, he not only identified with the Indian national movement and the anti-fascist and anti-colonial movements in Europe but actively participated in them. He was first arrested in 1929 in London in a demonstration for Indian freedom. The unity of the oppressed people and democratic whites, advocated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the League against Imperialism, and the united front against fascism which was espoused by progressive leaders in Europe, were an inspiration to

him. He saw clearly that such unity was essential in the struggle against racism in South Africa.

Returning to South Africa in 1936, he soon began to confront the authorities, as well as the rich traders in the leadership of the Indian Congresses who saw the future of the community in an accommodation with the racist regime and kept aloof from the struggle of the Africans. He began to organise the community for resistance and at the same time pressed for unity with the Africans and the Coloured people in a common struggle. In 1938-39 he became the founder and secretary of the Transvaal Non-European United Front and leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Above all, he fully dedicated himself to the struggle for freedom and equality for all the people of South Africa. His first two trials in South Africa were, in fact, not in the struggle of the Indian community but for his work as a leader of Non-European United Front. From the dock of the racist courts, he denounced the oppression and exploitation of all the black people in South Africa. In 1944-45 he was associated with Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, in a campaign against the humiliating pass laws imposed upon the African people, and was again arrested for leading a procession.

In 1946-48, he led the Indian passive resistance movement in which over two thousand people courted imprisonment, and served two terms of imprisonment with hard labour. Even during that difficult struggle, which was to have a great impact on the liberation movement, he and his colleagues helped the great African mineworkers` strike of August 1946. A number of Africans, Coloured people and whites went to prison in solidarity with the Indian people. Out of that experience came the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo pact for cooperation between the African and Indian Congresses. His determined efforts to promote cooperation in struggle, despite all difficulties, contributed greatly to the joint action of African and Indian Congresses in the stay-at-home on June 26, 1950, in protest against apartheid, and then to the historic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952 in which he was the first, together with Nelson Mandela, to court imprisonment. Banned and restricted, he continued clandestine activities to strengthen the Congress Alliance of the 1950`s and helped the formation of the underground South African Communist Party.

The Sharpeville massacre, the outlawing of the African National Congress and the State of Emergency in 1960, created a new situation. Going abroad at the insistence of the liberation movement, he made a great contribution, in cooperation with the leaders of the African National Congress, to the organisation of armed struggle and to the building of a world-wide anti-apartheid movement.

Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, pointed out at his funeral in 1983:

"...it would be wrong to conceive of Comrade Dadoo only as a leader of the Indian community of our population. He was one of the foremost leaders of our country, of the stature of Chief Lutuli, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks, Bram Fischer, Nelson Mandela and others...

"His contribution as a member of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress cannot possibly be overstated...

"As a true patriot, Dadoo understood already in the thirties that the struggle in South Africa is part of a much wider struggle against capitalism, colonialism and for national liberation, peace and social progress. We owe it to stalwarts like him that today our vanguard liberation movement, the African National Congress, enjoys high international prestige as a genuine spokesman and leader of our people's advance to the seizure of power."

I have prepared this compilation of his speeches and writings, from 1940 to the day he passed away in London, in the hope that it will assist scholars and students interested in the study of the history of the great South African liberation movement. I am aware that no such compilation can fully reflect his wide-ranging contribution to the struggle, for, though he was a powerful speaker and a thinker, he was, above all, a man of action.

He led by his example, by his readiness to participate in every struggle and campaign, whatever the sacrifice. He never set himself apart as a leader, but was always with the freedom fighters. By his commitment, courage and modesty, he earned the love and affection of the people, and the admiration even of those who disagreed with his ideological convictions.

I became interested in the South African struggle, as a student in 1943-44, when I read a pamphlet by Dr. Dadoo. I became convinced that the destiny of the Indian community in South Africa was linked to that of the African people, and that its future can only be secured by its wholehearted participation in the common struggle for freedom and equality, in which the interests of the African majority must inevitably be paramount. For my country, India, as Pandit Nehru affirmed, it was not merely a question of the protection of people of Indian origin but of identification with the struggle for the total liberation of South Africa.

Twenty years later, as Principal Secretary of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, I met Dr. Dadoo in London on the suggestion of the leaders of the African National Congress, and we remained close friends until his death. I was always impressed by his vision and faith, and by the readiness of this man, who loved life, to sacrifice all. He always emphasised that the leadership of the struggle belongs to the African National Congress.

His mind was always with those in apartheid prisons in South Africa, above all, Nelson Mandela for whom he had a great affection - and he constantly encouraged me in promoting the campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

I have, therefore, thought it most appropriate that this compilation of his speeches and writings should be dedicated to Nelson Mandela, who came to symbolise the struggle of the South African people against the inhumanity of racism and for a non-racial and democratic society.

South Africa Freedom Day E. S. Reddy
June 26, 1990

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[2] *The Star*, Johannesburg, November 14, 1952; reproduced in *Flash*, ANC/NIC bulletin, November 21, 1952

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LETTER TO PROF. D. D. T. JABAVU, JULY 4, 1940[5]

It has come to my knowledge that the All African Convention, of which you are the President, has been convened to meet at Bloemfontein on the seventh of this month to discuss the all-important question of War and the manner in which the African people could render their support to the prosecution of the war efforts of the British and the Union Governments.

In your capacity as the president, the Conference shall naturally look to you for guidance, and the course and the eventual outcome of its deliberations will depend to some, if not to a large, extent on the line of policy that you shall outline before it in your presidential address.

As a non-European and as one who is profoundly convinced that the future of the non-European people of this country depends on the coming together of the African, the Coloured, the Indian and the Malay into one solid and powerful organisation which would be capable of giving an honest and bold lead to them, I take this liberty of placing before you certain observations for your consideration so that they may not escape your attention, though I have not the least doubt that your longer experience and maturer years must have steeled you to face all the complex problems of life in a calm and logical manner and to unravel them with an insight which is only born of experience and honest conviction.

The present war raises one question in the answer to which depends the attitude of the non-European peoples of this country. That question is what is this war all about. We have full knowledge of the events in the international field from the time of the conquest of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism in 1931 and the rise of Hitler to power in Germany up to the time of the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the declaration of war conjointly by Britain and France on the Third Reich last September and the subsequent swift and shocking events that followed in the wake of war that this is yet another imperialist war waged with all the ferocity and the brutality of which the imperialist machine (whether of imperialist Britain or Nazi Germany makes no difference) is capable of, to divide, distribute and hold the territories and colonial possessions of the imperialist Powers.

The Union Government as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, despite the opposition of a large number of the Afrikaans elements and without consulting the non-European people at all, has thrown in its lot with Britain in their war against Nazi Germany on the pretext that it is a war for Democracy and Justice and Independence of small nations. The question that the non-Europeans may well ask ourselves is "what has the Union Government done

[5] From *Indian Views*, Durban, July 26, 1940

to institute and grant the democratic rights of citizenship to the non-European peoples". The pass and poll tax laws continue to sap the lifeblood of our brethren and unbearable conditions in locations, besides degrading the physical and mental vitality, continue to spread in its train the most dreaded infectious diseases like tuberculosis, venereal diseases, small-pox, typhus and a host of others; extremely low wages coupled with the high cost of living (it has risen considerably since the outbreak of war) and the uncivilised "Civilised White Labour Policy" continue to spread misery, starvation and unemployment among our people; and the denial of political franchise tends to keep us down at the lowest level of development. Thus the Union Government, although it professes to wage war for Democracy and Justice, has not made the slightest effort to lighten the burden of oppression which weighs so heavily on the shoulders of our people. This in itself is a clear manifestation of the "no change" policy adopted and pursued by the Government of the country. The words "Democracy" and "Justice" are very cleverly used by the powers that be to mislead public opinion of this country, and so accumulate as much cannon-fodder as possible in order to carry on the war for imperialism and all that it implies.

Howevermuch we may detest the brutality and arrogance of Nazism, we cannot, nevertheless, allow the iron heel and infernal machine of imperialism to go on crushing the vitality, blood and life of our people.

The time has come for the non-European peoples to assert their mighty power of mass unity to attain the natural rights of citizenship which have been so ruthlessly and systematically denied to them by the successive Governments of this country.

My contact with our peoples, particularly our African brethren, has convinced me beyond a shadow of a doubt that they are conscious of the way in which they are exploited to make the European capitalists rich and powerful and they are also conscious of the task before them... that of freeing themselves from the bondage of imperialist slavery. What they need most of all at the present moment is a strong, honest and realist leadership which could and would express in sincere and scientific manner the will of the non-European people as a whole.

And now the All African Convention has been afforded an opportunity of giving that much expected and much wanted leadership to its people... The non-European peoples all over South Africa, in town and village, in workshop and farm, look to their leaders who are meeting shortly at Bloemfontein, to lay down an active and vigorous policy which shall demand the immediate abolition of the Pass and Poll Tax and all the other suppressive and colour-bar laws, and lay down a policy which shall outline a practical programme for economic and political emancipation of the people.

I make this appeal to you in the name of the sacred cause of all non-European peoples to give that lead and thus redeem the confidence and trust that your

people have so implicitly reposed in you during all these years.

I am sure that a right and militant lead given by you after a true evaluation of recent events and their significance would mark a great and historical step forward in the march of our people towards the goal of freedom and independence. Such a call would be taken up by the All African Convention and subsequently by all the non-European people of South Africa.

Dear Professor, I shall watch with keen interest, hope and expectancy your deliberations and decisions at Bloemfontein.

Wishing your conference every success.

LETTER TO PROFESSOR D. D. T. JABAVU, JULY 5, 1940[6]

In my letter of yesterday I forgot to stress the fact that the Government has offered to employ four thousand Africans to guard vital points and although these people will be called upon to take up a most dangerous kind of job, they will not be armed.

The experience of the Belgian, Dutch, French and British soldiers has shown us that even these well-equipped and well-armed soldiers were not able to stand up to the superior armed forces of the enemy. How dare the Government of this country expect the Africans to withstand such mechanised attacks armed only with wooden-sticks and knob-kerries? It shows a callous and criminal disregard of the sanctity of African lives. The audacity of the Government in making such an insulting offer transcends all the limits of human decency. Were it not so tragic the offer might have given no amount of derisive amusement to our people.

This latest piece of effrontery should not be allowed to go unchallenged. Let us proclaim in stern but clear terms that we shall not allow such an intolerable state of affairs to continue any longer. We must make it clear to the Government that it must either take heed of our timely warning or suffer the consequence for its criminal disregard of non-European feeling and sentiment.

Again wishing your conference success.

[6] From *Ibid.*

STATEMENT BEFORE THE COURT AT HIS TRIAL UNDER EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, SEPTEMBER 6, 1940[7]

In submitting the following points for the consideration of the Court, I feel that this matter is not one that concerns me alone. It is one that concerns all the Non-European people, and this case is one that might set a precedent for similar actions against other Non-European people. In view of the fact that I am a public figure among the Non-European people, and one to whom many of them look for guidance, I feel that it is my duty to submit a statement to the Court.

One of the mass Non-European organisations, namely, the Non-European United Front of the Transvaal, of which I am the Secretary, works for the complete economic and political emancipation of all the Non-European peoples. When it was confronted with this question of the war, it had, in accordance with its avowed policy and principles, to give an honest and truthful lead to its people; and therefore the question was very seriously considered by its Council, and after proper deliberations it decided to issue a leaflet reflecting the true and accurate picture of the position and status of the Non-European people as a whole, and giving them a guidance on the necessity for certain definite conditions being fulfilled by the Government of this country before the Non-European people could be expected to participate in the war efforts of the Government. I was, in my capacity as Secretary of this body, accordingly instructed by my Council to carry this decision into effect, and I did so willingly and wholeheartedly.

In view of the oppression and tremendous disabilities of my Non-European people, I submit that if the Council had taken any other course than the one it did take it would have consciously and deliberately and against all canons of justice betrayed the very principle for which it stood, and it would also have, to its and its people's utter shame and degradation, lined itself up with reactionary and opportunist organisations. I am, indeed, proud to say that the Non-European United Front had the courage of its convictions to stand up and give the right guidance to its people, although it had to do so at a most trying and difficult time.

It is my contention that the contents of the leaflet which forms Annexure 2 of the Charge-Sheet, sets out the true position of the Non-European people and that the Non-European United Front had given, which it was entitled to do, the right and correct guidance to its people and therefore I desire to point out to the Court at this juncture by means of proof and examples that the leaflet in question was not *mala fide* or issued with any intention to mislead or defraud the public or a section of the public. Furthermore, I contend that "incitement" could be calculated to be caused or a "feeling of hostility" to be engendered only when attempts or appeals are made on malicious grounds and with the utilisation of all known

[7] From: Pamphlet published by the Non-European United Front, Transvaal, 1940

methods of falsehood to warp the reason and rouse the base instincts of man to gain certain ulterior motive or motives by setting one section of the public against another section.

The appeal of the Non-European United Front, as contained in the leaflet, is based on facts and directed in a perfectly legitimate and righteous fashion to the conscience and the instincts of reason and justice inherent in the mind of man not to allow the further perpetuation of injustice and oppression, but to work for their removal.

Pass Laws and Poll Tax

The Pass System has inflicted an unbearable burden on the African people. An African has to carry a number of passes, including: (a) Native Service Contract Pass (b) permit to travel from one area to another to seek works; (a) special Pass required to be on the streets after 9 p.m.; and (d) Poll Tax receipt.

If he has three passes on his person and one in his room, he is arrested and convicted for breaking the law.

Natives paid in taxes, 1938, (all males over 18)	£ 2,310,747
Number of Non-Europeans prosecuted, 1938	700,000
Out of the above number, the number convicted	588,329

Approximately 66 per cent of those convicted were sent to prison for paltry and, at times, inadvertent breaches of such iniquitous laws like Pass Laws, Municipal Bye-Regulations, Location Regulations, Municipal Bye-Laws etc. Such an intolerable state of affairs and indiscriminate convictions have tended to create a band of criminals out of a simple hard-working and honest race of men. Little wonder then that, from time to time, eminent authorities like Dr. Krause and even some of the leading newspapers like the *Star* and the *Daily Mail* have openly called for the abolition of the Pass Laws and Poll Tax.

Segregation

Africans must live in locations and they are prohibited from owning property or from conducting business in European areas. Coloureds and Indians are prohibited from living in many areas and are, in effect, segregated. Ownership of land and property is denied to Indians in the Transvaal and restricted for the Coloured people, The Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act of 1939 has

prohibited the issue of new licences and tremendous difficulties are put in the way of transfers of trade from one name to another or from one place to another.

White Labour Policy

This bug-bear is used to play up to the prejudices of the European people. Thousands of Africans and Coloureds have been displaced from work by Europeans. But instead of Europeans benefiting from such a policy, their standards are dragged down because it is the usual practice for employers to dismiss the Africans at one door and re-engage them at another door to force down wages of both Non-Europeans and Europeans. This policy is definitely aggravating the "poor white" problem.

Low Wages

This is an undeniable fact. The average annual wage of 343,380 African workers employed on the gold mines was £ 40 in 1939; whereas in that year the average wage of 39,974 Europeans on the mines was £ 400.

On Farms

The cash wages per annum average from £ 16 to £ 12.

Unskilled Labour

26/6 per week in Cape Town; 17/11 per week in Durban; 19/7 per week on the Witwatersrand; 11/- per week in the sugar mills.

Thousands of Africans in engineering and building industry earn just over a pound per week on which an African is expected to bring up himself and family. The African workers have managed to obtain a slight increase in their wages in those industries or factories wherein they have been organised into trade unions.

The Indian labourers in the sugar industry are receiving very low wages. They receive 45/- per month. The Fact Finding Commission on the Coloured Question has reported on the poverty of the Coloured people due to low wages and unemployment.

The low wages have reduced the purchasing power of the vast majority of the South African population, particularly the Non-European people, to such a low level that the local manufacturers are finding home markets too small for the development of local industries; and therefore the Chamber of Industries and dozens of press editorials from time to time are demanding that there should be a rise in African wages.

Poverty, High Rents and Unemployment

Poverty is rife among Non-Europeans, especially Africans. Rents paid by Non-Europeans are very high. For example, the rents in Sophiatown and Vrededorp are as high as 5s. per room per month. The housing conditions are appalling. Most of the streets in Non-European areas, e.g., Sophiatown, Newclare, Alexandra Township and other locations are not streets at all but veritable mud-tracks. Sanitary services are negligible. Overcrowding is an undoubted fact. There is no unemployment relief. Unemployed are liable to be forcibly transferred to areas where labour shortage occurs. No accurate statistics are kept which could give one some idea of the appalling misery of the Non-European people. The Unemployment Benefit Act operates in certain scheduled industries such as Mining and Motors but the Africans are deliberately excluded though they are the lowest paid and the first to lose their jobs.

Colour Bar Laws

These are too numerous to quote in full. Suffice it to say, one sees the revolting sign: "Europeans Only." Trams, lifts, hospitals, trains, places of amusement, libraries, universities, skilled jobs, parks, halls - in fact, all the essential requirements of the community are reserved exclusively for the Europeans whilst in some directions wholly inadequate facilities are provided for Non-Europeans. Yet the use of all these has only been made possible thanks to the labour of the Non-European people. They are not permitted to use the things which they have helped to build.

Education

Total expenditure on education in 1938	£ 9,8l9,804
of which on African education	£ 827,058
on Coloureds and Asiatics	£ 812,325
which means, in other words, that the amount spent on European per head of population was	£ 4-16-0
whereas African was	£ 0- 2-9
Coloured and Asiatic was	£ 0-18-2

Democratic Rights

Most legislation on the Statute Book is repressive class legislation in the interests of the governing wealthy class. And most of this repressive legislation is still more oppressive in its effect on Non-Europeans. The laws in question are too numerous to quote in full but the following list will serve to give us some idea;

Pass Laws, Tax Laws, Segregation Laws, Native Urban Areas Act, Apprenticeship Act, Colour Bar Act (mining industries), Industrial Conciliation Act, Unemployment Benefit Act, Wage Act; Anti-Asiatic Acts like Law 3 of 1885, Gold Law of 1908, Transvaal Land Tenure Act of 1932, Land and Trading Act of 1939; the Riotous Assemblies Act.

This brief resume of the intolerable conditions under which the Non-European people have to live in this country conclusively proves that these conditions are deliberately created and fostered by the Government and European capitalists in order to reduce the mass labour power of the Non-European people into a commodity which could be used and utilised at will to increase the wealth, luxury and happiness of a small well-to-do section of the European community. The Non-Europeans are used as one would use an orange - the labour to be mercilessly squeezed out and the skin and pips to be thrown aside.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I maintain before this Court that during the last World War of 1914-1918 the Non-Europeans played their part and thousands made the supreme sacrifice. But after the war, the promises for a better life were not fulfilled; on the contrary, the oppression has become worse. The profiteers and big industrialists waxed fat and the position is the same today. The gold mines, in 1938, paid in dividends £ l5,573,904 or 35 per cent and the estimate for 1940 is £ 20,000,000.

The "state of war" was declared by the Union Government after a very small majority decision of Parliament, but the part on which I desire to lay particular stress is this: that at no stage during the time that this momentous decision was being taken were the Non-European peoples who constitute over 80 per cent of the citizens of the Union, directly consulted or allowed the opportunity to declare their considered opinion on a vital question of life and death, that of whether this country should go to war or not.

I submit that on a question of such vast magnitude and severity, it was the supreme duty of the Government to directly consult every section of the citizens of the State. Despite this act of deliberate omission, the Union Government, in the prosecution of its war efforts, made an intensive and extensive drive to obtain the active services of the Non-European people. The war and peace aims were at no stage clearly defined by the Government but appeals were issued that it was a War for Democracy, Freedom and Independence of Nations, Countries and Peoples. These appeals were not clearly understood by the vast majority of the Non-European people since they were not allowed by the State to enjoy the fruits of Democracy, Freedom and Independence and, therefore, it fell on the shoulders of their mass organisations and leadership to explain to them the true position in relation to the war and then, after a full explanation, to give them a correct and proper guidance on the matter.

The workers are called upon to bear the greatest part of the brunt in this war; they have to go to the front and lay down their lives; they have to speed up in industries and factories but their wages are not raised, their lives not bettered.

The present war is an imperialist war, and therefore an unjust war. It is not a war to free the people, but to maintain and extend imperialist domination. Even at this critical juncture, the Union Government would not even consider the request to postpone the sitting of the Asiatic Penetration Commission for the duration of the war, thus showing that it is not one whit concerned about affording any relief to the Non-European people. Under these conditions, I submit to the Court, how could any representative body of Non-European public opinion, or I, as one of the leaders, be expected to acquiesce in the war efforts, if we are to remain truthful and loyal to our people?

This war could only be transformed into a just war for the preservation of democracy and the defeat of fascism when full and unfettered democratic rights are extended to the Non-European people of this country and when the oppressed peoples of India and the colonial and semi-colonial countries are granted their freedom and independence. If these conditions and rights are given them, only then, could we believe that this is a war for the preservation of Democracy and the institution of a new social order; and there would be no sacrifice too great and no risk too hazardous for us, the Non-Europeans, to offer for the defence of this new social order.

In view of these facts, I plead not guilty to both the charges alleged against me. Whatever the decision of the Court be, for us there is no cause so sacred, and no cause so noble, as the cause for which the Non-European United Front is fighting and shall go on fighting, surmounting every obstacle, suffering every consequence, till justice is vindicated and freedom won.

STATEMENT TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF HIS TRIAL, JANUARY 30, 1941

On the eve of my court trial under the Emergency Regulations, I deem it my duty, as the leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress, to make the following statement to my Indian brethren.

You elected me as your leader at the mass meeting held at the Patidar Hall on the 7th May, 1939, under the chairmanship of our respected champion of Passive Resistance, Mr. E. I. Aswat[8], to lead a Passive Resistance campaign against what

[8] Ebrahim Ismail Aswat (Asvat) was one of the leaders of the *Satyagraha* led by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, 1907-14, and was chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association for several years. In 1938 he was elected President of the Non-European United Front of Transvaal with Dr. Dadoo as Secretary.

is now known as the Asiatic (Transvaal Land & Trading) Act of 1939. Mahatma Gandhi sent us this message: "You have to suffer, not I; therefore let God alone be your guide."

As you will no doubt recall, a definite decision to launch the Passive Resistance struggle on August 1st was taken at that historic gathering of 6,000 Indians held at the Indian Sports Ground on the 9th of July 1939. We had to postpone the struggle at the eleventh hour on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. His message stated:

> "I have no hesitation in asking the Passive Resistance Committee to postpone for a time the proposed launching of the struggle on August 1st.
>
> "I do so because I have some hope of an honourable settlement. I know that the Government of India as well as the British Government are trying to obtain relief. I have put myself in touch with Ministers.
>
> "In the circumstances I think a brief postponement of the struggle is necessary. I am fully aware of the enthusiasm of the resisters. They have proved their mettle before. They will do so again if it becomes necessary. But it is the code of passive resisters to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance if it can be done honourably.
>
> "Every cessation in search of peace adds to the strength of the real fighters. Let them remember that the settlement of 1914 was the outcome of the cessation of the struggle for the sake of peace.
>
> "I hope that the proposed cessation will lead to a similar result. Should it unfortunately prove to be otherwise, and should the struggle begin, let Dr. Dadoo and his fellow-resisters know that the whole of India will be at their back."

In subsequent correspondence Mahatmaji revealed that there was not much hope of a satisfactory outcome from his efforts and that we should be the best judges of the course we may have to adopt.

As far as the operation of the provisions of the Interim Act of 1939 is concerned, our worst fears have been realised. The Act has proved disastrous. Our suffering has been made acute and unemployment has increased considerably, despite the assurance of the opponents of Passive Resistance.

The Act is due to expire in May and the Government proposes to bring before the present session another such to take its place. It is designed to maintain the existing restrictive measures affecting our rights of trade and movement. It has been reported that the Government supporters maintain that an extension of the Act is necessary as there has been no time to prepare new legislation

incorporating the findings of the Penetration Commission.

Any extension of the existing Act would spell utter ruination. It is the duty of our community to resist it effectively. Besides, passive resisters are bound by their sacred pledge to their people to fulfil their duty by suffering sacrifice.

The time for action has come. There is only one alternative before us, that of Passive Resistance. In view of the fact that due to an enforced absence from your midst, I may not be able to participate in the struggle that lies ahead of us and therefore, I make this earnest appeal to you to actively cooperate and help the Passive Resistance Council to carry on our struggle. In my place I nominate Ismail Ahmed Cachalia to lead the movement. I hope that you will repose your trust and confidence in him and render him every assistance in the same loyal manner as you rendered me in the past. And, in that way demonstrate your solidarity.

I wish to outline a scheme in the hope that it may act as a guiding line in the programme of action that you will be called upon to formulate in the prosecution of the Passive Resistance struggle.

A communication must be addressed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior stating the injustice that is meted out and showing plainly the intention and determination of the people to resist the proposed measure by means of Passive Resistance as the only course left open to us to safeguard our national honour and existence.

If, in its wisdom, the Government ignores the justice of our cause then we should tighten our belts and prepare ourselves for suffering as true and faithful Passive Resisters.

The Passive Resistance Council should undertake the task of enrolling and organising volunteers. The people must be kept informed of the day-to-day happenings by means of regular Bulletins. A fresh mandate must be obtained from the public and then the struggle launched at the zero hour with all the dignity and calm resignation demanded from all true passive resisters.

The path before passive resisters is one of suffering. They must be armed with the weapon of truth and so steeled in the school of self-discipline that they will be able to endure the trials of the struggle with calm dignity, unflagging determination, uncomplaining stoicism, ungrudging sacrifice and unswerving loyalty to the cause. Such an attitude of mind and such a behaviour will disarm all opposition and open the road to the vindication of justice.

Signed by me this day the 30th of January 1941 at 47 End Street, Johannesburg in the presence of the following witnesses.

(Signed) Y. M. Dadoo

(Signed) S. M. Desai; M. L. Patel; M. D. Bharoachi; E. S. Dangor; S. V. Patel; I. A. Cachalia.

STATEMENT IN COURT AT TRIAL FOR SPEECH AT BENONI, JANUARY 31, 1941[9]

(Dr. Dadoo, then Secretary of the Non-European United Front, was sentenced to four months` imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of making statements at the Benoni Location calculated to incite the public to oppose the Government. He had been arrested under Emergency Regulations for making an anti-war speech.)

This is the second occasion on which I have been dictated by a sense of duty to submit a statement to Court.

The Non-European United Front, in duty bound to its principle of working for the emancipation of the Non-European people, and in honour bound to the confidence reposed in it by the masses of the people, must carry on the struggle against pass laws, poll tax, pick-ups, anti-Asiatic legislation, segregation, colour bar in industries, low wages, sweated labour, poverty, unemployment, and all the other laws that oppress our people, and must fight for the recognition of African trade unions and full rights of citizenship. In other words, a relentless struggle for the democratic rights of the Non-European people must be carried on.

In pursuance of this sacred task, we have no other alternative but to explain to our people the true nature of the war that is raging in Europe, Africa and other parts of the world, and to give them a proper guidance as to the attitude they should adopt.

The rulers of the British Empire have time and again proclaimed that they are fighting the war for democracy and yet, when the hungry and starving millions of India, South Africa and other parts of the vast colonial empire ask that these democratic rights be extended to them first before they be asked to fight for what the imperialists call "the independence of small nations of Europe", they are beaten up, flung into prisons and concentration camps and subjected to all sorts of brutalities.

As D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P., one of the outstanding leaders of the progressive section of British public opinion, points out:

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9 From: *The Guardian*, Cape Town, February 6, 1941.

"They wage war to preserve the system of exploitation at home and in the colonial Empire."

We maintain that it is our legitimate right to criticise a policy of the Government which affects the people adversely. Even the Cabinet Ministers are saying that the people have the freedom of criticism. To quote one example, may I be allowed to mention that Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, said in a broadcast speech on Tuesday, 21st January:

"Voltaire said: 'I don't agree with a word you say, but I shall fight to the death for your right to say it.` How utterly incongruous these words would sound in a dictator country today? How utterly in conflict they are with the spirit of Nazism, Fascism, or any other form of authoritarianism?

"The first assault of dictatorship is on freedom of criticism. For the normal functioning of democracy, freedom of criticism is indispensable."

I wonder what Mr. Hofmeyr thinks of the Government of which he is a responsible member? The Government has not allowed the Non-Europeans the freedom of criticism which according to Mr. Hofmeyr, is the indispensable function of democracy; otherwise, I should not be standing here in the dock this morning.

Instead the Government has resorted to the weapons of oppression to suppress the right of the freedom of speech.

Anti-fascists who have all long stood and fought for the principles of democracy have been put into concentration camps whilst Nazis and Fascists are allowed to overrun the country to preach the dangerous and abhorrent doctrines of fascism.

Under the democracy of the Union Government there is a very big difference in the allowances given to the families of European soldiers compared with the Non-European soldiers.

The struggle of the Non-European people for liberation is not an isolated struggle; it is merely a continuation of the struggle of the oppressed masses carried on in many lands. Four hundred million Indian people are at this very moment carrying on the struggle. The President of the Indian National Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, is languishing in jail. That great-hearted and world respected leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is undergoing four years` hard labour in the jail of British imperialism. Thousands of others are suffering the same fate. The people of South Africa are playing their part. The Government may imprison me, it can fling hundreds and thousands into jail and concentration camps, but it cannot and it shall not suppress the demand for freedom which arises from the crying hearts of the Non-Europeans and other oppressed people.

The struggle goes on.

In conclusion, I make this appeal to the Non-Europeans of South Africa. African, Coloured, Indian, Malay, all Non-Europeans unite! Create a fighting unity! Have confidence in your own mass strength, and carry on the struggle with unflagging determination until we have a People's Government which will end the persecution of Non-Europeans and recognise our rights to live as human beings, institute real machinery of democracy and work for a just peace which will put an end to the devastation of war.

OPEN LETTER TO GENERAL SMUTS, JANUARY 1942[10]

Sir,

We hear that you will speak to the Non-European people of South Africa when you address the Conference of the Institute of Race Relations on the 21st of this month at Cape Town.

We desire to draw your attention to the fact that the Non-European people will judge you by your deeds and not by your words. They have not forgotten your past actions; the Bulhoek Massacre and the Rand Strike of 1922 cannot be easily forgotten. Besides, you and your Government's present actions are not such as to inspire confidence in the minds of the Non-European people.

Your Government shares equal responsibility with the Imperial Government for the brutal manner in which the National Organisation of the people of Basutoland, *Lagotla la Bafu*, has been banned and its national leader Lefele interned.

Your Government ordered the starving African peasants of the Northern Transvaal not to plough the land.

Your Government attacked the primary means of livelihood of the Transvaal Indians by placing on the Statute-Book the obnoxious legislation known as the Asiatic (Transvaal) Land and Trading Act.

Whilst you and your Government were engaged in suppressing the rights of the Non-European people, you were allowing full freedom to the European fifth-columnists to carry on unabated their Fascist activities.

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[10] *The Guardian*, Cape Town, January 22, 1942. Only extracts from the letter were published in *The Guardian*.

Sir, your noble-sounding phrases will not move a single Non-European soul. Only by actions can you convince him. If the Government has sincerely set itself to defend democracy, then the Non-European masses constitute a formidable force in that struggle.

Sir, you have appealed to the people of South Africa to go all-out to win this all-in war. But how can the Non-European people go all-out when they are chained down under the burden of oppression: low wages, pass laws, Poll Tax, segregation, inadequate land, no democratic rights.

Sir, your Government should bear in mind the bitter lessons of Malaya. The bulk of the Malayan population, which could have been a formidable bulwark against Japanese aggression, could not do much since it was subjected under British rule to the life of a ruthlessly exploited working class; the Malayan Communist Party which was leading the struggle against Fascism was banned, and when it was allowed to resume its activities it was too late.

Sir, it might well be too late here in South Africa. We hope you will utilise the present parliamentary session to give practical shape to the just democratic demands of the Non-European people.

Yours faithfully,

Y. M. Dadoo

"FREE US TO DEFEND OUR HOMES": STATEMENT, MARCH 1942[1]

Swift successes for Fascist Japan's treacherous aggression in the Pacific have brought war to our door-step. Japanese or Nazi bombers may any day now rain death and destruction on our homes and our country. We are in danger. Our homes and our country are in danger. What must we do?

The peoples of the world must put up a united front and stop the Nazis of Germany and the Fascists of Japan and Italy from murdering, looting and raping the peoples of the countries they invade.

[1] *The Guardian*, March 11, 1942. Only an extract from the statement was published in *The Guardian* and reproduced here.

Some of us believe that since the Japanese belong to the non-European group of races, they are fighting this war to liberate the non-European peoples.

It is a belief based on false reasoning and emotional, wishful thinking. The capitalists and financiers of Japan are waging this war for their own selfish interests. This they are doing in close collaboration with the European Nazis of Germany, the Fascists of Italy and the pro-Nazis in South Africa and elsewhere.

The white pro-Nazis in South Africa, the Pirows and Van Rensbergs, openly welcome Japanese victories – which they would most certainly not do if the Japanese imperialists had any intention of helping the non-European peoples.

They are only praying for further Nazi and Japanese successes in order to pounce on this country and take control of the Government.

We know only too well that we are not free to do all that we want to do in order to defend our homes and smash the Fascists.

We have no arms, military pay for our soldiers and dependants' allowances are miserable, we have to suffer the brutalities of some police and civic guards, we have to suffer from pass laws and poll-tax, colour-bar in industry, non-recognition of African trade unions, segregation, starvation due to low wages and inadequate land for agricultural purposes and a host of other discriminatory laws.

We, therefore, demand that the Union Government give us arms and free us from all oppressive restrictions so that we can "go all-out to win this all-in war". We say to the Government: "Free us to defend our homes and our country before it is too late."

Non-European Peoples of South Africa:

FORWARD to the defence of our homes and our country!
FORWARD to Victory over Fascism!
FORWARD to Freedom!

SPEECH AT ANTI-PASS CONFERENCE, JOHANNESBURG, DECEMBER 4, 1943[11]

[11] South African Communists Speak, 1915-1980

An Anti-Pass Conference called by the Communist Party was held in Johannesburg on November 21, 1943. One hundred and fifty-three delegates and an audience of over 200 visitors were present. Speaking from a platform decorated with banners - *Mayibuye i Afrika*! - and a portrait of Johannes Nkosi, the Communist leader who was killed by the police during the great anti-pass demonstration in Durban on Dingaan Day, 1930, the Chairman, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, opened the Conference.

"This Conference", he said, "is one of the most important of recent times for the Non-European people. Today we realise that the basis of the brutal oppression of the African people is the pass laws. We have seen that during this war the war effort against Fascism has been hampered and hindered by the Government. There was only one way for a full war effort against Fascism, and that is by mobilising the entire population of the country. This can only be done properly and effectively if the oppression and exploitation of the Non-European people is removed. This is the only way of galvanising the Non-European people to rise in defence of their own country and in defence of freedom against the Axis. The Government has failed in this great task."

"As the danger of Fascism retreats from the shores of Africa, new dangers arise before the Non-European people. The time has come for the Non-European people to raise their voices, to carry on a campaign against the pass laws, the badge of slavery which humiliates them. You have come here determined to win the support of your organisations for a great anti-pass campaign as a step toward the liberation of our people. We who are here will not be alone. If we campaign properly we will win the support of the Indian and Coloured people; if we campaign properly we will win the support of the progressive Europeans. You are charged this morning with the responsibility of giving a lead to your people in the greatest of all fights, the fight for national liberation."

After discussion the following were elected to the committee: Messrs. Mofutsanyana, Bopape, Marks, Radebe, Moema, Pillay, Mafethe, Mabuse, Ramohanoe, Dadoo, Fish, Xaba, Mokoena, Monongoaha and Josie Palmer. The committee has been charged with the responsibility of setting up regional committees in all areas throughout South Africa as a preliminary to the convening of a national anti-pass conference in Easter 1944 in cooperation with the African National Congress. The following resolution has been sent to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs:

> "The conference of African organisations on the Reef and Pretoria condemns the pass laws which are contrary to the promises of freedom contained in the Atlantic Charter, and calls for the immediate abolition of these laws which oppress and humiliate the African people."

The resolution was also sent to members of the Native Representative Council with the request that they take the matter up strongly with the Government. A

further resolution requested the Native Representatives in Parliament and the Senate to introduce a Bill for the abolition of pass laws at the next session of Parliament.

In closing the conference Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, the Chairman, said: "This has been an historic conference which will deliver a tremendous blow and will shiver the chains that hold the African people. Our task will not be easy. But like the generals of an army, we must plan our campaign to remedy the weaknesses of past struggles and avoid past mistakes. The stage is set for the great offensive, the offensive of the African people for their rights. We will not rest until we have reached our objective."

STATEMENT ON THE PRETORIA AGREEMENT, MAY 1944[1]

The Pretoria Agreement is a shameful negation of all the noble principles for which the Indian people have stood and fought during all the years of their experience in South Africa. It is an outrage on the honour and existence of the Indian community.

For several decades the Indians have held their ground against all attacks by the succeeding Governments to segregate them into ghettos. Indeed such has been their spirit of resistance by mass united action that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in 1913 they successfully obtained the repeal of the unjust and iniquitous £3 tax.

But today the Indian people are unfortunate in a weak-kneed betraying leadership which is willing to barter away freedom of movement and the right of lawful occupation of the whole Indian community for temporary gain in investment for an inconsiderable but wealthy class – a class on whom the Prime Minister did not disdain to pour venomous scorn when he wanted to push the Pegging Bill through Parliament. But now this very class has received the kind attention of General Smuts.

General Smuts Embarrassed

The reason for this about face is not far to seek. The Union Government was target of the indignation and protests aroused by the Pegging Act in India,

[1] *The Guardian*, Cape Town, June 1, 1944. In April 1944, A. I. Kajee, Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, reached an agreement with Prime Minister Smuts, which was essentially a compromise on residential segregation of Indians in Natal. It provoked strong opposition in the Indian community.

Britain, and the United States. General Smuts, to say the least, was embarrassed to face the Empire Conference in London.

Thanks to the gross and shameful betrayal by some of the Natal Indian Congress leaders, he is able to show his face with equanimity in the councils of the Empire and the United Nations.

But the Pretoria Agreement has more far-reaching significance for the Indian people. It sounds their death knell as a community aspiring to full rights of citizenship in this country. Not only would acquiescence remove the Indian question from the international field, but it would also isolate the Indian people into separate areas from whence they can look forward to further and more damaging restrictions in the economic and social field. It would be a policy of mass political suicide.

But the Indian people will not fall into such trap. We shall show by our united efforts and mass struggles in common with other sections of the non-European people, that the Pegging Act must be repealed immediately and unconditionally and that elementary democratic rights and not segregation must be awarded to our people.

SEGREGATION OR PROGRESS? AN APPEAL TO NATAL INDIANS, MARCH 1945[12]

The Congress elections on the 18th March will decide the destiny, not only of Natal Indians but of South African Indians as a whole for many, many years to come.

It is imperative that Natal Indians elect a leadership which will have the courage of its convictions to face the present dangerous situation which confronts us, with a progressive policy of united action against all forms of segregation and for full democratic rights for our people.

It must be clear to all thinking Indians what the Kajee-Pather leadership[13] has meant to the Indian community. It concluded the notorious Pretoria Agreement without the knowledge or the consent of the people and thus bartered away the elementary right of the Indians to live where they chose. This policy made it possible for the Natal Provincial Council to pass the Natal segregation Ordinance

[12] From *The Leader*, Durban, March 3, 1945
[13] A. I. Kajee was then President of the Natal Indian Congress and S. R. Pather secretary.

with impunity,[14] and it put serious obstacles in the way of India in her great stand on our behalf. It is tragic that the Kajee-Pather group should be so weak when all leaders and major organisations in India, Congress and Muslim League alike, ever stand firmly united against the humiliating treatment meted out to South African Indians.

Events have proved that the Kajee-Pather leadership has played right into the hands of the Natal English racialist and the segregationist Government. If this leadership is allowed to pursue its mad career it will lead the Indian people to certain ruin, ghettos and deprivation of economic rights and privileges for all, rich and poor alike.

Have we an alternative to this blundering leadership? The Anti-Segregation Council provides the answer. The leadership of the Anti-Segregation Council has a record of unflinching faith in the united strength of the people, and of a bold and uncompromising stand against the Pegging Act, the Pretoria Agreement, the Natal Ordinances and all measures of segregation - a record that, with the united support of the people, can lead the community out of the present miserable condition to a bright and hopeful future.

The choice is before Natal Indians. Support for the Kajee-Pather leadership will spell complete segregation. Support for the Anti-Segregation Council will lead the Indian people along a path of struggle against national humiliation and oppression, and for equal opportunities and full democratic rights for all.

A victory for the Anti-Segregation Council will be acclaimed by all progressives in South Africa and the world as a step forward in the fight for progress and human freedom.

We, therefore, appeal to all members of the Natal Indian Congress to vote for the candidates of the Anti-Segregation Council on March 18th.[15]

Signed: (Dr.) Yusuf M. Dadoo
H. A. Naidoo
I. C. Meer
Moulvi I. A. Cachalia
A. I. Meer

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[14] The "Pretoria agreement" of 1943 - negotiated by A. I. Kajee with Prime Minister General J.C. Smuts - provided for a special licensing board to control residential occupation of premises in Natal. It was strongly opposed in the Indian community as an acceptance of residential segregation. The Europeans in Natal were not satisfied with this "compromise" and proceeded to enact a Residential Property and Occupational Control Ordinance.

[15] The N.I.C. leadership delayed the elections until it was compelled by a court judgement. In October 1945, candidates of the Anti-Segregation Council, led by Dr. G. M. Naicker, were elected at a large public meeting in Durban

"WE ARE MARCHING ON": FOREWORD TO PAMPHLET, NOVEMBER 1946[16]

The completion of five months of our historic struggle coincides with the release of our national leaders, Dr. G. M. Naicker and Mr. M. D. Naidoo after serving six months hard labour (with 45 days remission) - the longest sentence yet served by passive resisters in the present struggle.

This pamphlet attempts to give you an account of the epic story of our struggle against the Ghetto Act; the heroism and endurance of our resisters against the organised attacks of European hooligans; the heart-stirring courage of our sister-resisters; and some facts about the united support of the entire Indian community.

Five months in the struggle of a people for fundamental human rights is too brief a period in which to pass a verdict on it. A proper evaluation can only be made when it is reviewed in historical perspective. We leave that task to history. But in reviewing the events of the last five months we are in a position to judge whether or not we have reached the first objectives in our battle for full rights of citizenship.

Fateful Beginning

The first few weeks were fateful. There were groups of people who were hesitant and uncertain. Scepticism prevailed in certain quarters. How will the struggle fare? How will the people react? - were questions uppermost in the minds of not uninfluential bodies of people. It was an acid test for the leadership. It demanded courage and endurance from the resisters.

To make matters worse, organised squads of European hooligans began attacking the camp of resisters. Tents were pulled down and burned. Resisters, both men and women, were brutally assaulted. Taunts, sneers and insults were hurled at them. The European hooligans did not show a trace of "civilisation" - they behaved like wild beasts pouncing on their prey. The resisters` patience and endurance were taxed to the utmost but they proved their quality as brave fighters for freedom - non-violent and persevering, unafraid and manly. From night to night, the attacks grew more violent, the resisters becoming more determined. In this trying period of uncertainty, the heroism of the resisters and the undaunted

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16 Foreword to a pamphlet, *Five Months of Struggle: A Brief Account of the Passive Resistance Struggle from 13th of June to 13th of November 1946*, published by the South African Passive Resistance Council in Durban and New York in November 1946

leadership of men like Dr. Naicker and Mr. M. D. Naidoo shone like a beacon of hope.

The Government invoked the Riotous Assemblies Act, arrests were made, resisters were sent to prison and the struggle passed into a decisive phase.

The magnificent response of the people made it possible for us to record achievements of which the Indian people can well be proud.

Indian Community United as Never Before

The struggle has rallied the entire community in total opposition to the Ghetto Act. There is a complete boycott of the Land Tenure Advisory Board. The sham form of communal representation has been wholly rejected. Hundreds of men and women of all ages have responded to the call of duty by enlisting as volunteers. A new spirit of freedom pervades the Indian people.

South Africa's Racial Policy Laid Bare

General Smuts and the Union Government find themselves in the dock at the United Nations Assembly. The Union Government stands condemned in the eyes of the democratic people of the world for its fascist racial laws against the non-European population, and for the violation of the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Organisation itself is being confronted with an important test: whether it will justify its existence for the maintenance of world peace and assurance of basic human rights and freedom to all people irrespective of race, religion or sex, or whether by failing to stand up to this task it will let the world slip into international and race conflict.

We look forward to the outcome of the present discussion with confidence; the stern and determined stand taken by the Indian Government's delegation, together with the wholehearted support of the Soviet Union, China and other member States, makes the situation very hopeful indeed.

We have succeeded in rallying international democratic opinion to our side in our just struggle. Whatever the outcome we shall continue to expose South Africa's fascist policy to the outside world and pursue our struggle within the Union.

Towards the Struggle of all Non-European Peoples

We are not unmindful of the fact that our passive resistance movement is a part and parcel of the larger struggle of all the non-European peoples against segregation and discrimination and for full democratic rights in the land of their birth and adoption. The African and Coloured peoples are supporting our movement in full measure and, indeed, not a few have already enlisted as passive

resisters and have served terms in prison. We, for our part, have declared our full support to them in the recent great African miners` strike and in the campaign against the pass laws and other inhuman and racialist measures.

We hope for and expect a progressive unfurling of a great resistance movement on their part so that unity of action can be welded on the anvil of struggle.

White supremacy and *herrenvolkism* cannot and will not be able to withstand the torrent of simultaneous and united action.

India and Trade Sanctions

The Interim Government's[17] uncompromising stand and the united support of India's leaders and national and political organisations of all shades of opinion and the stringent application of trade sanctions, have not only brought about a rupture in the trade relations between the two countries but have also hit hard the European farmers and consumers in this country. The acute shortage of grain bags, soap, essential oils, textiles and other commodities has caused a crisis of the first order.

This will, we hope, drive home to the European people the hard lesson that their rulers cannot carry on with impunity, and this with their consent, the policy of racial and colour oppression. The higher law of peoples` will and human conscience must in the end prevail.

Europeans and the Struggle

Our struggle is forcing the Europeans in no uncertain manner to decide whether they are for or against democracy. Democracy cannot be maintained for the Europeans themselves whilst they deny it to others. Denial of democracy to one section leads surely and inevitably to fascism and all its attendant evils.

The setting up of bodies like the Council for Asiatic Rights in the Transvaal and the Council for Human Rights in Natal,[18] the resolutions of the Church and progressive bodies, and the active participation and heroic sacrifice in the present struggle of such courageous European Christian stalwarts as the Reverend Michael Scott and the Reverend Satchell, and private citizens like Miss Mary Barr and Max Itzkin, are an indication of the fact that democratic-minded Europeans are beginning to realise the true implications of the fascist policy of their Government towards the non-European population.

We Welcome Dr. Naicker and M. D. Naidoo

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[17] The Interim Government of India headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

[18] The two Councils were set up by European friends of the Indian struggle.

Thus it is with a sense of pride and self-vindication that we welcome back in our midst our national leaders. We say to them: "Your sacrifices and those of the hundreds of passive resisters have not been in vain. We have taken a step forward."

On their release, we reaffirm our pledge to continue the struggle with sober confidence and calm resolve.

We shall not bend our knee to the oppressor. We shall not rest as long as the Ghetto Act is on the Statute Book. We shall fight on until the rights of man are ours.

WE SHALL RESIST! LONG LIVE RESISTANCE!

THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA: FACTS ABOUT THE GHETTO ACT[19]

The great majority of the South African Indians are descendants of the Indian labourers, who were indentured by the Government of Natal from 1860 onwards to work in the sugar fields.

We should note that these workers were invited to make South Africa their home. They came here under an agreement with the Government of India.

In terms of this agreement the Natal Government promised to help them settle as permanent residents of the country, and guaranteed them citizenship rights after their period of indenture was over.

Through their industry and efforts, the Indians have greatly contributed to the wealth and progress of Natal, and indeed of the country as a whole. But they have not reaped the benefit. What is the position of South African Indians today?

There are roughly 250,000 Indians in the Union of South Africa. Of these, 210,000 are in Natal, 31,000 in the Transvaal, 13,000 in the Cape and none in the Orange Free State.

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19 Pamphlet published by the South African Communist Party in June 1946 when the Indian people in South Africa launched the passive resistance campaign against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946. Dr. Dadoo was then Chairman of the Johannesburg District of the Communist Party and member of the Party's Central Committee.

The vast bulk of Natal Indians are workers engaged in the secondary and sugar industries. There are some farmers and professional people, and a few wealthy merchants.

Most Transvaal Indians are small traders or hawkers.

The average Indian worker receives wretchedly low wages, amounting to about £ 1. 10. 0. per week. Rural workers in Natal get as little as £ 3 per month.

Only 15.4 per cent of South African Indian children receive education for which the annual subsidy per head is £ 16. 7. 6. for a European child and only £ 5. 5. 0. for an Indian child.

Despite the outcry about "penetration", in Durban the huge population of Indians own only 4 per cent of the land. There, the City Council spends £ 7. 3. 4 per head on housing schemes for Europeans, only 17/6 for Indians.

In 1940 the average property per head owned by Europeans was £ 477. 19. 9; by Indians £ 43. 4. 11.

The Fight against Oppression

It must not be forgotten that the Indian people are sons and daughters of a country with a proud and cultured heritage. Their ancient motherland is the bearer of a tradition of civilisation as old as any in the world.

Never, either in India or South Africa, have Indians willingly submitted to laws and practices which brand them as inferior, or curtail their liberties.

On innumerable occasions, measures have been taken which discriminated against Indians in South Africa; beginning with a humiliating law to segregate Indians passed by the Transvaal Republic in 1885, and the Natal law of 1896 which deprived Indian citizens of the Parliamentary franchise.

Always the Indian people of our country have resisted these measures. It was indeed in South Africa that the method of Passive Resistance was born - a means of struggle since adopted by the people of India itself.

Passive Resistance

Passive resistance takes the form of defying unjust and discriminatory laws and paying the penalty therefor by suffering imprisonment.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the first Passive Resistance struggle was launched in South Africa in 1906. It lasted for eight years and ended in a victory.

The Indian people cherish the memory of the heroes and martyrs, the many noble deeds of sacrifice and bravery, of that struggle.

Whilst serving imprisonment, a young girl of only 16 contracted a fatal fever. She died within a few days of her release. Her name was Valliamma R. Munuswami Mudaliar.[20]

In the coal mines and up and down the South and North Coast of Natal, Indian workers struck work. The police opened fire on some of them, and many died.

In 1913, the struggle came to a head over the question of the £ 3 annual tax which ex-indentured Indian labourers had to pay. Mahatma Gandhi led a gallant band of over 2,000 men, women and children in a great march from Newcastle to Charlestown, and thence - in order to defy the provincial barriers - across the border into the Transvaal.

During the march, the pilgrims had to suffer untold hardships. There were cases of babies being drowned whilst crossing spruits. The marchers were arrested.

But the struggle continued undaunted, and at last the Government had to give in. The £ 3 tax was repealed, and a settlement was arrived at, known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement.

During this great campaign, many supporters of liberty appeared amongst the European community. A committee of sympathisers was formed.

Men and women like Mr. Polak, Mr. Kallenbach, Rev. Doke, Mr. Ritch, Mr. Hosken, Mr. West, Miss Schlesin, Miss West and many others played an active part in the campaign.[21] Some of them suffered imprisonment with their Indian brothers.

This great struggle will always live on in the minds not only of the Indian people, but all who care for freedom. Names of martyrs like Valliamma and Nagappan[22] will live in South African history as an inspiration to all fighters in the cause of liberty.

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[20] Valliamma died on February 22, 1914

[21] The reference is to some European supporters of the Indian cause: Henry S. L. Polak, Hermann Kallenbach, the Reverend Joseph J. Doke, L. W. Ritch, William Hosken, Albert H. West, Miss Sonja Schlesin and Miss Ada West. Mr. Polak, Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. West went to prison in the *Satyagraha* led by Mahatma Gandhi, 1907-14. Mr. Hosken, a businessman and leader of the Progressive Party, chaired the Committee of European Sympathisers.

[22] Nagappan became ill in prison, where he was forced to perform hard labour in bitter cold, and died on July 6, 1909, soon after release.

We remember them now in 1946, when again the Indian people are being forced to take the path of struggle and sacrifice.

Disabilities of the Indian People

Despite this gallant and self-sacrificing record of struggle, however, and despite their success in defeating certain more obnoxious racial laws, Indians are discriminated against in many ways today in South Africa.

Apart from the Ghetto Act, there are 65 different laws restricting the rights of Indians in one way or another. These are some of them:

The Immigration Act of 1913 prohibits any further immigration from India.

All Indians are denied Parliamentary, Provincial and Municipal votes on the common roll, except the Indians in the Cape who enjoy the same restricted franchise rights as the Coloured people. With the "communal franchise" introduced by the new Act, I shall deal later.

Hitherto, Natal Indians had the right to acquire and occupy fixed properties and land anywhere in the Province. But in the Gold-proclaimed areas of the Transvaal they were denied the rights both of ownership and occupation, except in certain areas exempted by Parliament. Elsewhere in the Transvaal, they could not own land or property in their own names.

Provincial barriers prohibit the entry of Indians from one Province to another. The Orange Free State has since 1891 debarred Indians from residing within its boundaries.

The white labour policy of the Government precludes Indians from employment as skilled workers.

These are but a few of the types of racial discrimination practised against Indians in South Africa, who in addition suffer from the characteristic legal, economic, political and customary disabilities suffered by all Non-Europeans and dark-skinned races in the Union of South Africa.

Position of Indians under the Ghetto Act

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 is called and regarded universally by Indian people as the "Ghetto Act".

This Act condemns the Indian community to economic and social ruin. It takes away their fundamental and elementary right of land ownership and occupation.

It strikes at the heart of Indian commercial and economic life. Not only will it cripple Indian trade and bar progress in the acquisition of fixed property, it will also reduce the opportunities of the masses of the Indian people to earn a decent livelihood, and ultimately condemn them to existence in increasingly over-crowded slums and locations. It has been suggested that the Act affects adversely only a wealthy minority among the Indians. But this is not so. On the contrary, it will lead to the introduction of a whole string of new regulations and prohibitions, allowing perhaps the enrichment of a few Indian property-owners, but with the community as such being reduced to the level of paupers.

Social degradation would follow. The Act will confine Indians and other Asiatics into segregated areas. Limited as these areas will be, the Indian people will be faced with ever-increasing over-crowding and congestion. This must lead to poverty and disease.

Among the Indian youth, the degenerating and evil environment of segregated life will lead to crime and anti-social conduct. it will brand the Indian community with the stamp of inferiority. It casts a slur on India's national pride.

These inferences are not the figment of my imagination. They are facts. The life and conditions in African (Native) locations and Asiatic bazaars in the Witwatersrand and elsewhere are a living example of the poisonous fruits of segregation. Criminally neglected by the authorities, these cesspools of humanity are an indictment of the whole policy of the *herrenvolk* rulers; they are erupting volcanoes of epidemics and deadly diseases which may drown South Africans, white, brown and black, all alike, in a catastrophe of the greatest magnitude.

Communal Representation

It is claimed that the Act gives a *quid pro quo* by providing for the representation of Indians, in the Senate by two European senators, in the House of Assembly by three European M.P.s, and by two members in the Natal Provincial Council.

There is to be a separate Voters' Roll for Indians, based upon educational and property qualifications which, it should be noted, are higher than those demanded of any other group of South African voters.

In practice, all this means is that there will be three out of 156 members of Parliament who will be elected by the Indians. They may make most excellent speeches. But, when it comes to voting, their effect will be negligible.

The voting on this very Act, when it was before Parliament, is a conclusive demonstration of how negligible their effect will be. With the honourable exception of the three Native Representatives and one Labour man (Mr. Wanless), the whole House was in favour of the principle of compulsory segregation of the

Indian minority. The differences of opinion amongst the others related only to the degree of segregation, and to the question of representation. The Nationalists, the Dominionites and even some so-called Labour M.P.'s were against any Indian representation whatever.

If there had been three Indian representatives in the House, they would have been powerless to prevent the passing of the Ghetto Bill into law, or even to modify it.

This form of representation follows closely the pattern set for the African people in Gen. Hertzog's notorious and disgraceful Native Representation Act of 1936.

Communal representation for Africans has proved, after ten years, to be a dismal failure and a fiasco.

The three Europeans elected to the Assembly by the Africans have, it is true, spoken against one repressive measure after another. They have, for the most part, gallantly and faithfully defended the interests of their constituents.

But their voices have been drowned in a Parliament dependent upon European voters, which has become a circus ring for the display and practice of despicable colour prejudice and racial bias.

These shameful characteristics were never more evident than in the debate upon this Ghetto Bill.

Parliament Speaks with Hitler's Voice

Seldom have our legislators descended to such a low level. The real interests of the country, the noble principles of democracy and liberty, for which the war was fought - these things were forgotten and ignored. Weeks were spent in nauseating discussion between the United Party and its even more race-crazed opponents, as to whether the hard-working, honest, and already oppressed minority of South Africans who are of Asiatic descent, should be cast quickly or slowly into ghettos and economic ruination.

Blinded by race and colour prejudice, permeated with an evil passion for the maintenance of white supremacy and influenced in all its acts by the economic interest of powerful gold-mining capitalism and the wealthy farmers, the Union Parliament has shown itself oblivious of the tremendous revolution through which the world is passing.

In Europe and in Asia, the masses of humanity are on the march; their watch-words are democracy, liberty, socialism, and the abolition of racial and national discrimination.

But General Smuts talks of "the menace of Asiatic culture", presented to South Africa by 250,000 voteless Indians. Dr. Malan demands total segregation of all Non-Europeans. Mr. Madeley, the Dominionites and highly irresponsible members of all parties utter in Parliament the identical racialistic rubbish that is echoed outside Parliament by such unpleasant gentry as Pirow, van Rensburg and Weichardt. These rantings in our Parliament are not unfamiliar. The ghost of Hitler is haunting South Africa.

The Principles of Segregation

At present, a small minority among the Europeans own over 70 per cent of the land in South Africa.

Africans, who constitute the great majority of the total population, are deprived of the right of land tenure outside segregated reserves, which amount to less than 13 per cent of the land area.

This is the essence and the kernel of the policy of segregation. Established by the Native Land Act of 1913, its purpose was and remains the impoverishment of the African people and their reduction to an economic level which compels them to work in the gold mines, the farms and the industries of South Africa for wages which barely suffice to ward off starvation.

The talk of "white civilisation", the spreading of the *herrenvolk* ideology and the inflaming of bestial racial and colour prejudices - all these things are done by the ruling class to win the support of the European population, and to conceal the true motive for colour oppression, the capitalists' greed and lust for profits.

Segregation means the cheap labour policy pursued by the great capitalists of the mining and farming industries. It is a policy which has already dragged down the African people to depths of poverty and disease, misery and starvation, which threaten to engulf all races in catastrophe and disaster.

This policy does not benefit the European worker, but on the contrary is a great menace to his living standards. It does not benefit the European commercial and professional classes, for low wages means limited markets and a poverty-stricken South Africa.

The essence of the new Indian Act is that it aims to drag down yet another section of the people to the economic level of the Africans. It is, therefore, a move to create another depressed group which will reduce the living standards of all. It is another nail in the coffin of South African economic development and prosperity.

The Doctrine of White Supremacy

Hitler, Rosenberg and Goebbels tried to justify their plans for world conquest, their barbarous treatment of non-Germans, by propagating the gruesome doctrine of "Aryan superiority" and "the master race". The totally unscientific and reactionary nature of these doctrines was equalled only by their terrifying and horrible results -- not least for the Germans themselves.

Basically identical is the doctrine openly propounded by the Prime Minister and supported in practice by members of all parties in Parliament, the doctrine of "white supremacy".

After the most terrible war in the history of the human race, in which millions have died, to combat victoriously the odious lie of the Nazis, it should be unnecessary to explain the essential falsity and injustice of this doctrine. No race or nationality is inherently "superior" or "inferior" to any other. Individuals of any nationality are capable of achieving distinction and usefulness to the community, in any walk of life, provided they are granted equal opportunities. It is barbarous, undemocratic and unjust to deprive any citizen of such opportunities, or of any political or economic right, because of the circumstances of his birth, his nationality or his colour.

Moreover, the propagation of such a doctrine in a country like South Africa, based upon a multi-national population of many languages, creeds and colours, holds within it the dreadful menace of a future of hatred and strife, terror and bloodshed.

The retribution that has come upon the German people for accepting the fatal Hitlerite ideology, should be a warning to our South African advocates of white supremacy.

The road to a happy and united South Africa lies not through the segregation and oppression of the Non-European people. It lies through freedom, democratic rights and higher living standards for all sections of the population.

The Ghetto Act is a milestone along the way, not to happiness and progress, but to further suffering and backwardness for South Africa.

Sowing the Seeds of War

The Smuts Government, by introducing this law, has violated the basic principles of the great United Nations Charter. This policy not only creates racial strife within the borders of South Africa, but has created friction between the Union and the great country of India.

Already, the Government of India, though not a free Government representative of the people, has been impelled by the patriotic feeling of the masses upon this

matter to take active steps against the Union Government. The High Commissioner, the Indian representative in South Africa, has been recalled. Economic and other sanctions are being imposed by India against South Africa and South Africans. The Government of India has placed the question of South African Indians before the United Nations Organisation, to be considered by the General Assembly of that body in September.

It is idle to maintain that this is purely an internal affair of the South African Government, or that South African Indians have no right to appeal to India, or to world opinion, to support their cause.

The San Francisco Charter of the United Nations pledges member nations not only to maintain peace, but also to uphold certain social and economic principles of a democratic character. If these are more than pious words, then United Nations must be able to insist that its constituent nations implement those pledges. Furthermore, as an undeniable and bitter insult to the national pride and honour of India, as well as other Asiatic members of the United Nations, the Ghetto Act indeed constitutes a matter which "may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security."

These are stirring times.

Hitlerism lies in ruins. The common people of the world are on the march towards progress. In Eastern Europe, for the first time in history, real democracy has been established, and throughout the European continent, Communist and other progressive parties are advancing to the fore, sharing in the Government, building friendship with the mighty Socialist Soviet Union, the vanguard of liberty.

Throughout Asia, the tide of patriotism is rising fast, compelling Mr. Attlee and the British Government into granting Indian independence, advancing Indonesia and all the countries of the East along the road to national freedom and the ending of imperialism.

It is at this juncture that the Smuts Government has raised in the Ghetto Act a fundamental issue which affronts and challenges all Asiatic, African and Coloured races throughout the world.

The Union Government is sowing the seeds of another war.

Is Liberalism Alive in South Africa?

Until a few decades ago, there existed amongst South African Europeans a virile and courageous liberalism which stood up and fought for the rights of man and against tyranny, or the oppression of individuals and groups.

This spirit did not manifest itself in Parliament in the debates on the ghetto law, except for the contribution of the Native Representatives.

The modern "liberals", of whom we may take Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, as a characteristic example, have neither the conviction nor the courage to put up an uncompromising fight for the ideals they claim to hold dear. It seems that their denunciations of injustice and the *herrenvolk* mentality are used merely as a shibboleth to salve their burning consciences.

Despite all Mr. Hofmeyr's moral misgivings, his practical support of this law has placed him on a par with the anti-democratic and reactionary forces of the *Ossewa-Brandwag* and the Nationalists.

As for the attitude and policy of the Labour Party, it has forfeited all claims to be a progressive party, and, as the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party says, "these leaders have not only betrayed the principles of socialism and the causes of the working-class movement, they have also associated themselves in the most intimate relationship with the anti-democratic and reactionary section of the capitalist parties."

In spite of all this, the spirit of liberalism is not dead in South Africa. The heritage of the great fighters for freedom of the past, men and women like Thomas Pringle, Read and van der Kemp, the Schreiners, and Harriet Colenso, lives on. Above all, their struggle for justice and freedom finds a higher, better organised and more militant expression in the courageous work and challenging outlook of the men and women of the Communist Party of South Africa.

Communist Policy

The Indian people of South Africa have totally rejected the provisions of the Ghetto Act. They have determined to fight against it with all their might.

The Communist Party of South Africa upholds their decision, and pledges itself to give all support to them in the hard battles ahead.

We call upon all South Africans who believe in freedom and democracy, to render every aid to the Indian people in their struggle.

In view of the position of South African Indians, who are deprived of democratic citizenship rights in this, their own dear country, we fully endorse their right to take the action they have in appealing to the Government of India which has obligations towards Indians in South Africa, and through the Indian Government, to the United Nations Organisation.

But we would point out to the Indian people, as well as to all other South Africans of every race, that their battle for democracy is a common one. It is a

battle which affects our countrymen of all races. And it is a battle which must be won in South Africa itself.

The Communist Party has a message for all in this vital and momentous year, 1946. To all South Africans, African, Coloured and Indian, of Afrikaner, English or Jewish descent, we say there is only one road to a free, prosperous and happy future for our country. That is the road of equal rights for all and of domination by none; the road of friendship, peace and cooperation among all nationalities; the road of the Communist Party.

Every adult in our land must have the right to elect and to be elected to our Parliament, our Provincial Councils and our Municipalities. All must enjoy the right to freedom of movement without Pass Laws or Provincial barriers. Every child born in our land must have the right to education, to good nutrition, a happy environment and the opportunity to enter into any skilled trade, occupation or profession.

There must be no restriction directed against anybody on racial or colour grounds, to the free occupation and ownership of land or property, or the right to engage in trade or commerce.

All workers must have their living standards defended and their wages improved by the assistance of free trade unions, recognised equally for all irrespective of race.

And to all races must be given their rights as citizens to a good education, decent housing and sufficient food.

Only upon these great sound foundations may we build the better socialist South Africa of the future.

This is the road, the true road of South Africa; the road to Food, Jobs and Homes for all, the road to a great and proud future for our beloved country.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO TRADE UNIONS, PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATIONS, DEMOCRATS AND ANTI-FASCISTS, JUNE 10, 1946

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill has become law. The already so weak and feeble democratic structure of South Africa has received a

further blow and our country's prestige in the international field has dropped to an even lower level.

250,000 South Africans are threatened with cultural, moral and economic ruin because of the fact that their skin is not white. A ghetto life with all its miseries, hardships and degradation is in store for them.

In the Union Parliament - with the honourable exception of the three Native representatives - everyone, irrespective of party affiliation - in principle approved of this reactionary piece of legislation which could easily have been conceived by the former leaders of fascist Germany.

This further strengthening of reactionary and pro-fascist elements is of vital concern to all progressive and democratic forces in our country. They should realise that the continued enslavement and lowering of the living conditions of one section of our people is not only a gross injustice and does not only make a mockery of our so-called democracy. It also constitutes an immediate threat to the rights, freedom and economic well-being of all sections of the people because there is no knowing which one will be attacked next, should the interests of those who benefit from the colour bar in this country demand so. Yesterday it was the turn of the African, today it is the turn of the Indian, tomorrow it will be the turn of the Coloured, AND IT MIGHT VERY WELL BE THAT THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THE RIGHTS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WILL BE CURTAILED OR WHEN LAWS WILL BE PROMULGATED AGAINST OTHER RACIAL GROUPS IN OUR MIDST, AS FOR INSTANCE AGAINST THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.

However, it is still time to stop this dangerous development towards fascism - to sign on the dotted line for or against democracy.

The Indian community has unanimously decided to oppose this attack on their already so meagre rights. From the 13th June on, we will have begun our PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN which will be inaugurated by a mass meeting of Transvaal Indians on the 13th.

We appeal to all progressive organisations and individuals, to all trade unions and anti-fascist bodies, to send us a message of support for our meeting in order to assure us that we are not alone in our struggle, to assure us that other sections of the South African people too have understood the full implications of the attack which reactionary and anti-democratic forces are hurling at us.

We would also suggest that you should send a telegram of protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Law to the Acting Prime Minister, thereby adding your protest to ours.

Trusting that we will receive your message of support before our meeting on Thursday, 13th June and thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

(sd.) Y.M. DADOO
For Passive Resistance Council
Transvaal Indian Congress

TELEGRAM TO MAHATMA GANDHI, ON BEHALF OF THE JOINT PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL, ON ARREST OF THE FIRST BATCH OF PASSIVE RESISTERS, JUNE 1946[23]

CONSIDER POLICE ACTION AND ARREST FIRST VICTORY. SPIRIT OF RESISTERS EXCELLENT. THEIR NON-VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR UNDER EXTREME PROVOCATION AND ASSAULTS MAGNIFICENT. STRUGGLE CONTINUES. MORE AND MORE VOLUNTEERS WILL GO INTO ACTION ACCORDING TO PLAN. WE SHALL RESIST.

STATEMENT IN COURT, JUNE 1946[24]

(Dr. Dadoo was sentenced in June 1946, at the beginning of the passive resistance campaign, to three months` imprisonment with hard labour. He had been charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and pleaded guilty.)

Although I am pleading guilty against the charge I desire to make a statement to the Court in order to clarify the situation and explain my action.

I appear before the Court as a passive resister in response to the decision of the South African Indian Congress which totally opposes the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and resolved to carry out a Passive Resistance Struggle against the unjust Act.

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23 From: *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 84, page 499

24 From: Leaflet of the Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress (Flash collection), June 27, 1946, and *The Guardian*, Cape Town, July 4, 1946

It is in the carrying out of this decision for the removal of the difficulties of the Indian community and for the upholding of the honour of the Indians that we have launched upon this campaign by occupying a piece of land, land which was prohibited or restricted from Indian occupation by the new Asiatic Act.

In accordance with the code of the Passive Resistance we have committed a breach of the law in a passive and non-violent manner and are prepared to pay the penalty in full, but unfortunate incidents took place when there was organised hooliganism on the spot by mobs of Europeans. The Passive Resisters took no part in this at all but remained truthful to the rule of non-violence. We held to our duty without even raising a little finger in carrying out our struggle against this unjust, discriminatory and inhuman Act which we consider derogatory to the honour and dignity of the Indian community as a whole and to the Indian nation. This piece of legislation is against all the principles of justice, human decency and democracy. Even if, in the defiance of the Asiatic Act we are confronted with another law we shall carry on, for our purpose is not with this law.

Magistrate's Question

The Magistrate: "For what reasons are you not concerned with that other law?" (Riotous Assemblies Act).

Dr. Dadoo: "Because we are carrying out a campaign of Passive Resistance against the Ghetto Act and it is no fault of ours if the Government chooses to side-track the real issue and invoke the aid of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

"We shall continue carrying on the struggle against the Ghetto Act. Our struggle has the support and consent of the Indian people in South Africa, and is a struggle which has the widest support in India. We hope our action will show democratic-minded people all over the world that in discharging our duty as passive resisters, we are not only doing service to the Indian people, but that we are doing our duty to all true democrats and fighting for our rights in South Africa.

"To the Indian community I say that the struggle will be a hard one and a long one, but that should not daunt them; they should rally to the call and do nothing that will impair the self-respect and national honour of the Indian people. I hope they will continue their struggle with renewed vigour, but in a non-violent manner in keeping with their code of Passive Resistance and do what men and women have done in the war just concluded - a war that was fought for democracy and decency."

(Dr. Dadoo was then sentenced to three months` imprisonment with hard labour.)

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE WHILE AWAITING SENTENCE TO IMPRISONMENT IN THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN, JUNE 1946[25]

To my Indian brothers and sisters I give this parting message before being sentenced for opposing the obnoxious Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, which shall be known amongst our people as the "Ghetto Act."

I call upon you, every man and woman, to give whole-hearted support to the Passive Resistance Campaign which symbolises the struggle of the Indian people against the most vicious racial legislation in recent times.

This is but the beginning of the struggle. Dark and difficult days lie ahead and every Indian must place duty before self. History must record that in the greatest hour of trial, our people in this country were not found wanting in courage, duty, and devotion.

STATEMENT ON RELEASE FROM PRISON, SEPTEMBER 26, 1946[26]

I am glad to be in your midst after a brief incarceration of three months.

I am proud of the Indian people. The discomforts of prison life mattered little before the knowledge that the response of the Indian people to the call of Passive Resistance against the Ghetto Act and for the elementary rights of citizenship has been total and united. In the short period of three months over 700 brave men and women have suffered imprisonment and have sacrificed for the cause of our people. I am now informed that hundreds more are prepared for the call to duty.

The Indian people in South Africa although only a quarter of a million are making history. They are once again proving their determination to fight for their

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[25] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, July 8, 1946; and leaflet of the Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress (Flash collection), June 27, 1946.

[26] From: Press Release issued by the Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg

inalienable right to live as free, equal and self- respecting citizens of South Africa and they are throwing themselves into the struggle regardless of the cost in sorrow and suffering.

We look forward to the future with confidence and courage. The sacrifices of the Indian people symbolising their resistance are making their impressions already. Of the many positive features of the struggle the first is the total and united opposition of the community to the Asiatic Land and Indian Representation Act. The Government of South Africa miscalculated the determination of the Indian people. The Government has been confounded. Secondly the active participation of the Indian women, our brave sisters, indicates the depth of the political consciousness and readiness of the people to struggle rather than submit to Fascist practices. Thirdly the support from other sections of the non-European peoples and also from the genuine liberal section of the European population is an indication of the emergence of a new force in the political field of South Africa, fighting for democracy for all, for a great united and happy South Africa.

Our first objective is the United Nations Assembly. Our struggle has condemned as nothing else has done before, the fascist practices and colour oppression of the Union Government. The South African Government must answer for its criminal misdeeds at the bar of world opinion.

The South African Government is already feeling the pinch. The acute shortage of gunny bags has already created a serious situation. Our united efforts are proving effective. THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY MUST HEAR OUR CASE. We must continue without faltering and without flinching in our non-violent struggle of Passive Resistance. WE SHALL RESIST. THE GHETTO ACT MUST BE REPEALED. WE WILL VINDICATE OUR SELF-RESPECT AND THE HONOUR OF INDIA. WE SHALL CARRY ON.

SPEECH AT MASS WELCOME MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG ON RELEASE FROM PRISON, SEPTEMBER 29, 1946[27]

(The following is the speech by Dr. Dadoo at a huge meeting held to welcome recently released passive resisters, including Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo, Miss Zainab Asvat and the Reverend Michael Scott.)

Our struggle against racial discrimination is winning widespread support among all communities in this country.

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[27] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, October 7, 1946

Great South African European patriots like Rev. Scott and Miss Mary Barr are showing by their participation in the struggle and by suffering the rigours of imprisonment that not all Europeans in South Africa are a party to the oppressive and colour bar policy of the Union Government. Great Non-European patriots among the Coloured and African people are also enlisting to serve in the cause of freedom. This shows the growing support the Passive Resistance Campaign against the Ghetto Act is gaining from all sections of the South African population.

Gathering Momentum

Although our movement is still young and just gathering momentum our determined resistance is showing positive results in many directions.

In the first place the indictment of South Africa's crime in treating its Indian minority and the vast mass of the Non-European people in an unashamed and unabashed manner. Secondly, support from all over the world shows that the Union Government stands condemned in the eyes of world opinion, for even the Paris Peace Conference was not immune from its vibrations.

Relations with India

Since the passing of the Ghetto Act the relations between South Africa and India have deteriorated completely. The High Commissioner for India in South Africa has been recalled and trade sanctions are in full force. Gandhiji, who left us the heritage of a struggle in the form of passive resistance, is keenly interested in the progress of our campaign and has constantly sent messages of support and encouragement.

Mohamed Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has reaffirmed his and Muslim India's fullest support to the Passive Resistance struggle of the Indian community.

We are most gratified by and welcome the steps taken by the Interim Government in tightening up measures to make economic sanctions as complete and watertight as possible. We welcome Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's declaration of policy in relation to South Africa. The Union Government is already feeling the full impact of this policy. The shortage of gunny bags, oil seeds and textiles is becoming acutely felt by consumers and farmers alike. The naive attempt by the press to minimise the effects of sanctions cannot help to reassure the farmers who want gunny bags and consumers who want food commodities that these will be delivered to them.

United Nations Assembly

(Speaking of the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, Dr. Dadoo said:)

The day of the United Nations Assembly meeting is approaching nearer. We are awaiting with calm confidence the decision of the United Nations. We have, in spite of the Union Government's press propaganda to the contrary, a simple and straightforward case. We only require to place it concisely, concretely and truthfully before the Assembly to commend it to their sense of equity and democracy. We are fortified in our confidence by the knowledge that the Indian delegation will not allow any attempt by the South African Government to divert the attention of the Assembly from the main issue, that by denying elementary rights of citizenship to the Indian and Non-European peoples, by condemning them to live as helots in Ghettos and by driving the vast masses of them to the slaughter pole of the cheap labour policy, South Africa is guilty of flagrant contravention of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and is in fact practising fascism.

During the last three months since the beginning of the Passive Resistance struggle, a new awakening is perceptible among the Non-European masses. Recent events on the Rand leading to the strike of the African Mineworkers, the most ruthlessly oppressed section of the South African masses, are of great historic significance. The point is not that the African mineworkers were forced by Police violence and brutalities to give up the strike; the significant point is that they ever came out on strike.

A New Dawn

We are now witnessing the first glow of a new dawn for South Africa and a decisive turning point in her history. Our country is entering a period of struggle for democracy for all, for a great united and happy South Africa. We are at long last catching up with the march of history. We are now not far behind the masses of the peoples of Europe fighting for democratic peoples` governments and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

Non-European Unity

The struggle of the Indian and African people is welding unity and cooperation in action and we are forging the forces of democracy which alone can destroy fascist practices in our country.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO ORGANISATIONS CONCERNING THE ARREST OF MR. J. N. SINGH, NOVEMBER 9, 1946[28]

Since Tuesday 5th November 1946, Mr. J. N. Singh, the Secretary of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council and a member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress, has been detained at Marshall Square under the Immigrants Regulations Act of 1913. He appeared before the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this morning and his case has now been adjourned to Tuesday, 12th November 1946.

The only crime which Mr. Singh has committed is that HE IS AN INDIAN. Under the Immigration Law of 1913 South African Indians are denied the right of free movement within the Union. Mr. Singh was born in Natal. He is a South African born Indian, whose parents are South African born, but under this racist law he is treated as a foreigner and is not allowed to remain in the Transvaal.

This action against Mr. Singh is reminiscent of the actions taken under the Nazi regime in Germany where on racial grounds the freedom of movement was denied to some of the inhabitants of Germany. It is the task of all the people of South Africa who love democracy to protest against this action, for if democratic South Africans do not protest against racial measures, tomorrow similar laws will be extended to other sections of the South African population.

We, therefore, urge upon your organisation to send immediately a telegram to the Minister of the Interior, Pretoria, protesting at the arrest of Mr. Singh and demanding the repeal of that section of the Immigration Law which makes South African Indians foreigners in the land of their birth. We shall be much obliged if you will send us a copy of the telegram your organisation sends to the Minister.

Yours faithfully,

(sd.) Y. M. Dadoo
President
Transvaal Indian Congress

"THREE DOCTORS' PACT", MARCH 9, 1947

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[28] From: Press release of the Transvaal Indian Congress

"Joint Declaration of Cooperation" by Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, March 9, 1947

This Joint Meeting between the representatives of the African National Congress and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, having fully realised the urgency of cooperation between the Non-European peoples and other democratic forces for the attainment of basic human rights and full citizenship for all sections of the South African people, has resolved that a Joint Declaration of cooperation is imperative for the working out of a practical basis of cooperation between the national organisations of the Non-European peoples.

This Joint Meeting declares its sincerest conviction that for the future progress, goodwill, good race relations, and for the building of a united, greater and free South Africa, full franchise rights must be extended to all sections of the South African people, and to this end this Joint Meeting pledges the fullest cooperation between the African and Indian peoples and appeals to all democratic and freedom-loving citizens of South Africa to support fully and cooperate in this struggle for:

1) Full franchise.

2) Equal economic and industrial rights and opportunities and the recognition of African trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

3) The removal of ail land restrictions against Non-Europeans and the provision of adequate housing facilities for all Non-Europeans.

4) The extension of free and compulsory education to Non-Europeans.

5) Guaranteeing freedom of movement and the abolition of Pass Laws against the African people and the Provincial barriers against Indians.

6) And the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislations from the Union's statute book.

This Joint Meeting is therefore of the opinion that for the attainment of these objects it is urgently necessary that a vigorous campaign be immediately launched and that every effort be made to compel the Union Government to implement the United Nations' decisions and to treat the Non-European peoples in South Africa in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

This Joint Meeting further resolves to meet from time to time to implement this Declaration and to take active steps in proceeding with the campaign.

JOINT STATEMENT OF DR. YUSUF M. DADOO AND DR. G. M. NAICKER, MARCH 11, 1947[29]

(Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker, Presidents of Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, visited India in March 1947 to attend the Asian Relations Conference and meet Indian leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. They were given a farewell at a packed meeting at Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on March 10, 1947. They issued the following joint statement to the South African people on the eve of their departure on March 11, 1947.)

We carry with us the goodwill and the good wishes of the entire Indian community and the Non-European peoples, and the progressive elements among the Europeans to the people of India.

We are leaving the shores of South Africa at a critical and decisive phase in her history. The Smuts Government has shown a bankruptcy in leadership in dealing with the acute post-war problems which confront both the white and non-white populations The acute housing shortage has created a crying scandal. Thousands of homeless people amongst the Africans are forced to live in squatters' hell in sack shanties.

Fostering Race Antagonism

Instead of giving a strong lead on the decision of the United Nations, the Smuts Government is guilty of not only permitting but fostering race antagonism. This antagonism has begun to express itself in the boycott of Indian traders and the open propaganda of our vulgarly fascist bodies.

General Smuts is attempting to cover up the criminal failure of his Government to deal with the colour and post-war problems by riveting the attention of the people an the pomp and glamour of the Royal tour.

But this will be a temporary affair, and when the curtain goes down on the Royal visit, the chaos and confusion existing in South Africa will be exposed to the public gaze. Under the guise of the Royal visit, reactionaries in the Indian community are being rendered every assistance by the Union Government, with the sole purpose of attempting to divide the Indian people.

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[29] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, March 14, 1947

The Indian people must beware of this trap. We appeal to them to stand fast. Do not heed the counsel of despair. Render full support to the Passive Resistance Movement. Join up as volunteers. Help financially. History has entrusted you with the important task of being in the vanguard of the battle for democracy in South Africa.

Historic Meeting

The historic joint meeting last Sunday between representatives of the African National Congress, representing the African people of South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the Joint Declaration ensuing therefrom, have paved the way for greater and closer cooperation between the African and the Indian people.

We hope that ere long the Coloured community too will come in, into this great movement.

On to Freedom

We appeal to the Non-European people to come forward on the road to freedom. We appeal to all true democrats and men of goodwill in the European community to throw in their lot wholeheartedly on the side of progress. They can either through the extension of democratic rights to all South Africans go forward in step with the world democratic forces to a greater and happier South Africa and towards world peace or else allow the fascist forces in the country to lead us into racial antagonism, a totalitarian regime and war.

The battle for democracy is on!
On to Freedom!
Au Revoir.

"PROPOSED ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE": STATEMENT AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON RETURN FROM INDIA IN JUNE 1947[30]

From the tour of India by Dr. Naicker and myself which lasted over two months, we can say without hesitation that the Government and the people of India are keen to render the South African Indian community whatever assistance they can in their struggle for democratic rights and the upholding of their national honour. Despite the fact that India is at the moment engaged with the colossal problem of the transfer of power, there is hardly a single village in India which has not taken some interest in our Passive Resistance struggle.

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[30] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, June 6, 1947

The Government of India is preparing its report on the Indian question which she will present to the September session of the United Nations, but before making her report she is willing to go to the furthest extent in helping the South African Government to implement the United Nations resolution.

Negotiations Opened

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the head of the Interim Government has already taken the initiative in this respect and has written to General Smuts for the initiation of negotiations. But General Smuts has tried to side-track the issue by asking for the return of the Indian High Commissioner. In fact, General Smuts stated yesterday in the Senate that "it is quite impossible in a matter of this sort to conduct negotiations by correspondence. The only channel for negotiation is the Indian High Commissioner."

Correspondence not Enough

But it must be clear to all that besides the return of the High Commissioner, correspondence is not the only alternative form of negotiations. We have no doubt that Pandit Nehru did not have the channel of correspondence in mind when he rejected the offer to send back the High Commissioner.

Could we suggest to General Smuts that he could send a highly placed Government delegation to India, or alternatively ask the Indian Government to send one to South Africa? We can assure General Smuts that neither of these suggestions will be turned down by Pandit Nehru; in fact, we consider it to be the only right and proper method of communication.

Position of High Commissioner

We cannot understand the stubborn attitude taken up by the Prime Minister on the question of the return of the High Commissioner. The recall of the High Commissioner is a point in dispute resulting from the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, and his return will be largely dependent on the outcome of any negotiations which may take place between the two Governments on the basis of the United Nations resolution. General Smuts must now clearly state that his Government is ready for negotiations on the resolution of the United Nations.

Creation of Goodwill

We hope that General Smuts will reconsider his stand and that he will help in the creation of goodwill between South Africa and India and between the white man and Coloured races in order to build a future of peace and happiness for all.

He should realise that resurgent India and resurgent Asia will not tolerate the existing racial oppression of the Coloured people.

Let Smuts be Warned

We would like to warn General Smuts that it would be fatal for South Africa if he were to encourage the formation of a new body among the Indian people which has neither the support nor the backing of the community. We challenge the sponsors of the new body to prove that it has any standing with the Indian community.

MESSAGE ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE, JUNE 1947[31]

June 13, 1947 marks the first anniversary of the Passive Resistance struggle against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and the policy of colour discrimination that this Act embodies.

It has been a year in which the Indian people in this country have covered themselves with glory and honour by their example of courage and determination and by their deeds of heroism and sacrifices. They have added yet another glorious chapter of man struggling for freedom from time immemorial.

Faced with the deadly onslaught of the Government on its already rapidly dwindling rights and privileges, the Indian community resolved to resist and suffer rather than submit to ignominy and dishonour. The only asset the Indian people possessed was faith in the strength of their united stand, their preparedness to sacrifice and their ability to withstand the rigours of a struggle.

On this anniversary we record with pride the part played by Indian women in response to the call of resistance. They marched together with their menfolk with courage and determination to end racialism in South Africa. They have raised the struggle to greater and nobler heights.

From India has come a unanimous support for us and our struggle has made the question of racial oppression in South Africa a world question with the United Nations, representing world democratic opinion, declaring by majority vote in our favour.

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[31] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, June 12, 1947

In South Africa we have not acted as an isolated community. A year of resistance has seen Non-European cooperation nearer than ever before. We have entered into a period of active cooperation between the oppressed people for basic human rights.

The forward march of the Indian people and that of all the oppressed people in South Africa will go on. On this first anniversary of our great resistance movement let us pay tribute to those brave men and women resisters who have made possible the successes we have achieved. Let us pay tribute to those brave Indian traders who, when faced with the boycott movement and all the perils that went with the consequent racial propaganda, stood firm with courage and fortitude. Let us pay tribute to the African, Coloured and progressive European organisations that have stood with us.

Let us on this anniversary pledge to continue our noble struggle under the leadership of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses; let us reject totally the disruptive moves of the reactionaries; let us go forward in full cooperation with all Non-European sections and progressive Europeans for a democratic South Africa.

We Shall Resist!

"SMUTS REPUTED": JOINT STATEMENT OF DR. DADOO AND DR. NAICKER ON THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL SMUTS AND PANDIT NEHRU, AUGUST 1947[32]

We, the Presidents of the Natal and Transvaal Congresses, representing the overwhelming majority of the Indian community in both Provinces, welcome and fully support the stand taken by Pandit Nehru on behalf of South African Indians on the question of negotiations between India and South Africa.

We have implicit faith in both the Governments of India and Pakistan to champion our cause vigorously and adopt firm measures to obtain justice and democratic rights for South African Indians in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We reluctantly but justifiably deplore the attitude adopted by General Smuts in his letter of June 18 to Pandit Nehru. It is a deliberate misstatement of facts on the part of Smuts, who had full knowledge of the true position, to state: "Groups representing all classes of Indians are dissatisfied with the conduct of the affairs

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32 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, August 28, 1947

by the Natal Congress, whose leadership was under an ideological influence of which they disapproved and whose approach they consider harmful to Indian interests."

These are the facts:

1. The Natal Indian Congress can boast a membership of 35,000 out of a total of 228,000 Indians in Natal. The officials are elected at properly constituted public meetings and enjoy the fullest confidence of the overwhelming mass of Indians in Natal. These facts have been demonstrated at dozens of mass meetings attended by as many as 10,000 to l2,000 Indians who wholeheartedly endorsed the policy of Congress.

2. The struggle for democratic rights has never been influenced by ideological conceptions. The battle is waging against the racialist tendencies of the Government which denies Indians who are South African nationals: (a) the rights of citizenship; (b) freedom of movement; (e) freedom of residence; (d) freedom to purchase land; and (e) equality of opportunity in the economic and educational spheres.

The "group representing all classes" referred to by the Prime Minister is no other than a handful of discredited individuals styling themselves the Natal Indian Organisation. This so-called organisation, which claims to represent the views of the Indian people, came into being at a secret meeting a few months ago, behind closed doors guarded by officers of the C.I.D. supplied by the Government. This handful of disgruntled individuals danced to the tune of the Prime Minister and indulged in flirtations with him while delicate correspondence affecting the future of Indians was going on between the two Governments.

In Parliament, Smuts frankly admitted that he did not know how many Indians this "group representing all classes" represented.

In the Transvaal, where there is a population of 37,000 Indians, the Transvaal Indian Congress is the only organisation representing all sections of the Indians. Its officials, like those of the Natal Congress, are democratically elected at mass meetings attended by 10,000 out of the total of 37,000 persons, and the present policy enjoys the wholehearted support of the mass of the Indians. The leadership amongst Transvaal Indians remains unchallenged.

Yet Smuts has the impertinence to tell the Government of India that his obstinacy in refusing to hold discussions on the basis of the United Nations decision is backed by a considerable volume of responsible Indian opinion in South Africa.

We challenge this statement.

In his long career as a South African statesman, Smuts has stooped on many occasions to methods far from honourable, but his latest action in using the very name of the people concerned in support of his attempt to evade the decision of the World Assembly will remain the grossest misrepresentation ever made by the Prime Minister of a country.

"CALL FOR RENEWED STRUGGLE AGAINST GHETTO ACT": JOINT STATEMENT OF DR. DADOO AND DR. NAICKER ISSUED AFTER A MEETING OF THE JOINT PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 1947[33]

The Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, having given careful consideration to the present political situation affecting the Indian people of South Africa is of the view that a restatement of the position Is necessary in the light of recent developments.

Since the advent of the Indians in this country the first positive struggle to stem the tide of unjust and anti-Indian racial laws was the Passive Resistance Campaign of the 1906-1914 period under Mahatma Gandhi.

Futile Policy

The intervening period of 32 years has been characterised as a futile policy of hat-in-hand negotiations in defence of the fast-dwindling rights of the Indian people; a policy which has enabled the Union Government to introduce measure after measure of racially discriminative legislation culminating in the nationally ruinous "Ghetto Act" now strangulating Indian economic life, social progress and political aspirations.

Last year saw the beginning of the second Passive Resistance struggle.

For the last 17 months the Indian people of South Africa have waged with success a historic and heroic campaign. At the Gale Street plot they demonstrated their unalterable opposition to the Ghetto Act. The Union Government gaoled nearly 2,000 men and women. Hooliganism, wholesale arrests, harsh terms of imprisonment and organised boycott of Indian traders failed to crush the spirit and will of the Indian people. The policy of repression has not availed the Government. In its dilemma the Government has now resorted to non-arrest tactics. At Gale Street, Passive Resistance has won a victory.

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33 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, December 11, 1947

The intransigent attitude of the South African Government has compelled India to sever diplomatic relations, to apply economic sanctions and to indict South Africa before the United Nations.

Last year the United Nations condemned South Africa's racial policies. She was asked to report to the 1947 session the steps taken to obviate the complaint. South Africa did not implement the decision.

United Nations Decision Inviolate

That decision remains inviolate until upset by another two-thirds majority. This year the Assembly's decision, as expressed in the Indian resolution, though carried by a 31 votes to 19 majority, lacks the force of a binding decision, owing to a procedural technicality; it nevertheless constitutes a majority opinion of the United Nations. It called upon South Africa to convene a Round Table Conference between itself and the Governments of India and Pakistan. The Union Government must, therefore, note :

(a) That world opinion has not changed. As in the 1946 session, the 1947 session of the United Nations General Assembly has exposed it to universal condemnation. Not one delegate was found who could defend racial persecution in South Africa.

(b) That the most practical method by which measures may be inaugurated that could lead to a solution of the conflict remains a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa.

(c) That the responsibility for convening such a conference now rests upon South Africa. Failure to discharge this responsibility may not only lead to more emphatic action by the next Assembly of the United Nations but possibly invite measures even earlier by the 31 nations who voted for the resolution, and more particularly by the Asian peoples.

On the international plane and within South Africa, the struggle has made tremendous advances.

The Non-European peoples of South Africa have seen demonstrated the significance of non-violent resistance against the power and influence of a State based on white supremacy. But the Ghetto Act remains on the statute books of South Africa. Final victory has yet to be won.

No Rest

There can be no rest for the Indian people. Our faith and confidence in the courage and determination of the people remains as strong as ever. We shall occupy the Gale Street.

We shall occupy other areas. We shall adopt other methods of struggle. We shall continue to resist till our goal is reached.

"RESISTANCE OR DEATH": ADDRESS AT PUBLIC MEETING, JOHANNESBURG, JANUARY 1948[34]

(The meeting was held to welcome Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, delegate of the Joint Passive Resistance Council, on his return from the United Nations.)

Whilst conducting an historic struggle, the eyes of the Indian people were focussed on the General Assembly of the United Nations, particularly during the debate on the Indian question. The Indian people in common with the other oppressed peoples had expected the United Nations to take stern measures in order to uphold and implement the great and noble principles of human equality and opportunity consecrated in the Charter of the United Nations.

Vital Principle

The delegation of the Indian Government, ably assisted by the Pakistan delegation, put up a great fight on behalf of the Indian people of South Africa and indeed for a vital principle which affects the lives and future of millions of oppressed non-white peoples all over the globe, a principle on which depends the peace of the world.

Our hearts and affection go out to Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit - may she live long to serve the noblest cause in the world, the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden people. We would be failing in our duty if we did not pay our tribute to the whole of the Indian delegation, and Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan and the Pakistan delegation, for their yeoman and unforgettable services to the struggle for freedom and national emancipation of all peoples irrespective of race colour or creed.

We would also like to express our profound appreciation to those champions of true democracy, the Soviet Union and the democracies of Eastern Europe; to the countries of Asia and Africa who in the common struggle for freedom from

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34 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, January 8, 1948

imperialism and racialism stood four square behind us; and to all the 31 countries, big and small, who condemned the racialist policies of South Africa and supported the Indian resolution. It is well to remember that they constituted at a conservative estimate over 80 per cent of the total world population.

But in spite of this overwhelming support, a procedural technicality deprived India from obtaining the two-thirds majority of the General Assembly to make the Indian resolution a binding resolution. This resolution merely sought to implement the Assembly resolution of 1946, by calling upon South Africa, India, and Pakistan to meet at a Round Table Conference.

Outrageous Fascist Policy of South Africa

Although the Assembly failed to pass the resolution by the required two-thirds vote to make it binding, the fact remains that the Indian resolution obtained a very large majority. Moreover, not a single country could be found to defend the outrageous racialist and fascist policy of the South African Government.

If the background and circumstances of this year's General Assembly are taken into consideration, then the majority of 31 votes against 19 for the Indian resolution assumes an important significance.

An understanding of the background of the Assembly's discussions is necessary in order to obtain a clear picture and perspective of the whole international situation through which the world is passing at the present moments and it is more necessary in order to understand the outcome of the United Nations debate on the Indian and South West African issues so that we may be enabled to plan properly for the future in the hard, difficult struggle for basic democratic rights which lies ahead of us and the Non-European peoples of South Africa.

By the continued efforts and sacrifices of the common man, both white and non-white, the evil hordes of the fascists were defeated on the battlefields of Asia and Africa; and the imperialist Powers who had held in subjection vast territories and millions of people for two centuries and more emerged weaker and faced the determined onslaught of oppressed peoples demanding and fighting for the inviolable right to determine their own destiny in their own way.

Spirit of Resurgence

It was in this spirit of resurgence and freedom that the first Assembly of the United Nations met in 1946 and it demonstrated its will to secure freedom for all and maintain world peace by removing all those causes which led to war.

But the imperialists, faced with the disintegration of their stranglehold over the vast colonial empire and faced with growing economic crisis at home, have re-grouped themselves into the notorious Anglo-American bloc.

This reactionary bloc has embarked on a world-wide war-mongering campaign and, by means of dollar diplomacy and political methods of coercion and intimidation, is attempting to intervene in the affairs of other countries and by its world expansionist policy is trying to stop the forward march of the world towards greater democracy and progress.

It was this bloc which spared no efforts to turn the United Nations into an instrument of its policy, and South Africa has openly and unashamedly associated herself with this bloc.

It is significant to note that this bloc played no unimportant part in getting various delegations to vote against the Indian resolution. It is an open secret that the British Commonwealth members of the United Nations, minus the Dominions of India and Pakistan, decided as a bloc to canvass among the delegations to vote against the Indian resolution.

But despite the machinations and intrigues of the Anglo-American bloc, 31 nations stood firmly against racial discrimination and in favour of the Indian resolution.

In the words of Mrs. Pandit:

> "My delegation had hoped once again that the nations of the world would give a clear verdict against racial discrimination, but the fact that the Indian resolution failed to get the two-thirds majority must not be regarded as a failure."

An International Issue

General Smuts and his Government can find little or no consolation in the outcome of the United Nations decision. The world condemns the Union Government's policy; Asia and the non-white population of Africa are no longer willing to tolerate it. The Indian question in South Africa has now become an international issue of the first magnitude and Mrs. Pandit said in her press statement: "The cause we represent is far-reaching in its implications and the question of the Indians in South Africa is merely a symbol of a much bigger issue which will sooner or later challenge the attention of the world in a manner which will then brook no denial."

The importance of this fact, however distasteful it may be for them, has dawned on General Smuts and Mr. H. G. Lawrence, the leader of the South African Government's delegation at the United Nations. For all the Smuts horses and all the Smuts men couldn't prop up racialism again.

The whole policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Smuts Government has also raised an issue of far-reaching importance as far as the future of the British Commonwealth is concerned.

Can the two Dominions of India and Pakistan remain in the British Commonwealth whilst their kith and kin in South Africa are subjected to humiliation and injustice? The responsibility clearly rests on the shoulders of South Africa.

In the international field a great struggle has unloosened itself between the forces of democracy and progress on the one hand and the evil forces of reaction and imperialism on the other. It is this struggle, carried on by the masses within each individual country for progress and democracy, which will to a large extent determine the future of the United Nations as an organisation for the maintenance of democratic world peace.

East Africa an Arsenal

In the imperialist strategy for world domination, the continent of Africa assumes an important position. This continent is being prepared as a strong military base. East Africa has already become an arsenal for the withdrawing of British forces from the Middle East and Asia. The recent visit of Field Marshal Montgomery is also not without significance in this respect.

This sinister plan of imperialism places a great responsibility on the masses of the exploited and oppressed peoples and on their national movements on the continent of Africa. Will they rise to the occasion? Now is the time...

We have had a clear call from the leaders of India and Pakistan to stretch out a helping hand to our fellow African citizens and work in unison with them in our mutual task of bringing freedom to the oppressed non-white peoples of this continent.

Untold Harm

The stubborn and intransigent attitude of General Smuts, in attempting to put into operation the Ghetto Act (the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946) and in refusing to abide by the decision of the United Nations, is doing untold harm to South Africa and to South Africans of all races and colours.

By taking upon himself to pilot the Act through Parliament, he invited the Indian Government to recall the High Commissioner and impose trade sanctions. There is no use denying the fact that the shortage of grain bags due to the trade sanctions is having a very serious effect on the economic life of South Africa. In spite of all the efforts of the Union Government to substitute other materials, the

transport of food and grain from the farm to the town remains a serious problem. The only sensible thing for General Smuts to do is to make every effort compatible with the dignity of both South Africa and India, and in terms of the United Nations decision of last year, to settle the dispute.

Whilst General Smuts is fiddling with this grave issue, the farmers and the people of South Africa are suffering. It is an outrage on the people, both white and non-white.

Difficulties of Farmers

We can get the gunny bags--we can have trade with India and Pakistan. We can remove the serious difficulties confronting the farmers, provided General Smuts and his Government act in earnest and with promptitude by agreeing to a Round Table Conference on a basis satisfactory to and compatible with the dignity of the three governments concerned.

In the interest of the farmers and the consumers, I make this public plea to General Smuts to have a Round Table Conference arranged before the next harvest sets in. We say to General Smuts: "Save the farmers in time: otherwise you and your Government will be responsible for their plight."

India has time and again shown her willingness to meet at a Round Table Conference provided the basis of such a Conference is just and honourable. The responsibility is now of the Smuts Government.

Much has been said of the forthcoming General Elections and it has been used as a pretext by the Smuts Government to do nothing before the elections are held. These delaying tactics can do nobody any good. They can only aggravate the economic difficulty and prolong the dispute with India and Pakistan.

Ours is a struggle for justice and freedom, ours is a struggle for human rights, ours is a struggle not directed against a section of a community and, therefore, we are desirous as far as it is possible to solve this question in a peaceful and amicable manner.

But this spirit of conciliation on our pert must not be taken as a sign of weakness - it is merely an earnest of our determination to remove all forms of discrimination which threaten racial goodwill and understanding and deny fundamental human rights to non-white sections of the population.

We therefore welcome the recent statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly in which he assured the House: "We shall not falter in our resolve to secure justice for Indians in South Africa, neither in our desire to achieve this object by methods which are consistent with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter."

We are profoundly thankful to India and Pakistan for maintaining the trade sanctions for as long as it is necessary in order to bring the South African Government to its senses. This policy of sanctions imposed by India at such great sacrifice to herself, is welcomed by the South African Indian community.

The Indian people stand in a much stronger position today than they did when the Ghetto Bill was introduced in Parliament during the early part of 1946. In the intervening period of 18 months the Indian people of South Africa have written a glorious chapter in the history of the struggle of mankind for freedom. Our people gave their all - the community stood united - 2,000 gallant men and women suffered imprisonment.

A New Spirit

We have by our determined Passive Resistance struggle infused a new spirit into the minds of the Non-European people. The struggle called a halt to the disastrous policy of cap-in-hand compromise followed by a handful of reactionaries in our midst after the departure of Mahatma Gandhi from the shores of this country. For the first time in the past 32 years, the Government of the day finds that despite an act of Parliament it is unable to carry out its policy of segregation. The determined opposition of the Indian people made the Ghetto Act inoperable in a large and effective manner.

The struggle strengthened the hands of India in her great efforts to fight for the status and honour of her countrymen abroad particularly in South Africa.

The struggle has lifted the whole of the Indian question and the policy of racial discrimination of the Union Government from the domain of domestic affairs into the arena of international concern and judgement with the eyes of oppressed humanity focussed on what has become a symbol of their own struggle for freedom and national emancipation.

Smuts` Attitude

The struggle has brought the possibility of a Round Table Conference nearer realisation. In this respect we recall the attitude of General Smuts when a large and representative delegation of the South African Indian Congress, assembled in Conference, interviewed him in February of last year. He rejected outright the plea for a Round Table Conference on the pretext that it would constitute an interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa.

Since then South Africa has been condemned by the United Nations and if South Africa today thinks in terms of a Round Table Conference it is primarily due to the united resistance struggle of the Indian people.

The Government left no stone unturned to break the back of the struggle by attempting to divide the Indian people. Many methods were employed, but they did not avail the Smuts Government. The Natal Indian Organisation, although boosted up by the press, failed to make any headway. In the Transvaal the handful of reactionaries could not even form a mushroom organisation.

Danger on the Horizon

But today the danger is beginning to loom on the horizon. Only recently a few discredited individuals, not more than 25 in number, got together in a private house and formed the Transvaal Indian Organisation. We are not concerned with such puny organisations, but it is our duty to warn the Indian people against their reactionary and suicidal policy. The best commentary on their policy is the fact that none other than the very Mr. H. G. Lawrence who defended South Africa's repugnant racialist policy at the United Nations, will open their "conference on January 11, 1948, in Durban. These reactionaries are attempting to subserve the policy of the Government by asking the Indian people to accept townships and locations, in other words to accept segregated areas. Any such move on the part of the Indian people will lead them to disaster. It will constitute a betrayal of the stand of India and Pakistan for our cause. It will be a gross betrayal of the support given by 31 nations of the world. Acceptance of the Ghetto Act or its implications would drive the Indian traders out of business and the workers from their fields of livelihood and concentrate them to segregated areas to rot in poverty and slums. We warn the Indian people against these dangers. We must ignore these ignoble attempts and rally behind the Natal and Transvaal Congresses and the Passive Resistance movement.

Crucial Question

The crucial question before us is whether we should give up the struggle and follow the path of ruin - or to continue the struggle and make use of the strong position in which we find ourselves today.

The Joint Passive Resistance Council after prolonged discussions and weighty considerations has come to the decision that the vital interests of the community dictate that the struggle should be not only continued but intensified. Plans are being prepared for the extension and intensification of the Passive Resistance struggle.

We call upon the Indian people to stand united. We call upon them to exert every ounce of energy to help the struggle in every possible way. With confidence in our united stand and implicit faith in our determination to win through, we should reject all moves to enter into dishonourable compromises.

No Alternative

Resistance or death. There is no other alternative. Submission to the policy of the Government will only strengthen the hands of the extreme racialists and fascist forces within South Africa to make further inroads into the already meagre rights of the Non-White people, with the ultimate aim of destroying all vestiges of democracy.

The danger could be averted only by the extension of the full franchise to all sections of the South African population. The demand for the franchise becomes the order of the day. We must fight for it - we must attain it - or else allow South Africa to slip back to the dark days of serfdom.

We have India and Pakistan behind us. We have the moral support of the democracy-loving peoples of the world behind us. We have 8,000,000 allies in South Africa to fight with us in the common struggle. We have European democrats, although few in number, but determined in spirit, to stand with us in order to save South Africa from a catastrophic end.

We shall resist! Long live Resistance!

"HIS SPIRIT LIVES ON": TRIBUTE TO MAHATMA GANDHI, JANUARY 1948[35]

Millions of people have come to revere Gandhi as Mahatma, "The Great Soul", and to the struggling masses of India he endeared himself as Bapu, "The Father of the Nation."

This small man with the frail physique, a winning smile and a personality which breathed love and affection, found a niche in the hearts of the teeming millions of India's peasants and toilers, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Calcutta.

Symbol of Liberation

He became their teacher and guide, their symbol and hope of liberation from serfdom and bondage.

He won the reverence of the people by the simplicity and austerity of his life; and by his infinite and immeasurable faith and confidence he moved the masses to break away from fear and oppression; to undergo self-suffering and sacrifice that they might achieve emancipation and freedom. This faith in the masses can best

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35 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, February 6, 1948

be said in his own words: "If the Congress is to be what it ought to be, something must be done to enable it to touch the hearts of the masses and a new and dynamic force must be brought into play."

This faith in the masses was amply justified, for during the years of struggle it sustained him and ultimately brought about the transfer of power from British into Indian hands on August 15, 1947.

Mahatma Gandhi was not only the "Spirit of India" but he was also the torchbearer of liberation to all the disenfranchised, enslaved communities of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Epic Struggles in South Africa

We in South Africa remember with pride that it was here that the struggles which were later to become his whole life were commenced. It was here in South Africa that his epic struggles for the emancipation of his people were begun. It was here in South Africa that the first inklings of democratic rights were won; and it was to South Africa that he left his great weapon of Passive Resistance to vindicate our honour and lead us to freedom. Even absorbed as he was in the greater struggle in India, his interest and support for our cause remained unabated. The plight of the Indian people in South Africa was a matter of grave concern to him and he was at all times willing to guide and assist us.

At no time was his voice and advice clearer to us than in the past twenty months of struggle against the Ghetto Act. I shall never forget his words to Dr. Naicker and myself when, despite the heavy call on his time, he put all work aside to discuss with us the South African Indian question. "Your struggle will be a long and arduous one. Few or many, the struggle must go on. The sacrifices you will be called upon to make will be heavy and you must be prepared for them."

It is significant to note that the last political utterance he made before his death was on the new phase of the struggle, the crossing of the border from Natal into the Transvaal.

Mahatma Gandhi is no more.

Gandhi's Spirit Lives On

We mourn for him. The world mourns for him.

With his passing away our responsibilities become the greater. The most fitting homage that millions of sons and daughters of India can pay to him at this hour is to carry forward the cause for which he lived and died; to dedicate themselves to the task of exterminating the vice of communal hatred and dissension and to restore communal peace and harmony, so that the freedom

which Gandhiji helped to obtain can become a living reality and the greatest monument to his life.

The greatest homage that we in South Africa can pay to his memory is to further the great Passive Resistance struggle which we have undertaken against injustice and racial discrimination and for the vindication of our self-respect and honour as citizens of South Africa.

Therefore, we dedicate ourselves with renewed confidence and determination to the cause of universal peace and equality which were the guiding principles of Mahatma Gandhi's life.

Gandhiji is dead. But his spirit lives in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving people.

"BAPU": REMINISCENCES OF MAHATMA GANDHI, FEBRUARY 1948[36]

His laughter - so childlike, so serene -- so full of human warmth and understanding, still rings in my ears.

It was in Patna that I heard it for the first time. It was during Dr. Naicker's and my visit to India almost a year ago. It happened thus. We were sleeping out in the open, 'neath a clear starry night, on the lawn of Dr. Mahmud's residence close to the banks of the Ganges. Viewing it from the lawn one was struck by the awe and majesty of the mighty oceanic river as she elegantly meandered on her life-sustaining mission into the Bay of Bengal.

On that particular night, not many feet from where we slept, there lay on an Indian peasant bed, Bapu, the soul of India's freedom.

While the Ganges, the life-stream of India and its millions, flowed quietly in the dark, this grassy piece of Indian soil on its bank held demurely within its embrace one of the greatest moulders of Indian history.

Just before sunrise, I was awakened from my sound slumber by ripples of laughter. I put out my head from underneath a hand-woven khadi bed sheet which I was using as a covering and lo! what did I behold! Bapu, with a staff in one hand: and the other resting securely on the shoulder of a devotee, just about to begin his daily morning walk. He stood in front of my bed and laughed heartily - a laugh which was all his own. And then I heard him say: "Are you still sleeping, my son - don't worry - go on sleeping." And he went on his way.

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36 From *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, February 13, 1948

His laughter will not be heard again. It has been silenced by the bullets of a mad man. But the reverberations of his laughter will not cease to ring in my ears, as I am sure, it will not, in the ears of all those who had the privilege of being in his intimate company.

His laughter was the embodiment of India's will to freedom, of the hope of the countless millions of peasants and toilers for a better life, of the desire of the common man everywhere for peace.

Bapu is dead. He gave his life's blood for his people's happiness. It was spilled on the road of India's freedom which he, with his sublime spirit and superhuman strength, had blown into the rock of British imperialism.

His laughter will never again issue forth from his toothless ascetic mouth. But the characteristics of his laughter have not gone with him. They are repeated a million-fold in the simple folk of India, the children of the Ganges, from whom he sprang and of whom he was a part. Bapu's laughter is a laughter of a people, which at long last has stepped across Freedom's threshold.

I hope that his laughter, the laughter of universal goodwill and brotherhood, will help to dissipate the clouds of communal dissension which have gathered on the Indian horizon and transcending above its confines pervade the world sorely in need of peace.

REPLY TO SMUTS' STATEMENT ON INEQUALITY OF RACES: PRESS STATEMENT, FEBRUARY 1948[37]

(In February 1948, General Smuts made a statement in Parliament that he did not recognise the principles of equality between races. This statement provoked sharp criticism from the President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr. Dadoo, who in a press statement said the following).

This statement of the Prime Minister does not bring any credit to the international reputation of General Smuts nor does it place our country in favourable light among democratic nations.

It flays wide open the covering of hypocrisy with which the whole concept of the British Commonwealth of Nations is bound. The concept of the British

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[37] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, February 13, 1948

Commonwealth of Nations, as enunciated by General Smuts himself, of being a voluntary association of nations of equal status bound by common loyalty to the Crown - a principle towards which, we are told, every British Dominion is gradually advancing, will certainly have serious repercussions as a result of General Smuts' statement.

It raises a question of fundamental importance as to whether the non-white peoples of the Commonwealth who constitute an overwhelming majority of its population, can with honour and self-respect remain within a Commonwealth wherein there is inequality between white and non-white. As it is, in Commonwealth relations, white South Africa will have to contend with three non-white governed Dominions of Pakistan, India and Ceylon.

The one-time British possession, Burma, which had the choice of remaining within or without the British Commonwealth of Nations, decided to break away completely from British and Commonwealth connections.

The Prime Minister's statement goes to emphasise the wisdom of the Burmese decision. It poses a challenging problem before India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whether they could remain within an association of nations whose constituent member preaches and practises the theory of racial superiority and flatly refuses to recognise the equality of races, a fundamental concept to which the nations of the world, including South Africa, have pledged by becoming signatories to the United Nations Charter.

General Smuts has recently declared his willingness to meet India and Pakistan at a Round Table Conference to discuss the South African Indian question. General Smuts should realise that he cannot expect to sit with India and Pakistan on a basis of inequality of status. He would do well to recall Mahatma Gandhi's last declaration on South Africa wherein he stated: "India and South Africa now enjoy an equal independent status in the British Commonwealth. The fact that one party is white and the other brown should not be the cause of any dispute."

STATEMENT IN COURT BY DR. DADOO AND DR. G. M. NAICKER, WHEN CHARGED WITH AIDING AND ABETTING UNDER THE IMMIGRANTS REGULATION ACT OF 1913, FEBRUARY 26, 1948[38]

Your Worship,

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38 The statement was read by Dr. Naicker in the Court.

We are charged with the offence of contravening Section 20 (r) of the Act No. 22 of 1913 in that we did wrongfully and unlawfully aid or abet certain Asiatic persons in entering the Province of the Transvaal from Natal knowing that the said persons were prohibited in terms of Section 4 (a) read with the Minister's Minutes of the 1st August, 1913, from so entering.

We would like to deal first with the Minister's Minute of the 1st August, 1913.

It is our submission to the Court that the said Minute which deems the entire Indian community on economic grounds to be unsuited to the requirements of any particular province of the Union is not in keeping with the spirit, if not the letter, of the said Section 4 (a) of the Act No. 22 of 1913. It is inconceivable that the legislators in empowering the Minister to deem "any person or class of persons on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited" could have in mind deeming a whole community with varying economic groupings or differing habits of life to be unsuited. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the then Minister exceeded his powers in deeming the whole Indian community to be unsuited. In this contention we are fortified by the dissenting judgement of the learned Justice Rose-Innes in the case of Rex vs Padsha (A.D.) 1923.

Or alternatively, we submit Your Worship, that if any such grounds existed in the year 1913, no such grounds exist in this year 1948. During the passage of thirty-five years, since the Deeming Order was issued by the Minister, the Indian community of South Africa, despite the very limited field of opportunity allowed it by scores of restrictive laws, has made an officially recognised contribution to the economic development of this country.

In this regard, the Union Government in the Agreement concluded with the Government of India in the year 1927, known as the Cape Town Agreement, "recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union are prepared to conform to Western standards of life, should be enabled to do so." By virtue of these recognitions, the Minister's Minute of 1913 is rendered obsolete and out- of-date and can have no bearing today on the intention of the legislators in framing sub-section 4 (a) of the said Act.

Now returning to the charge of aiding and abetting, we submit, Your Worship, that our only offence is that of putting into practical effect the assertion of the Union Prime Minister, General Smuts, made so forcefully before the 1946 session of the United Nations Assembly, that South African Indians are Union nationals. This assertion was reiterated by the Minister of Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, at the 1947 session. If we are Union nationals, then it is but reasonable and in accordance with natural justice to exercise the most elementary right of citizenship, that of freedom of movement within the boundaries of one's country of birth. Any denial of such basic human rights would only make a mockery of democracy and democratic principles.

The crossing of the Provincial borders in wilful defiance of Act 22 of 1913 constitutes the second phase of the Passive Resistance struggle which is being conducted by the Indian community under the aegis of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, the Ghetto Act.

During the last 20 months over two thousand gallant men and women resisters of all races have courted imprisonment. They preferred to suffer the rigours of gaol life rather than submit to unjust and undemocratic laws.

Your Worship, it is in this great cause and noble struggle that we call upon volunteers to cross the border and bear the penalty of the law. We consider it an honour to do so.

The Passive Resistance struggle which we are conducting is based on truth and non-violence. It is associated with the name of one of the greatest men of all time, Mahatma Gandhi, on whose death in tragic circumstances just a few weeks ago, the whole world wept. Among the millions of men who paid their last tribute to this great soul was Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa.

Mahatma Gandhi was the father of our struggle. Gandhiji too defied the unjust laws of South Africa and suffered imprisonment during the 1906-1914 Passive Resistance Campaign.

This is the man whom Field Marshal Smuts referred to as a "Prince among men." This is the man - the pilot of India's march to freedom - who is the source of inspiration of our just struggle for democratic rights in South Africa.

This struggle of the Indian community against the Ghetto Act of 1946, against the provincial barriers and against racial discrimination of all kinds is part and parcel of the struggle of the whole non-European and democracy-loving peoples of South Africa to turn this country into a genuine democratic State in which our multi-racial population will live and work in harmony.

It is in view of these considerations that we are pleading guilty to the charge. We are willing to bear the full penalty of the law. Our bodies may be incarcerated but our spirits cannot be crushed. It is the spirit of freedom which lives in the hearts of the oppressed. It is the spirit which seeks to do away with racial discrimination and *herrenvolkism*. It is the spirit - deep-rooted in the heart of every non-European, generating the urge for a better life. It is the spirit that alone can deliver the people from colour bondage in South Africa and make this land a happier place for the generations to come.

WE SHALL RESIST !

FAREWELL SPEECH ON EVE OF IMPRISONMENT, FEBRUARY 29, 1948[39]

(Dr. Dadoo, Dr. G. M. Naicker, Manilal Gandhi and Sundra Pillai were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment each for their leadership of the Passive Resistance Movement. The following is the report on Dr. Dadoo's speech at a meeting in Johannesburg on February 29, 1948 on the eve of his imprisonment.)

When Dr. Dadoo rose to speak on Sunday at the great solidarity meeting in his honour held in Johannesburg, the huge crowd rose with him shouting "We shall Resist" and "Long Live Drs. Dadoo and Naicker". The Non-European people of the Transvaal pledged to him their unqualified and unstinting support.

In dealing with the second phase of the resistance struggle and the summonses served on him, Dr. Naicker, Manilal Gandhi and Sundra Pillay, he said, "The Joint Passive Resistance Council has unanimously decided that all the four accused should plead guilty to the charge. This is in keeping with the tenets of Passive Resistance. We have no quarrel with the administrators of the law. Our fight is against the lawmakers of South Africa - the Parliament and the Government of the land, Our only crime is that we are putting into practice what our Prime Minister preached before the United Nations Assembly. He claimed before the world's assembly that South African Indians were Union nationals. How hollow and baseless this claim is has been amply demonstrated by the stern action of the Government against the resisters in the present phase of the struggle. These brave resisters, in crossing the Provincial borders, are merely exercising their inalienable and most elementary right of citizenship. We are paying the penalty of claiming to be Union nationals. In the eyes of South African law we may be looked upon as lawbreakers, but the world at large will condemn the lawmakers of South Africa.

Dr. Dadoo then went on to deal with the claim of the rulers that South Africa is a democratic State governed by Parliament elected by the people and a Government responsible to the people. "By the constitution of the land 20 per cent of the population is vested with the power of life and death over 80 per cent of the people, This is not democracy; this is rank *herrenvolkism* and savours of fascism. The inevitable consequence of such denial of democratic rights to sections of the people is to turn the State into a police State. The greater the attempt at repression, the greater becomes the resentment of the oppressed. As the great national bard of India Rabindranath Tagore points out in one of his poems:
The more their eyes redden with rage,
the more our eyes open,

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[39] From *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, March 5, 1948

The more they tighten their chains
the more the chains loosen."

"On the other hand, greater is the tendency among the *herrenvolk* to assume more and more authoritarian power and to resort to fascist methods."

Appeasing Nazi Elements

Dr. Dadoo went on to trace how successive laws affecting the African and Indian people have led to police rule in the case of the Africans and to the Ghetto Act of 1946 in the case of the Indian people. "Where does such a process stop? What are the oppressed to do?" he asked.

Dr. Dadoo alleged that the whole policy of the Union Government in suppressing the legitimate demands of the Indian and other oppressed peoples for natural justice and elementary democratic rights was aimed at appeasing the extreme racial and Nazi elements in the country.

"Today the Government is in a dilemma. It realises that world public opinion is not favourable to South Africa, It recognises that by taking action against the resisters this feeling of hostility existing in the outside world is liable to be further aggravated. The government is also aware that the continuation of the dispute with India and Pakistan threatens to disrupt seriously and beyond repair Commonwealth relationship. But at the same time the Government is not prepared to set aside its policy of appeasing the *herrenvolk*. The Government, therefore, is seeking to get out of the quandary by taking stern action against the resisters and by attempting to split the united stand and struggle of the Indian people. It was with this aim in mind that Mr. Lawrence, the Minister of Interior, said in Parliament that the Passive Resistance Movement was not a spontaneous effort of the Indian people, but that it was instigated by a few individuals motivated by a foreign ideology.

"We in the Passive Resistance movement have no desire to make exaggerated claims. We prefer to stick to truth which is our guiding principle."

Solidarity with Struggle

Dr. Dadoo showed how during the last twenty months the Indian people have demonstrated their support and solidarity for the struggle, and how over two thousand brave men and women voluntarily suffered varying terms of imprisonment in the jails of South Africa.

"The operation of the Ghetto Act has been virtually brought to a standstill by the united and total opposition of the Indian people.

"In this new phase too the people are solidly standing behind us. Your presence here in large numbers, as well as texts of messages of solidarity which we have received from far and wide, is but an indication of the spontaneous urge of our people to lend every possible support to our righteous cause and just struggle.

"Whether we are instigators as Mr. Lawrence wants to make us out - or whether we are loyally carrying out our responsibilities of leadership entrusted to us by the will and the mandate of the people, the course and progress of the struggle alone will show.

"We are servants of the people; we have dedicated our lives to the freedom struggles of the oppressed; we have devoted our time and energy to the great cause of transforming our country, South Africa, into a genuine democratic State in which our multi-racial population will live and work in harmony and on a basis of equality in a progressive State. We are prepared to offer the supreme sacrifice if needs be. There can be no defeat for those who struggle for a just cause,

"But for the successful prosecution of our present struggle a great and heavy responsibility rests on your shoulders. Whether the struggle is to be of long or short duration will depend in a large measure on the degree of unity we are able to maintain within our ranks. The Government, as I said before, is attempting to split our movement, but so far it has not met with any tangible success."

Smuts-sponsored Goodwill Mission

Referring to the delegation of the newly-formed Natal and Transvaal Organisations which was received by the Prime Minister, Dr. Dadoo said:

"Through this delegation the Government has announced its willingness to meet the Governments of India and Pakistan at a Round Table Conference. General Smuts has even gone further and has sponsored a 'goodwill mission` from these newly-formed bodies to proceed to India and Pakistan.

"What is the master plan behind this ostensibly conciliatory manoeuvre of the South African Government? If it is a question of a Round Table Conference then we are the first ones to welcome such a move provided of course, that it is compatible with the dignity of the newly acquired status of India and Pakistan. We are entitled to know from the Union Government the basis on which such tripartite talks will take place. Until such time as General Smuts makes a direct approach to the Governments of India and Pakistan, the proposal for a Round Table Conference must of necessity remain outside the realm of practical possibility.

Government's Death Trap

"In the meantime, however, the Union Government is trying to use this vague and abstract proposal to win the cooperation of the Indian people for the purpose of making the Ghetto Act work. Feverish attempts are being made by the Asiatic Land Tenure Board, which has been set up in terms of the Ghetto Act, to obtain the approval of the local Indian community throughout Natal and the Transvaal in the setting aside of separate townships and areas for the Indian people. In this way will not only the operation of the Ghetto Act become a *fait accompli* but the acquiescence of the Indian people will be used by the Government to remove the fundamental and important question of land and occupation rights from the agenda of the Round Table Conference when it takes place. My warning to the people is - beware of this death trap."

The General Election

The forthcoming General Election was the next question commented upon. "We have no say," said Dr. Dadoo, "in the election of Parliament. But the Government has provided in terms of the Ghetto Act for the election of three European representatives to Parliament by a restricted and qualified number of Indian voters on a communal roll. This provision is not only unjust but adds insult to injury. It has been rejected in toto by the entire Indian community and I am confident that not a single Indian will be found who will put his name on the communal rolls if and when they are compiled. The degree of opposition to the communal representation has been clearly manifested by the complete inability of the Government to put into effect the section dealing with representation in the Ghetto Act."

Appeal to Indians

In concluding his speech Dr. Dadoo said;

"On the eve of my departure to become His Majesty's guest, my appeal to the Indian people of the Transvaal is to stand solidly behind the Transvaal Indian Congress and its policy and continue their wholehearted support for our great Passive Resistance struggle.

"The Transvaal Passive Resistance Council has unanimously elected Mr. Nana Sita to act in my place during my absence. Mr. Nana Sita's devotion to the cause and his able leadership is known to all. I have no doubt that you will render him full support as you have done to me. Whilst Mr. Sita is away in Rhodesia I have great pleasure in nominating Mr. T. N. Naidoo to act as the Chairman of the Council.

"The struggle will be a difficult and trying one - it will call for all your enthusiasm and determination - some of us may fall by the wayside but I am confident that the overwhelming majority of our people will not fail the struggle.

"I go to prison with an easy mind knowing that your support will not flag and having implicit faith in the masses of the people. We have broken a pass law which affects our people, but there are many pass and permit laws which affect four-fifths of our population - the African people. They too are with us in the struggle - they too will carry on the fight against racial discrimination and for democratic rights.

India and Pakistan with us

"The freedom-loving people of the world are with us too. India under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will always stand behind us. That great champion of our cause, the Father of our Struggle, Mahatma Gandhi, is no more with us. We shall miss his precious advice, guidance and constant attention, It is a great and grievous loss but we are fortunate in having a worthy successor in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whom we have accepted in the Resistance Movement as our undisputed leader and adviser. Pakistan is with us too - and its Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has always given us his and his colleagues' fullest support.

"We shall march forward; we shall not falter. Some of us may perish in the struggle but we will not allow our community to perish. We may be put into prison bars but we will break the fetters that keep four-fifths of our population in bondage.

"We shall Resist!"

STATEMENT TO COURT BY DR. DADOO AND DR. G. M. NAICKER, MARCH 3, 1948[40]

(Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker were charged in the Durban Magistrate's Court in February 1948 with aiding and abetting passive resisters to cross the Natal-Transvaal border in violation of the Immigration Act of 1913. They pleaded guilty and were sentenced to six months each with hard labour. The following is an extract from their joint statement to Court before the sentence, read by Dr. Naicker.)

...We submit, Your Worship, that our only offence is that of putting into practical effect the assertion of the Union Prime Minister, General Smuts, made so forcefully before the 1946 session of the United Nations (General) Assembly that the South African Indians are Union nationals, This assertion was reiterated by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence at the 1947 session. If we are

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40 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, March 5, 1948

Union nationals then it is but reasonable and in accordance with natural justice to exercise the most elementary right of citizenship, that of the freedom of movement within the boundaries of one's country of birth. Any denial of such basic human rights would only make a mockery of democracy and democratic principles.

The crossing of the Provincial borders in wilful defiance of Act 22 of 1913, constitutes the second phase of the Passive Resistance Movement which is being conducted by the Indian community under the aegis of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, the Ghetto Act.

During the last twenty months over two thousand gallant men and women resisters of all races have courted imprisonment. They preferred to suffer the rigours of jail life rather than submit to unjust and undemocratic laws.

Gandhiji - Father of the Struggle

Your Worship, it is in this great cause and noble struggle that we called upon volunteers to cross the borders and bear the penalty of the law. We consider it an honour to do so. The Passive Resistance struggle which we are conducting is based on truth and non-violence and is associated with the name of the greatest man of all times, Mahatma Gandhi, on whose death in tragic circumstances just a few weeks ago the whole world wept. Among the millions of men who paid their last tribute to this great soul was Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa.

Mahatma Gandhi was the father of our struggle, Gandhi too defied the unjust laws of South Africa and suffered imprisonment during the 1906-1913 Passive Resistance struggle.

This is the man whom Field Marshal Smuts referred to as a "Prince among Men". This is the man - the pilot of India's march to freedom - who is the source and inspiration of our struggle for democratic rights in South Africa.

This struggle of the Indian community against racial discrimination of all kinds is part and parcel of the struggle of the whole Non-European and democracy-loving peoples of South Africa to turn this country into a genuine democratic State in which our multi-racial population will live and work in harmony. It is in view of these considerations that we are pleading guilty to the charge. We are willing to bear the full penalty of the law.

Spirit Cannot be Crushed

Our bodies may be incarcerated but our spirits cannot be crushed. It is the spirit of freedom which lives in the hearts of the oppressed. It is the spirit which aims to

do away with racial discrimination and *herrenvolkism*. It is the spirit deep-rooted in the heart of every Non-European generating the urge for a better life. It is the spirit which alone can deliver the people from colour bondage in South Africa and make this land a happier land for the generations to come.

MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITY, MARCH 3, 1948[41]

(Dr. Dadoo gave this message to the Indian people of South Africa immediately after he was sentenced to six months` imprisonment. He handed the message before going down the grille.)

I am fully convinced as Dr. Naicker is that the Indian community will wage a relentless battle against the Ghetto Act while we are in prison and with this knowledge our six months will come to an end soon.

To the Indians I say, I have confidence in you. Please do nothing while I am away which will bring discredit to our people. The honour and prestige of our people and of India and Pakistan demand that we do not bend before oppression.

"APARTHEID OVER OUR DEAD BODIES": SPEECH, JULY 1948[42]

[Speech at mass welcome meeting in Johannesburg organised in his honour by the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council on his release from prison]

I am deeply touched by the warm welcome which you have accorded me here this afternoon. I know that this welcome of yours is but an indication of the united stand of the Indian people against the Ghetto Act, against all measures of discrimination which are inflicted upon the Indian people of this country. I also take it as your tribute to the gallantry and heroism of those men and women who for the last two years elected to suffer rather than submit to oppression. I also take it that it Is your tribute to the number of women who played such a splendid part in the struggle during the last two years. I must add that without those number of

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41 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, March 5, 1948

42 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, July 16, 1948

efforts of our women, our struggle would not have reached the stage which it eventually managed to reach. It was the hard silent work carried on day after day and night after night by our women that had contributed to a large extent in making our struggle successful.

Dr. Naicker and I return and are with you again after a period of four and a half months. During those four and a half months a great deal has happened, great changes have taken place.

During the last four and a half months the high walls of prison had cut us off completely from the outside world. We did not know what was happening in South Africa. We only knew of the food we got, the work we had to do and the cold we had to bear. During those four and a half months the leadership of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the Joint Passive Resistance Council was called upon to take decisions to meet with the demands of the situation.

I would like to make it quite clear that during the last four and a half months, Dr. Naicker and I had nothing to do whatsoever with any decision taken by the Transvaal or Natal Indian Congress or by the Joint Passive Resistance Council. I make this quite clear because of the reports circulated in some papers. It Is not possible in South African jails to consult us. There is a specific regulation for those who come to visit us and we are not allowed to discuss political matters. No consultations took place.

Full confidence in Joint Council

As far as Dr, Naicker and I are concerned, we had and have the fullest confidence in the leadership of the Transvaal and Natal Congresses and the Joint Passive Resistance Council. Whatever decisions they had to take in those circumstances they were justified in doing so.[43]

Since coming out we had some time and opportunity to catch up with events and make a study of what has taken place in South Africa, and as a result of whatever we have been able to gather, on the facts that we have had at our disposal, we must try and analyse the situation as it exists today.

Important Events

As far as South Africa is concerned, two important events have taken place in the last two or three months.

Firstly, the great People's Assembly which assembled here in Johannesburg, representing vast masses of the Non-European people of the Transvaal and Orange Free State - representatives of more people than those who voted in the

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[43] The Joint Passive Resistance Council suspended the Passive Resistance Campaign in June 1948 in order to consider the new situation following the election of a National Party Government.

Transvaal and Orange Free State in the last General Election - declared quite clearly to the South African Government that as far as the vast masses o! the people are concerned, they demand immediately and now full franchise for all sections of the South African population; that this country faces a very dark future unless the franchise Is extended to all sections of the population. To my mind, it was a very important and momentous event.

The other very important event was the coming into power of the Nationalist Party. These two important events must be analysed. What is the future of South Africa? But in doing so it is necessary to have before you a general idea of what is happening in the outside world. South Africa cannot escape the repercussions of events outside her frontiers. What is happening to Greece, Berlin, Palestine or Malaya must be understood quite clearly by the people of South Africa. It is necessary for every South African to have a clear conception of what is taking place In the outside world because without that we cannot map out the policy for South Africa.

Two Camps

We must take into consideration that the international world today is divided into two camps. On the one hand we have a democratic peoples' camp and on the other we have the imperialist camp. These are the two camps. The democratic peoples' camp represents the vast masses of the people throughout the world. This camp is headed by the Soviet Union which had to bear the major brunt in the war against fascism which wanted to dominate the world, and in fact remnants of which we still find today in this country. The Soviet Union ha emerged from this war as the most important Power in this world. It has stood before the peoples of the world as a champion of democracy. Also included in this democratic peoples' camp are the new democracies of Europe, the new democracies set up in Eastern Europe after the war where, by the united efforts of the workers, the peasants and the middle classes, the exploiters have been expelled. These exploiters were the vested interests who acted as agents of imperialism in those countries. In this camp we find hundreds or millions of people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, This camp stands for independence of all countries, world democratic peace and economic opportunities for all.

Imperialist Camp

On the other hand we find the imperialist camp which is headed by aggressive American imperialism. This camp is on the defensive. It struggles to maintain imperialist domination. We can see what is happening in Greece and China and other countries. Aggressive American imperialism is trying, with the aid of money and arms, to dictate conditions and interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. That is the policy of the imperialist camp, a policy which leads to war.

As far as South Africa is concerned, the South African Government stood inside the imperialist camp. The consequences of such a policy will affect every man and woman in this country. We must know the consequences of such a policy. If these consequences are against the interests of the people, then that policy must be changed. We also see now that Dr. Malan and his Government support the imperialist camp. Because of that it will be the duty of every South African to see that such a foreign policy is changed by the Government of this country.

High Priest of Imperialism

General Smuts, the ex-Prime Minister, soon after delivering his country into the hands of the Nationalists, flew over to Britain. There, as the High Priest of Imperialism, he delivered an oration in which he warned the people of the dark menace of Communism. General Smuts talked of freedom! He who denied franchise to four-fifths of the population of his own country - he warned the world of the menacing forces of Communism in Western Europe. So General Smuts, the spokesman for the Imperialist camp, talks of freedom of the people. And just the other day Dr. Malan went to a function to celebrate American Independence Day and there Dr. Malan praised American imperialism as a great saviour of mankind.

Nationalist Government due to United Party

This policy is detrimental to the interests of South Africa. We have had a change of Government in this country from the United Party to the Nationalist Party. It was a surprise. But if the Nationalists have assumed power then it is the logical outcome of the rotten policies pursued by General Smuts and his United Party Government. Their policy of repressing the Non-European people, cheap labour, colour bars and Ghetto Acts was a policy of segregation. If General Smuts and the United Party stand for segregation, then who is more capable than the Nationalist Party of putting that policy into effect? This we must understand quite clearly because on it will be based the future policy of South Africa. On this basis Dr. Malan and his Government have come into power.

Joint Council Decision

When Dr. Malan and his Government came into power, the Joint Passive Resistance Council had to decide as to what the future policy of the Passive Resistance Movement was to be. So they took a decision that in view of the change of Government, we must await a pronouncement of Governmental policy on the Indian question. That policy has not yet been forthcoming but in keeping with the tenets of *Satyagraha* the Indian people had to suspend temporarily the Passive Resistance Movement.

The Passive Resistance Council acted wisely in temporarily suspending the movement, but it must be made quite clear that that must not be taken as a pretext for complacency, as an excuse that all is well as far as the Indian people is concerned. We have the declared policy of the Nationalists before us on the question of the Non-European people.

We would like to warn the Nationalist Government that South Africa can ill afford at the present moment to incur the hostility of two great countries like India and Pakistan. On the other hand friendly relations with India and Pakistan can be of great economic boon to South Africa,

Deepening Crisis

But we must not be lulled into a false sense of security. The hour has struck now. New dangers are facing South Africa - the crisis is deepening and we will have to act. How are we going to act - that is the question we must discuss and decide. That is the question we will have to answer - on this question will depend the future of South Africa. We have seen the actions and policies of the Nationalist Government. We have heard the utterances of Ben Schoeman, Minister of Labour. He says that it is a declared policy of the present Government not to allow Africans and Non-Europeans to do skilled work, not to recognise African trade unions and give them their right to collective bargaining which they have given to the European people. It is a direct interference in the freedom the workers enjoy. On the pretext that the Government has to ensure that the trade unions conduct their affairs in a democratic manner, Mr. Ben Schoeman is planning direct State interference in the trade union movement. Mr. Erasmus, Minister of Defence, has declared that the non-European military corps is going to be disbanded, that there is going to be a Platteland Army. The purpose of this army, according to Mr. Erasmus, is internal security, The real reason is to use this armed force for the suppression of all legitimate aspirations of the people for freedom.

Donges' Pronouncements

Dr. Donges, Minister of the Interior, has also made certain pronouncements on Indian policy. He said that as far as the Nationalist Government is concerned, at the first opportunity they are going to repeal Section 2 of the Ghetto Act, that section which deals with communal franchise. When this franchise was given to the Indian people, the Indian people unanimously, with a united voice, declared their total opposition to communal representation and I am sure that that policy still stands as far as the Indian people are concerned. Communal representation is not going to satisfy the Indian people. It is an insult to the honour and integrity of the Indian people. But when Dr. Donges says that they are going to repeal this section of the Act, they are not going to do so because they agree with the policy of the Indian people. Dr. Donges and his Government do so because of a reactionary motive.

Grave Danger

From all these utterances come out the facts that important changes in high offices, Defence Department, are being conducted by the Nats. Today, they constitute a grave danger to the people of South Africa and as far as the Indian people are concerned, the Nationalist Party's rotten policy put before South Africa is known to us all. They declare that the Indian people are outlandish.

We the Indian people - a quarter of a million Indian people born in South Africa - we whose home is in South Africa - we who are the sons of the soil, we who have contributed our share in the prosperity and making of South Africa, we are declared outlandish elements. We say to the Government of South Africa, South Africa is our home cradle, and South Africa will be our grave - no one dare put us out.

If the Indian people are repatriated, then what of other sections of the population tomorrow? What of the Jews, the English people? Let us make it quite clear that we are South Africans - we are going to stay in South Africa and we are going to play our part in making South Africa a progressive and democratic State.

Time to Act

That is the most important path before us. It is no use making speeches, the time has come in South Africa for everyone to act and here we must all act together. Now we must talk of a Democratic People's Front in South Africa. We must bring it about in this country--it must include not only Indians, Africans and Coloureds but the vast masses of the Europeans as well.

The Democratic People's Front is absolutely vital and necessary at the present stage of South Africa. It must fight for the preservation of democracy in South Africa or else we are doomed.

Communist Bogey

We must be very careful because the Government is using a bogey. The Communist bogey is the highest political fraud perpetrated by any Government or any Party because it is done with the criminal intent to destroy the cherished principles of democracy and the democratic way of life. When they talk of crushing the Communist menace they do not mean what you mean by Communism. Under the guise of this Communist bogey, they want to come down on the legitimate organisations of the European and Non-European people, organisations which fight for democratic rights of the people.

There is no such menace. If Communism exists, it exists as the legitimate movement of the people because they fight for democracy, for a happy South

Africa for all, but when Dr. Malan and Smuts talk about the Communist menace, they use it as the thin edge of the wedge to divide the people first and then go on to a further oppression of the vast masses of the people.

Meaning of Apartheid

They want to tell us, the Non-Europeans, that they are going to put us into separate compartments in our own interests. The application of the policy of apartheid can only mean further repression and oppression for the Non-European people of this country. Policy of apartheid means creating by brute force a permanent force of cheap migratory labour for the mines and on the farms. That is apartheid.

In order to bring about this policy greater force and greater violence will be used and eventually the outcome of such a policy can only lead to a fascist police State in South Africa. That is a danger which is inherent in allowing the present policy to continue and therefore what we require at the present moment is a Democratic People's Front on a minimum programme.

Programme

It will consist of a programme which must include such fundamental demands as Votes for All. The right of all workers to organise, to skilled jobs, freedom of movement of the people, repeal of colour bar laws, Pass Laws, Ghetto Act, a minimum living wage for ail, homes for all - these are some of the vital demands which affect every section of our multi-racial population. These are the demands on which a Democratic People's Front must be started. Under these demands the people must go into action in order to save the country from the attacks on their rights and for the bringing about of a democratic State in this country.

These demands must be carried into effect and therefore I wish to make an appeal, first to the African National Congress as the National movement of the African people. I make an appeal to the leadership that they must have the courage to come out on such a declared policy and work for it and if such leadership is found wanting then those leaders must be ousted and the African national movement must be placed in the hands of a progressive leadership which enjoys the confidence of the masses.

I say to the Natal Indian Organisation and the Transvaal Indian Organisation, that they must fold up their organisations at the present moment. They must come within the ranks of the legitimate organisations of the Indian people, of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses. There is no time at the present moment for the Natal Indian Organisation and the Transvaal Indian Organisation. In asking for an interview with Dr. Malan they say that their organisation excludes communists. They have sunk to the lowest level. It means that they are saying to Dr. Malan "We are with you." Such a policy is not only a great danger to the

Indian people; such a policy is suicide for the Indian community. There is no time for such organisations to exist at the present moment.

We the Indian people demand that if you want to become leaders of the people you must serve the people. I say to the leaders of the Coloured people, that the time has come for them to see where they sit. I say to the members of the C.A.C.[44] when they talk so much about Coloured rights, they still sit in the chairs of the C.A.C. The time has come when they must come out and challenge the rotten policy pursued by the present Government of attacking the political rights little as they are, of the Coloured people.

I say to those democratic organisations among the European people - they must not create the illusion in the minds of the European people that the United Party is pushing back the undemocratic attacks of Malan. This is all nonsense. The time has come for European democrats to come out if they want to save democracy.

The hour has struck for serious and hard work. The time has come when on this policy we must go forward. That is the only policy which at the present moment can meet the dangers which face us in this country. We have vast and progressive forces throughout the world. If we can unite the progressive forces in South Africa we can beat back the reactionary forces in this country. Let us not panic. We have the strength and power in our hands if we act rightly. It may entail suffering and sacrifice and plenty of hard work, but we must realise that these reactionary forces can be defeated and must be defeated in South Africa. On those lines, we must go forward. My warning to the people, both Europeans and Non-Europeans, is this :

In the present circumstances, either we hang together or we hang separately. That is the question before South Africa.

That is the lesson which every democrat in South Africa must learn at the present moment.

Finally, in thanking you for this warm reception which you have given me, I would like to express my fullest confidence in the ability, in the strength, of the vast masses of the European and Non-European people to prevent fascism, attacks on the rights and liberties which exist today and in order to move forward to democracy for all. And I have the confidence in the ability and strength of the masses, to say to the tyrants that be that democracy for all or apartheid and fascism over our dead bodies.

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[44] Coloured Advisory Council

APPEAL FOR A UNITED FRONT, JULY 1948[45]

[A joint appeal to all "suppressed" people in South Africa, whether European or Non-European, to form a United Front to fight for full democratic rights, was made by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker, respectively Presidents of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress, at a function in Cape Town in July 1948.]

Dr. Dadoo said Indians all over the Union were now faced with the question of what to do next. The Passive Resistance Movement had been temporarily suspended and a new Government was in power.

Both he and Dr. Naicker had just been released from gaol and they were both convinced that the present Nationalist regime would take even more drastic steps to suppress not only the Indians but all Non-Europeans.

By their courageous struggle the Indians had already nullified the effect of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. The Passive Resistance Movement had opened the eyes of other oppressed peoples as to what could be achieved by resisting the onslaught on human rights.

Furthermore, the Indians in South Africa had won the support of freedom-loving people outside South Africa and at the next session of the United Nations Organisation stronger steps than ever would be taken to fight their case.

The Nationalists` apartheid policy for the Indians was the logical outcome of the United Party's segregation programme but because the leaders of the United Party did not make their intentions clear, the electorate fell for apartheid which, to the followers of Dr. Malan, meant bigger and cheaper labour reservoirs.

Cape Indians

Indian leaders also expected the Nationalist Government soon to make an attempt to introduce the Ghetto Act in the Cape. For that reason Cape Indians must stand together to resist with all their power.

The move of the new Minister of Defence to build up a Platteland Army was just another step, under the pretext of a so-called Communist threat, to suppress Non-Europeans even more.

The Coloured people could expect measures to deprive them of their right to have their names on the common voters' rolls and if the members of the Coloured Advisory Council realised what was happening, they must resign and lead their

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45 From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, July 23, 1948

people against the threat to their freedom. Similar threats were hanging over the heads of the African people.

Task of Non-Europeans

In view of all these dangers for Non-Europeans, said Dr. Dadoo, there was only one course - to fight with the utmost determination, but also with responsibility, until white South Africa realised that the Non-Europeans would never give in until they were given full freedom.

"We Indians," he said, "have only South Africa as a home and nobody is going to throw us out. We want to live here and help to build up our homeland, but we cannot live without liberty."

"We look forward with confidence, for although we know that many hardships and sacrifices await us, we also know that history is on our side and that in the end we must achieve our object."

"INDIA'S STEP MOST TIMELY": JOINT STATEMENT BY DR. DADOO AND DR. NAICKER ON THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO RAISE THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION AGAIN BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JULY 1948[46]

The Indian people of South Africa welcome this step on the part of the Government of India as being most opportune and timely in view of the present political situation in South Africa.

South Africa can ill afford to incur the hostility of two great countries like India and Pakistan. On the other hand, friendly relations with them can be a great boon to the economic welfare of this country.

The Indian people of South Africa hope that the Union Government will act in terms of the United Nations Assembly's resolution and bring about an honourable solution of the Indian question, failing which they hope that the United Nations will act with dispatch on the recommendations proposed by the Government of India in the interests of relations between the Union of South Africa and the Governments of India and Pakistan, and in the interests of world peace.

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[46] From: *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, July 23, 1948

STATEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT INDIA LEAGUE, LONDON, OCTOBER 26, 1948

[A reply to the speech of Mr. Eric Louw at the Foreign Press Association luncheon on October 22, 1948]

Mr. Eric Louw, the chief South African delegate to the United Nations and Dr. D. F. Malan's representative at the Commonwealth Conference just concluded, waxed virtuous in his speech at last Friday's luncheon of the Foreign Press Association. The whole purpose of this speech is to lull the British public and the world generally into a false idea of the true character of the Malanite Government and to dampen the justifiable alarm and fear that is being expressed in informed quarters of opinion about the course of violent race hatred which Malan's Government has let loose upon the country. The hymn of hate by all members of the Malanite administration, including Mr. Louw, against the non-white peoples of South Africa in particular, as well as against the Jews and English, and Malan's emergence during the war years as the apostle of national socialism, is primarily responsible for what has been said about the Nationalists in the British and American press. To Louw, this is "a campaign of sowing suspicion." The best answer to such charges would be to quote from the statements of leading members of the Malanite administration and, in the words of Mr. Louw, "without telling you what a Nationalist is, leave it to you to draw your own conclusions... as to whether a Nationalist in South African politics is a fire-eating racialist - a narrow-minded bigot - and above all a man who hates everything British to the depths of his soul."

"England is fighting only in her own interests and not, as she pretends, to guarantee democracy and freedom. General Smuts is docilely following in the footsteps of England and, in the difficulties in which he finds himself today, he is seeking the help of the Afrikaners. Why does he not look for it among the Jingoes (British), the Jews and the "loyal Dutch" who look for war? General Smuts must give way for a Nationalist Government, and the next day we shall negotiate with Germany and Italy for peace."

> -Mr. Eric Louw speaking at Merweville. Reported in *Die Burger*, July 25, 1940.

"I quite frankly admit this - the Jew is an alien in any country and cannot be assimilated - but let me point out that even old established Jews in this country are discriminated against in society and hurt more than we newcomers."

> -Mr. Eric Louw in the Assembly, 1939.

"As long as we remain in the British Commonwealth as a Dominion or a sham republic, we shall be continually hindered by British liberalism in our attempts to solve the colour problem and the Jewish question."

-Mr. Eric Louw, reported in *Die Burger*, January 20, 1944.

"The United States is arming only in her own interests. She is not arming for war but for peace because she wants a say in the armistice and wants to be the heir to Britain's estate."

-Dr. Malan at Pietersburg, June 11, 1940.

"Gallows are being erected where they themselves may hang in years to come. We say so not only to the Jingoes but we say so to the Jews. You are putting up gallows for the Germans, but beware, the day may come when you yourselves may hang from these same gallows."

-Mr. A. J. Worth, Nationalist M.P., in the Assembly, February 25, 1942.

South Africa is in the grip of a violent race hysteria and is likely to experience the most terrible race convulsions in the near future if the present drift to totalitarianism continues. The country is like a diseased body, the toxic poison of race mania is flowing swiftly into the vital arteries of its heart and mind. The basis of democracy. resting on the precarious sands of "white supremacy" and "European culture and civilisation," is so narrow, and each day growing narrower, that the party wielding most effectively the cult of race and colour poison against the disenfranchised non-white population, which forms the majority, is returned to power by the electorate, which is 98 percent white. That Dr. Malan was able to climb into power because he was successful in whipping up an hysterical campaign of race hatred, is largely due to his skill and technique of wielding a weapon common to the arsenal of fascism. Any observer of the South African scene would discern the resemblance and parallel that exists between South Africa and Nazi Germany. Politics, commerce, industry, labour, culture and education are all steeped with the most cruel manifestations of colour despotism. A pattern of hate akin to Nazism against the person who has not the blessings of a white skin is pursued. He is deemed inferior by the colour bar doctrine of the State and is unable to share the rights of citizenship and perform skilled work.

Mr. Louw would have his audience believe that "there is a spirit of quiet confidence among all sections of the population." I challenge Mr. Louw to give evidence to justify such a statement. South Africa is today seething with unrest and discontent never before equalled in its history.

Apartheid, the Nationalist prescription for the non-white peoples, is regarded with the greatest terror by them. Mr. Louw will fail to give the name of any

accredited representative, mild, moderate or left, of the Africans, Coloureds or Indians, or of any of their organisations, which has approved in any form the policy of apartheid.

It is the most cruel policy yet adopted by any government in South Africa to reduce the non-white peoples to a perpetual position of inferiority and degradation, without dignity or the most elementary rights.

The first brief instalment of apartheid has meant the removal of the franchise clauses of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, the promise that this Act was to be further extended to the Cape, a change in the electoral laws so as to exclude a large proportion of the handful of Coloured voters in the Cape from registration, the Parliamentary declaration that the Coloureds would be removed from the common voters' roll and given the limited representation at present given to the Africans who have the right only in the Cape to elect three white persons to an Assembly of 153 members, the decision to remove altogether even this miserable representation from the eight million Africans, the introduction of segregation on the suburban trains of the Cape where the non-white people were permitted the small mercy of freedom of travel (this new restriction was accompanied by violent protests, demonstrations and arrests) and the promulgation of Proclamation 1890 which makes it illegal for any organisation, the African National Congress, the trade unions or cultural bodies to collect subscriptions or any form of contribution from Africans - a move ostensibly designed to make all the organisations of the African people illegal. Louw says: "Apartheid is the policy of European races." This policy springs from the philosophy that the non-white people are inherently inferior beings, fit only for the most servile and menial tasks. Therefore they must not be allowed to mix in any way with the white people. The Dutch Reformed Church, to which the members of the Malanite administration belong, believes that the white man has been ordained by God to rule over the black man. There is no moral basis in this age for such a doctrine. It has been rejected by the nations and will continue to be rejected by all civilised peoples.

But such a policy could only be put into operation by repression, bringing in its train squalid misery, poverty and degradation for its victims. Segregation has made South Africa a vast prison house for its non-white population - the country which now enjoys the reputation of having the largest jail-going population in the world in relation to its African population; segregation has been responsible for the fact that it is difficult in South Africa to find an African who has reached the age of 25 who has not seen the misery of a prison wall; in South Africa the expenditure on the police force and prisons is beyond that spent on African education (£ 3 million as against £ 2 1/2 million); segregation has foisted upon the African a rigid system of passes to control his movements, restricting in the most cruel way his liberty of movement. There are about 12 types of special passes which control his movements, and failure to carry any one of these is a criminal offence. Once the African reaches the age of 18, he must have a special pass if he

wishes to (a) leave his reserve, (b) seek work, (c) go to a school, (d) buy a train ticket, (e) enter a town, (f) visit a friend after curfew hours i. e., between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m., (g) show he has paid his taxes, and several others. In 1945 alone, the pass law convictions were 74,109; this was 12,000 more than in 1936.

Mr. Louw claims that large tracts of the most infertile parts of South Africa have been set aside as Native reserves. Only 13 per cent of the land is reserved for four-fifths of the population, and as to the state of this land, I will quote from the report of the Native Laws Commission, pages 14, 15 and 16:

> "... when we still have the position that more than half of the Natives in the Union are in the so-called European areas, and less than half in the Native areas (approximately 60 % : 40 %). The idea of total segregation therefore assumes that it will be possible to develop and extend as Native areas on a scale sufficient to render them capable of providing a home for more than twice the number of Natives which they hold today, together with the further increase, which up to the present has been at an average rate of something like 2 per cent per annum."
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> "...It is desirable at this stage to note two prime facts which have so far emerged, namely;
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> (a) That nearly 30 per cent of families are landless in spite of the fact that the average unit of arable land is sub-economic and that at least 20 % of all arable land is not suitable for cultivation; and
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> (b) that over 60 % of families own 5 or less cattle, including 29% who own none, in spite of the fact that the Reserves are carrying double the number of stock that should run if deterioration is not to take place."
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> "In the ninth report of the Social and Economic Planning Council (U.G. No.32/1946) we read, at page 44 (para 173):
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> 'Another important factor, which has already been referred to in the case of the Union's Native Reserves, is the incapacity of the Native Reserves to provide even the minimum subsistence requirements under present conditions. In the words of the Mine Wages Commission, "a considerable percentage of the Reserve Natives have to work for hire almost continuously with relatively short breaks to earn a living." (U.G. 21/2944, para. 207). The Native Reserves at their present stage of development, are both overpopulated and overstocked.`
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> "In any event the figures and other data we have quoted lead to the irresistible conclusion that it would be utterly impossible to put the Native population which is already outside the Reserves, back into the Reserves, or even to keep the whole of the increase there in future."

The rich dividends that the segregation policy has yielded in matters of health, education, etc. for Africans are worth noting. Facts speak louder than words.

Infantile mortality: 400-500 per 1,000 births in certain areas.

Tuberculosis: 800-1200 per 100,000. Europeans 32 per 100,000.

Malnutrition: In Letaka, Northern Transvaal, in the schools, 90 per cent of the African boys and 80 per cent of the girls suffer from malnutrition. The National Health Commission appointed by the South African Government reported in 1944:

"One factor stands out pre-eminently - the grinding poverty of almost all the non-European (non-white) population ... almost eight million Natives must be classed as paupers ... The evidence we have received strongly suggests that in the (Reserve) territories, on the (white) farms and in the towns their poverty is increasing and their health deteriorating."

Blindness: 24,442 registered cases of blindness, of which 95 per cent is preventable.

Education: 90 per cent illiterate; 7 per cent, that is, one million children of school-going age are without schools. Less than £ 3 million per year is spent on African education, while £ 35 per head is spent on the white population. Education is compulsory and free for the white child, but not for the African.

Search the length and breadth of South Africa and try to find a single African engineer, electrician, architect, engine driver. Search South Africa to find a single technical college, a single theatre, a single swimming pool for Africans, while millions of pounds are spent annually in providing hundreds of these amenities for "Europeans only." I ask Mr. Louw, is it not a fact that there are actual laws on the statute book which prevent the vast majority of its black folk from doing skilled work, such as the "Colour Bar Act"[47] of 1925? Was not his party the foremost in finally preventing the training of African builders? Is it not true to say that South Africa has now far outdone Nazi Germany in the number of racial laws on its statute book? The whole of South Africa is littered with offensive notices like "Europeans only," "Non-Europeans not allowed," "Non-Europeans and Dogs not allowed." A person coming from Mars or Jupiter to this earth would have no difficulty in picking out South Africa.

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[47] Mines and Works Amendment Act, 1925

What a tremendous waste of money and human worth is involved on this segregation policy, to say nothing of the restrictions it imposes on the progress of the country. There must be separate entrances to post offices, railway stations. etc., for non-whites. Trams, buses, coaches, latrines, restaurants, etc., must be separate and often the worst type made available for Non-Europeans. The Railway Department has spent over a million pounds on a station in Durban so that there should be separate entrances and entirely different platforms for whites and non-whites. A similar project has been launched for the Johannesburg Park station.

The report of the Native Laws Commission states (page 19):

> "From what we have already said it should be clear firstly, that the idea of total segregation is utterly impracticable; secondly, that the movement from country to town has a background of economic necessity - that it may, so one hopes, be guided and regulated, and may perhaps also be limited, but that it cannot be stopped or be turned in the opposite direction; and thirdly, that in our urban areas there are not only Native migrant labourers, but there is also a settled, permanent Native population. These are simply facts which we have to face as such. The old cry 'Send them back!` - still so often raised when there is trouble with Natives, therefore, no longer offers a solution."

The archives of the Union Government are full of reports of Government Commissions which are in themselves an indictment of segregation. Segregation is retarding and killing the development of South Africa. Apartheid is the most violent expression of the policy of segregation. Recently a journalist, Oliver Walker, was given an assignment by the Union Government to formulate a comprehensive report for the express purpose of answering the world-wide criticisms and condemnations of South Africa's treatment of the non-white majority. The factual data that he presented were of such a revealing character that his report has been shelved. He has now written a book, *Kaffirs are Lively*, which should shame any spokesman of the Union Government from having the effrontery to stand in public and talk of "huge tracts of land" for Africans and of "developing along their own lines and in accordance with their own customs and traditions." All this talk is mere verbiage, to conceal the oppressive and racial character of a policy designed to keep the non-white peoples in a state of serfdom.

Mr. Louw says that the Union of South Africa is an outpost of European civilisation and solicits support for its racial policies on this ground. I say this in all seriousness, that if it is European civilisation or Western democracy to deny elementary rights and opportunities on the basis of the colour of a person's skin, to disregard a man's worth and his ability, to stop him from acquiring skill, to spurn him and treat him as a chattel and a pariah in the land of his birth, to subject him to hundreds of racial laws and notices, then that civilisation is a menace to mankind and we will have no truck with it. Such a civilisation would condemn the

overwhelming majority of mankind to perpetual inferiority. The sooner such a civilisation disappears from the face of the earth, the better for us all.

I may ask further, is not racial discrimination a fundamental and gross violation of the United Nations Charter, Western democracy and European civilisation? Neither the African nor the Indian is asking for his blood to be mixed with the white peoples of South Africa. We are not asking for privileges in South Africa, but we are fighting for our rights to live as decent human beings in the land of our birth, without all the stigma of inferiority that is daily heaped upon us. We claim citizenship rights for every human being, regardless of his race or colour, and there is no power on earth that is going to stop us from attaining our birthright.

It is Mr. Louw who is trying to conjure up pictures of black hordes threatening the two million whites of South Africa, when we ask for citizenship rights! But let me warn Mr. Louw and those who think like him, that they are building up a vast reservoir of hate for the white man if they continue their present mad career of violations of human rights, and Mr. Louw and his ilk will rue the day when the flood gates break loose in South Africa. No people can go on watching passively their rights being hacked away and humiliation heaped upon them. That is the lesson of history, and Mr. Louw would do well to acknowledge it.

The Indians

Mr. Louw calls "all moonshine" the discriminatory treatment of Indians in South Africa. Twice already the United Nations, the highest tribunal of mankind, has passed large majority decisions against South Africa on this question. But white South Africa has flouted the conscience of the world and seems well set to take the mad plunge of open defiance.

The appeal to the United Nations was made in 1946 by the South African Indian Congress, the mouthpiece of the Indian people of South Africa. Malan's envoy expresses doubts whether 5 per cent of Natal Indians were interested in the complaint. The registered membership of the Natal Indian Congress alone is 35,000 in a total population of 228,000, a figure inclusive of the non-adult population. Mr. Louw speaks for less than one-fifth of the total population of South Africa, but the South African Indian Congress delegation to the United Nations carries with it the good wishes and support of the nine million people, non-whites, constituting four-fifths of the South African population, and representing their deep urges, hopes and aspirations.

Mr. Louw's charge that the Congress was dominated by Communists is a canard which I hurl back into his teeth. Anyone that challenges South Africa's racial doctrines is a Communist, according to the Nationalists. The whole of its press at present is filled with charges of Communist against the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr,

former Deputy Prime Minister, simply because he has dared to raise his voice in protest against some of the policies of racial oppression enunciated by Dr. Malan.

The Natal Indian Congress was founded by that great apostle of truth and non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi. He has given it the great tradition of his matchless weapon of passive resistance which he first tried out in South Africa. It is that spirit and resolve not to yield to injustice which permeates the Congress. For the last two years, two thousand brave men and women in the true spirit of passive resistance suffered imprisonment and untold hardships, exposing South Africa's racial practices to the glare of world opinion.

Mr. Louw claims that the South African Indians are Union nationals, while Dr. Malan, his Prime Minister, has been busy in Parliament stating that the Indians are "a foreign and outlandish element. They do not form part of the permanent population and must therefore remain in the country under restrictions".

Mr. Louw is a brave man in South Africa, where he has become the most bitter race-baiter known to the land. The short experience that be has had at the United Nations in its various Commissions, and particularly in the Human Rights Commission, must forcibly have conveyed to him that the mental climate in the rest of the world is not the same as in South Africa in as far as race hysteria is concerned; that the tirade and race contempt that he has been able to pour upon the people who are unrepresented in the House of Assembly, filled mostly with the apostles of colour despotism, requires far less courage. He has therefore changed his tune and now engages in deception of the worst kind. Deception may be a great weapon for some, but for Mr. Louw and Dr. Malan, their vile record of race hate is too well-known and cannot be easily camouflaged by a few pious statements.

We are tired of the spokesmen of the South African Government, who from time to time speak with two voices, one for South Africa as champions of the creed of race and colour superiority and the other for the outside world as "trustees" of the South African sanctuary where black men and women are periodically given doses of the white man's civilisation.

The Indians of South Africa have never claimed any privileged position. All they say is that if they are regarded as Union nationals, they have full rights as Union nationals without the sixty-six racial laws that deny them elementary citizenship rights and civil liberties. As long as these rights are denied them, they will continue to appeal to India, to the United Nations and to the conscience of the world. Legally it has been established by the United Nations that the Union Government must respect, as binding and as treaties, the agreements with the Government of India under which the Indians came to South Africa.

The Indians did not go as aliens or oppressors to dominate the Native population of South Africa. They were taken to South Africa to work on the

plantations and to develop the country. They were persuaded to remain after their terms of labour were over by inducements of land grants. Ninety per cent of Indians in South Africa have descended from the loins of those early labourers. They constitute the third and fourth generation of those born in the country. They know no other land than South Africa and they say that under no circumstances would they agree to any form of repatriation. They have contributed to the prosperity of the country, and they have a right to share it with all sections of the population. This is their simple claim.

Mr. Louw has indirectly appealed to the press not to support the fight against the injustice in South Africa, not to comment on the racial measures that are being put into operation by the Malanite administration and not to give the truth of what is happening in this Dominion, on the pretext that this will help Moscow. It is not for us to tell the British or foreign press what they should or should not do. The press have an important role to fulfil, and as long as they maintain truth in the true perspective we shall have no complaints. But I do want to refute it. Louw's claim that in as much as nationalisation is a matter for the United Kingdom, it is not the concern of the people in Britain or elsewhere to take cognisance of the indignities, injustices and oppression that is taking place in South Africa. Hitler used arguments of a similar character when he carried his policy against the Jews to the dreadful conclusions that he had envisaged. There is no parallel between nationalisation and the race tyranny to which a small minority is subjecting the vast majority of the population in South Africa.

It will be a sad commentary if there are no voices of protest raised against the violation of fundamental human freedoms and human rights. This cannot remain the especial concern of a Government bent upon race and colour rule. I do, however, want to say that the majority of the people constituting the Commonwealth are not white. They cannot view with indifference the idea held by a member of the Commonwealth of the inherent inferiority of the black man. The population of India alone constitutes more than the population of all the dominions put together. The people of India will never acquiesce in any form of inferiority for those who have sprung from their kith and kin. The treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa will be a constant source of affront, not only to the brown Dominions, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, but to all the peoples of Asia. New pages of history are being writ there, and the effects are being felt in Africa also.

The days of slumberous calm and peace for the white despots in South Africa have fled. The non-white people of South Africa have been witnesses too long of the history of dwindling rights, of promises unfulfilled, of solemn undertakings flouted and of agreements violated. They have now refused to remain any longer to be passive spectators of this process. They have raised the cry "We shall resist", to add fresh chapters of history for the rights of man with the help of the United Nations, and have declared that they are no longer willing to be dumb slaves of white masters.

"SOUTH AFRICA - ON THE ROAD TO FASCISM": PAMPHLET PUBLISHED JOINTLY WITH CASSIM JADWAT IN LONDON, NOVEMBER 1948[48]

The dark shadow of Fascism is moving swiftly over South Africa. The advent of the Government of Dr. Malan and his Nationalist Party, well-known for its servile adulations of Hitler and allegiance to fascist principles, has stripped off the mantle of democracy with which Field-Marshal Smuts' personality and prestige had adorned South Africa. All the pious proclamations of *Christian trusteeship* and *white man's civilisation* can no longer hide the dangers that are inherent in a country where race and colour rule is the instrument of State policy. The rapidity with which Dr. Malan is moving to complete the Nazification of South Africa by swallowing up the very last vestige of civil liberties and the few remaining political rights of the non-white majority in the country, has given rise to a genuine fear and alarm everywhere, both within the country and without, that unless the United Nations take effective action, South Africa will be plunged into the most frightful race conflicts.

What has happened in South Africa since the 1947 session of the United Nations when the Assembly debated India's complaint regarding the oppressive and humiliating treatment of Indians in South Africa, but failed to get the two-thirds majority necessary to make a decision binding on South Africa? An election took place amidst a terrible race hysteria against the non-white peoples in the Union in which over 80 percent of the population could not participate for no other reasons than that of their race and colour. The tiny white electorate returned to power the party of Dr. Malan, who had enunciated a programme based on fascist principles to deal with the disenfranchised non-white majority. There were hopes that out of regard for world opinion, Dr. Malan would not risk putting into effect such a doctrine three years after the end of the war against Fascism. But without any pretences and quite unashamedly, he launched an attack on the non-Europeans and other sections of the democratic movement.

Malanite Axe Falls

The world has to take stock of the Malan Government which, in its four brief months of power, has:

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48 This pamphlet was prepared by Dr. Dadoo and Mr. Jadwat, as representatives of the South African Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council, for circulation at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in November 1948, and was published by the India League, London. Dr. Dadoo, however, was unable to go to Paris as he could not obtain a French visa.

(1) Suspended the deportation orders against Nazi Germans interned during the war;

(2) Released Robey Leibrandt, who was landed in South Africa during the war by a German submarine and subsequently convicted of high treason. Released also all the other members of the German fifth column;

(3) Announced that war-internees would be eligible for compensation to a maximum of £20,000 per head;

(4) Raised the ban on two subversive organisations, the *Broederbond* and the *Ossewa Brandwag*;

(5) Suspended the training of Native artisans outside the reserves;

(6) Undertaken to separate the races in the trade unions, and hinted at the possibility of the formation of a Labour Front on the Hitlerite model;

(7) Raised all restrictions on the movement of South-West African German ex-internees;

(8) Rebuffed the International Labour Organisation by refusing permission to its delegation to visit South Africa;

(9) Undertaken to amend the Unemployment Insurance Act and in the interim period, to cut benefits to non-European workers to a minimum;

(10) Taken steps to set up a platteland army, corresponding to the S.S. troops in Nazi Germany;

(11) Taken steps to extend the Ghetto Act to the Cape;

(12) Further restricted the freedom of travel of non-Europeans by segregating them on suburban Cape trains, the only trains that had remained free from the segregation laws of South Africa;

(13) Removed the so-called representation clauses of the Ghetto Act (the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946) which was used as a pretext to justify further land and residential restrictions on the Indian people. It was also designed to soften the storm of indignation aroused by the Act, which snatched away the inherent rights of the citizen of the country to live wherever he wishes because he was an Indian, and relegated him to limited, inferior areas which, in the course of time, became ghettos. The Justice Lange Commission of 1920 has described this segregation policy in the following words: "Indiscriminate segregation of Asiatics in localities and similar restrictive measures would result, and

eventually reduce them to a state of helotry. Such measures, apart from their injustice and inhumanity, would degrade the Asiatics and react upon the Europeans."

(14) Decided to introduce legislation to take away the last bit of franchise rights of the Africans who hitherto in the Cape would return three White candidates, called Native Representatives, to an Assembly of 150 White members;

(15) Threatened to stop the entry of the handful of non-white students into even the two universities which alone permitted a limited number of non-white students;[49]

(16) Introduced amendments to the electoral laws designed primarily to reduce the number of Coloured voters on the common roll;

(17) Announced its intention to remove altogether the Coloured voters of the Cape from the common roll, and to give them indirect representation in Parliament through three White members, the first step to complete disenfranchisement, as is shown by the case of the Africans who were treated in the same way at first;

(18) Announced its intention to stop payment of family allowances to Indians;

(19) Introduced Proclamation 1890 which will make it illegal for any organisation, political, trade union, or social, to collect subscriptions from Africans without prior approval of the Minister. This measure has been introduced with the set purpose of destroying all democratic organisations of the African people.

General Smuts agreed that the political rights of the non-Europeans were so small that political wisdom demanded that they should be left alone. Speaking on some of these measures, he said:

"It seems to me it is simply playing with enormous issues. Here you have millions of people entrusted to us. That is all they have. We step over them, we almost stamp on them, and we propose to take away these small rights. How can we face our own public opinion? How can we face the public opinion of the world? How can we face the future of South Africa when we

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[49] The laws of the Union of South Africa designate white South Africans as Europeans. The other nationals of South Africa, the Africans (Natives), Coloureds (of mixed Euro-African parentage and descendants of the early Malay slaves) and Asiatics (mostly Indians) are called non-Europeans. In order to avoid the confusion arising from these misleading terms, we prefer to use white and non-white as being more appropriate terms to distinguish the artificial divisions deriving from the concept of race and colour as they exist in South Africa.

behave in this way to people who have been put in our charge as a sacred trust? How can we defend ourselves? How can we, with a clean conscience, go forward in the future?"

When General Smuts, certainly no liberal in matters concerning the rights of the non-White people, is moved to make such a strong comment, it is because he has a premonition of the Fascism which is coming to South Africa. The Coadjutor Bishop of Cape Town, the Right Rev. S.W. Lavis, regards the assaults on the non-European freedom as a "conflict between repression and freedom" and "a kind of murder...with dreadful evils in view."

Character of Malan Government

It is not difficult to judge from all that has already been said what is the character of the Malan Government. It has made no secret of its anti-African, anti-Asiatic, anti-Coloured, anti-British, and anti-Semitic principles. In short, it recognises the superiority of only one race in South Africa - the Afrikaners. The others are *kaffirs* (Natives or Africans), *Coolies* (Indians), *Loyal Dutch* (Afrikaners who do not accept Nationalist policy), *Jingoes* (British) or *Jode* (Jews). The leading Ministers of the Malan Government have stated that they will appoint a body that will inquire into un-South African activities. The word un-South African has a sinister ring when it is remembered that, according to the Nationalists, the only true South African is the Afrikaans-speaking supporter of the Nationalist Party. Dr. Malan, at the Nationalist Party Congress in Pretoria in 1939, said:

"An Afrikaner is one who, whether speaking the same language or attending the same church as myself, or not, cherishes the same Nationalist ideas. That is why I willingly fight against General Smuts. I do not consider him an Afrikaner."

In 1941, Dr. Malan, the chief exponent of Nationalist ideas, made it clear that he had nothing to do with democracy. In one of his speeches he said: "Is not the time ripe for us to base our national life upon another foundation by breaking away from democracy?" In the same speech he said: "Democracy exists here only in name." He declared that the Nationalist Party was ready to:

(a) abolish democratic government, as in every instance it has been a failure;

(b) make peace with Germany and Italy;

(c) deprive the non-Nationalist-minded of their political rights, and

(d) set up a Gestapo republic, since "the National Socialist had undoubtedly performed wonders in Germany."

The Enlightenment Secretary of the Nationalist Party and Editor of one of its leading newspapers, *Die Oosterlig*, Dr. O. H. du Plessis, has proclaimed that:

> "The dictators, creators of the New Order, with Hitler and Mussolini in the foreground, undertook to solve the interior and exterior problems. They had great success. The whole of Europe, with the exception of a few small States, has accepted the New Order."

Another champion of the Malanites, the Rev. C. W. M. du Toit, said in Parliament in 1942:

> "There exists a common basic principle in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Germany, and we want that here, too, but it is only that underlying principle of National Socialism."

The party that now rules over the country follows the familiar pattern of Nazi meetings and congresses, as witness the following report in *The Friend* on the Nationalists' Congress of June, 1941:

> "...a realistic rehearsal of Reichstag procedure, in which only the leaders had a say. All resolutions were proposed and seconded from the platform and according to programme... and no debates ensued. Dr. Malan spoke for two hours at the opening of the proceedings, giving a consummate exposition of Nationalist Socialism."

When the jackboot of Hitler had already trampled upon freedom in several lands, the Nationalists were praying for a German victory. Dr. van Nierop, a leading Nationalist M.P., gave this message:

> "Let us assume that Great Britain loses the war - yes, I do wish it. When Great Britain loses the war, then South Africa will win, and that is why I want Great Britain to lose".[50]

Dr. Malan was even more confident of a German victory. He said:

> "A wonderful future awaits Afrikanerdom. Germany will want a government sympathetic to itself... The Nationalist Party can fill that role."

The manner in which Dr. Malan proposed to establish a republic on National Socialist lines is revealed by his following remarks:

> "The Republic must first be obtained and the Republican Government will have to be granted absolute power for a time in order to establish the

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[50] *Die Suiderste*, January 15, 1941

> Republic. Afrikanerdom will welcome it, but a large proportion of them will only accept it under compulsion. This will then be nothing but High Treason. The Republican Government must obtain absolute power for a time in order to establish the Republic. Problems must be solved which are in closest touch with the life in South Africa and which cannot be solved under the democratic machinery."

All the actions and speeches of the members of the present Government of South Africa bear the unmistakable stamp of their adherence to the ideology of Fascism; of this there is no doubt. Almost all the members of Dr. Malan's Cabinet belong to the secret fascist organisation known as the *Broederbond*, which works for full political domination of South Africa by the Nationalist-minded wealthy Afrikaners. It is of great importance to examine how it was possible that such a party, which represents a threat to the most elementary principles of democracy, could have been returned to power by election three years after the end of the war against Fascism. In our appeals to the United Nations, we have consistently pointed out that in South Africa there is no other choice than the choice between a democracy wherein every section of the population would enjoy equal rights regardless of the pigmentation of their skins, or a South Africa based on racialism where every principle of democracy is threatened. We have asserted that in a land where freedom and democracy is the exclusive preserve of a minority based on the criteria of race and colour, such criteria must inevitably rob the country of its soul, and make it ripe for totalitarianism. That it is moving with increased momentum to a totalitarian State, riding on a crest of race hysteria akin to that in Nazi Germany, is now a grim certainty. The *New Statesman and Nation*, of London, comments:

> "More than formal transfer of power has taken place. The apparatus of civil and military power is being transformed as speedily as possible so as to ensure that it is a weapon apt to the hand and the intention of the manipulators. The steps that have been taken, the measures being adopted to strengthen the Nationalist grip on the Party machine, and the legislation and regulation already introduced and pending, all show the pattern of a blueprint devised and applied with all the skill and technique in the fascist arsenal. Donges at the Interior, Louw, the Jew-baiter, at External Affairs, Erasmus at Defence, Swart at Justice, hold key portfolios."[51]

Apologists of South Africa's racial doctrines have sought to propagate the idea that South Africa would gradually adopt a more liberal policy and give more rights to the disenfranchised majority. The whole history of South Africa in the last fifty years has been a sorry tale of agreements violated, of promises unfulfilled, of diminishing rights for the majority and mounting racial oppression. What little rights the non-white peoples have had, have been snatched away from them, and the graph of racial laws has risen rapidly to a number far beyond that of

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[51] "Nazifying South Africa", October 2, 1948

Nazi Germany. The axe is now falling with such rapidity that even some sections of the white population have become alarmed. Hence the warning of the Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, former deputy Prime Minister, that the new measures may be a prelude to an attack on the rights of some sections of the white people also.

The Malanites: their Black Record during the War

Owing allegiance to the fascist ideology, Dr. Malan and his Nationalists not only hoped for a Hitlerite victory, but actively worked for it in various ways, the most popular being to threaten all those who supported the war. We bring to your attention the following quotations from the speeches of leading Nationalists:

Dr. Malan, Prime Minister:

> "We can take it that if Germany wins the war she will want to weaken the Empire. On this point German desires are in agreement with our efforts. In the second place, Germany would want to negotiate with a Government which is friendly disposed towards her. There is only one such Government possible - the Herenigde Nasionale Party."[52]

> "Will England in those circumstances remain on a democratic basis, and do so after she has experienced to the full in this war how effective and how efficient another system (Nazism) is?"[53]

> "The United States is arming only in her own interests. She is not arming for war, but for the peace because she wants a say in the armistice and wants to be heir to Britain's estate."[54]

> J. G. Strydom, Minister of Lands:

> "We are not enemies of Germany. We have always been friends of the German people, and the only white country that was our enemy is Britain."[55]

Rev. S. W. Naude, M.P.:

> "Of course Germany is going to win. This war started with a war of Hitler, and is ending with a war of God. It is God's war, because it is God's rood over England for all the injustice which England has committed in the world. God is now settling accounts with her, and He is using Hitler for the

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[52] *Die Burger*, July 18, 1941

[53] House of Assembly. *Hansard*, 2183, February 4, 1941

[54] At Pietersburg, June 11, 1940

[55] *Die Transvaler*, August 26, 1942

purpose."[56]

A. J. Werth, Nationalist M.P. and shadow Minister for Finance when the Nationalists were in Opposition:

> "Gallows are being erected where they themselves may hang in years to come. We say so not only to the Jingoes, but we say so to the Jews. You are putting up gallows for the Germans, but beware, the day may come when you yourselves may hang from these same gallows."[57]

Apartheid - from Prison House to Concentration Camp

"Apartheid" is the word coined by the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan to describe its oppressive programme for the non-white peoples of South Africa. The stated aim of this policy is to bring about the total political and territorial segregation of the Natives (Africans), and generally speaking, the complete residential separation of white from non-white, and as far as it is practicable their separation in the industrial field as well.

Conditions in South Africa today make it a vast prison house for four-fifths of the population. The dignity and status of the individual and all human values are based primarily on the colour of the skin. Only the white can fully exercise the vote, can be elected to any of the legislative bodies, be they national, provincial or municipal, can enjoy freedom of movement and the other elementary liberties, and can inherit the culture of mankind. The man whose skin is dark is barred.

"The African is all the time a prisoner in the land of his birth, although he might not be confined within prison walls," said the eminent South African Judge, F. E. T. Krause. An African, from the moment he leaves his reserves is controlled by a rigid and cruel pass system. He is compelled to carry on his person no less than twelve pieces of paper. Without these pieces of paper he cannot leave his reserve; he cannot obtain a train ticket; he cannot seek work; he cannot enter into a town; he cannot walk the streets after curfew hours, which apply only to Africans; he cannot attend a school and, to all intents and purposes, he can do nothing without a pass. It is humanly impossible for an African to go through life without falling victim to these pernicious pass laws. A failure to carry any one of these many passes is a criminal offence. The annual average of Pass Laws convictions over a period of years is over the 100,000 mark. This is the reason why South Africa enjoys the reputation of having the largest gaol-going population in the world in proportion to its population.

Describing police raids for passes, Oliver Walker, author of *Kaffirs are Lively*, says:

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[56] House of Assembly, *Hansard*, 2550, February 7, 1940

[57] House of Assembly, *Hanford*, 2668, February 25, 1942

"Nightly the pick-up vans (police vans) prowl the streets seeking their prey. Nightly they fill up with their dark cargoes. And when the pick-up vans are not on the job, mass raids of locations and hostels keep the jail-yards choked."

The million and a half Africans who live on the white farms do so in conditions of serfdom. The Rev. Michael Scott, a man of high integrity and repute, after an investigation into typical farms in the Bethal district, said:

"Conditions akin to slavery exist on some farms. On one farm I found 50 men huddled round open fires with no blankets and only 3 or 4 mattresses in all. Sacks were their only working clothes and they had no boots, though the employer had issued great coats... On another farm 25 native labourers were employed and driven to work by *sjamboks* (whips)."

The Africans live on the farms in constant and mortal terror.

The land hunger amongst the Africans is appalling. Only 13 percent of the land is reserved for the 7½ million Africans, the remainder belongs to the white 2 million. In the urban areas the laws of the land force the Africans to live in ghettos called Locations. So crowded are these locations that their inhabitants overflow into the unoccupied open spaces where they set up homes of hessian, kerosene tins and split poles. Shocking conditions of sanitation and sordid misery exist in these shanty towns of squatters, over 100,000 of whom live and die in Johannesburg alone, the richest gold mining city in the world. To quote Oliver Walker again:

"...and join the queue for the lavatories (one for every 60 people in an estimated 100,000 population), the 40 communal showers and the 500 water taps (one to every 50 families)."

The facts available regarding health, disease, education and labour for the non-white people constitute an indictment against any civilised government.

* Infant mortality amongst the Africans in a typical area has been estimated at 400-500 per 1,000 births. (Such figures at best can only be estimates since the collection of vital statistics affecting the non-white people is badly neglected).

* The average expectation of life for an African is 36 years, compared with 60 years for the white man.

* The white death rate for tuberculosis in South Africa is the lowest in the world, 32 per 100,000. The African death rate from the same disease is estimated at 800 to 1,200 per 100,000 in the urban areas. The chief

tuberculosis officer of the Union, Dr. B. A. Dormer, says:

> "South Africa has the dubious distinction of holding the world's record for the tuberculosis death rate amongst its non-European industrial workers. The Union has 40,000 active cases walking around."

* There are 24,442 registered cases of blindness amongst Africans, 95 percent of which is preventable.

* 80 percent of the adult African population cannot read or write, and 71 percent of the African children of school-going age are not in school.

* The expenditure on the education of white children is £23 per head per year; on African education it is less than £3 per head per year.

* There are not more than 20 African doctors, no African engineers, dentists, chemists, engine drivers, etc. Technical education in trades schools and technical institutes and vocational guidance are only for the white, except for a couple of highly inadequate agricultural schools.

* South Africa is the one country in the world which has actual laws in its statute book preventing the majority of its workers from performing skilled work.

* A white mine worker gets £45 to £50 per month, while the black mine worker gets 45s. per month.

* Expenditure on prisons and the police force is £3 million, but the Government can only afford £2 million for African education.

> "The legal position today is such that the police can arrest any African walking down the main street of Johannesburg at any time of the day or night, and any competent prosecutor would have no difficulty whatever in finding some offence with which he could be charged."[58]

"Apartheid" is the final step for the transformation of South Africa from a prison house into a concentration camp for its non-white population.

Dr. Dadoo, the South African Indian leader, says:

> "Apartheid is barbaric in conception, fascist in principle and oppressive in practice. Apartheid only over our dead bodies."

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[58] Julius Lewin, Lecturer in Native Law at the University of the Witwatersrand

Herrenvolk State

The Union of South Africa is a classic, and indeed, the only example in the world today of a State which is founded and maintained on a doctrine of the supremacy of one race over another, and which masquerades as a democracy. Of a population of 11 million people, the tiny minority of two and one quarter million, all Whites, have the full franchise, and have the right to elect and be elected to the legislative bodies of the country. The great majority, Bantu, Coloured and Indians, are excluded from these fundamental rights of the citizen. The whole apparatus of the State is guided by a dual standard of ethics, one which applies to the white man and another to the non-white, geared and reinforced by innumerable colour-bar laws that intrude into the whole fabric of society and relate to the minute details of human activity. Even the churches are not free from this policy of racial segregation, in contradiction of their teachings of the brotherhood of man. All non-White people, including the Indians, are unable to move freely in all parts of South African cities; they may enjoy only those sections of South Africa's beaches, usually the least pleasant, which are set aside for them; they may not be employed in any of the skilled trades; they cannot become engineers, accountants or pharmacists because no European firm will undertake to apprentice a non-European. The Civil Service is closed to non-Europeans, as are also the technical colleges and most of the universities. They may not use the libraries, cinemas, public transport, public conveniences, post offices, which are so generously provided for the White, and so few and so poor for "Non-Europeans Only." In politics, in commerce, in industry and in science, in sickness and in health, in culture and in education, the non-White is ostracised and humiliated, as were the Jews of Hitlerite Europe. The common-place notice "Non-Europeans and Dogs Not Allowed" reveals most clearly the attitude of White South Africa.

As in Nazi Germany, the fires of racial hatred are stoked with the fuel of hysterical campaigns of racial hate against Indians, which often eventually lead to beatings. A Durban Indian newspaper, *The Leader* (February 7, 1948), commenting on one of these campaigns, says:

> "The most disturbing feature of the attack on an Indian by Europeans was the relish with which one of Durban's Sunday papers reported the sordid details of the assault and manhandling of one Indian by eight brave, courageous Europeans. The details contained in the report are nauseating and remind us of the pictures we were shown when the war was in progress. We were shown the degrading bestiality of the master-race; we were shown how defenceless Jews were battered, assaulted and manhandled, and how the jackboot was applied to nameless men and women. We were led to believe that these things could only happen in the Nazi Reich, but today, two years after the war ended, we have first-class examples of these things."

The spirit of Belsen and Buchenwald stalks today in the land of the white *Herrenvolk* - South Africa.

South African Indians

For the third time, the Assembly of the United Nations will debate the racial and colour prejudices of the South African Government with particular reference to the treatment of the Indians born in the country, and the fate of South West Africa, which the Malan Government intends to annex. Twice already the United Nations have passed by large majorities resolutions condemning the Union Government's colour repression policies.

Mrs. Pandit, in a striking address to the plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, said:

> "The admission made by the South African Government in regard to the racial discrimination and racial segregation, its repeated attempts to embody them in law and its unquestioned practices in gross violation of the Charter constitute an indictment, which is proved by their admission. Over many years my Government, irrespective of its constitution and character, has appealed, complained, protested and sought compromises and agreements and has been finally forced into retaliation, to bring the matter before the bar of world opinion. The Union Government has taken no step and has not given the slightest indication that it contemplates even a temporary suspension of the latest instalment of its offending legislation.
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> "Both the head of the South African Government and his Government stand deeply committed to honour the obligations of the Charter. Unless the 54 nations assembled here place on the Charter a meaning and significance far below that which its words convey, then the issue no longer rests with India or South Africa, but with all the nations of the world assembled here.
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> "It is too late now to argue that fundamental violations of the Charter are matters of domestic jurisdiction of the member States. If this was the case, the Charter would be a dead letter, and our professions about a world free from any inequalities of race, free from want and free from fear are an empty mockery."

White South Africa has defied the requests made by UNO at previous sessions, and has returned to power the party of Dr. Malan, thus supporting an even more oppressive programme against the Indians and other non-White people. When the new Government came to power, the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses suspended the passive resistance struggle against the racial laws of South Africa - a struggle in which over 2,000 brave men and women were thrown into prison for the crime of defying laws which offend the dignity of the human being. The two Congresses wrote to the Prime Minister,

Dr. Malan, asking him to receive a deputation to ascertain the policy of the new Government regarding the Indians. The Prime Minister rejected the requests for an interview, accusing the Congress bodies of soliciting help from the United Nations Organisation "to incite world opinion against South Africa". He has since declared in Parliament:

> "The Indians have no right to regard themselves as part of the settled population who belonged to South Africa. Therefore the Indians must be satisfied to remain in South Africa under restriction. In the circumstances, the restrictions are justified."

As a cloak for their oppressive policy, the Nationalists are now seeking to label the Indians as aliens and foreign elements. Such methods are very reminiscent of the argument of the fascists. Dr. Malan, in his main statement on apartheid (in April, 1948), said:

> "The Party holds the view that Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is unassimilable. They can never become part of the country and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community."

The dangerous language that the Nationalists employ springs largely from "the dominant mentality in South Africa which is the *Herrenvolk* mentality," in the words of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, former deputy Prime Minister.

Typical of the violent racialistic expressions are the following, which we quote from the Election Manifesto of Dr. J. H. Loock, Nationalist candidate in the recent elections:

> "The dregs of India came here half a century ago to work on the sugar plantations... The *coolie* is not an inmate of this country, but a usurper and exploiter. Millions of people have recently been shifted in Europe to solve racial problems. Why can we not shift 250,000 coolies?"

Major P. W. A. Pieterse, warning the White Parliament that he would not tolerate Coloureds or Natives in the House of Assembly, said:

> "I say with the hon. member for Harrismith, Mr. E. R. Strauss, `Give me a machine gun and bring them before me and I shall mow them down as far as they come'."

Another South African M.P. said:

> "We are in favour of that '*Herrenvolk*' conception, because we feel that we share the Western culture. There are the Eastern and Western cultures in the world... We stand for the preservation of the Western conception and we realise that Western culture and the *Herrenvolk* conception can only be

preserved if segregation is applied."

These speeches reflect something of the terrible atmosphere that prevails in South Africa and the terror to which the non-white section of the population is subjected. Being voiceless and voteless, their national organisations, the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, refused a hearing, treated like pariahs in the land of their birth, sought the intervention of UNO. Dr. Malan chooses to say that this was done "to blacken South Africa's name abroad", and in what must be regarded as a most outrageous action, confiscated the passports of the accredited representatives of South African Indians, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker, the Presidents of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses respectively, men who have earned widespread admiration and respect for statesmanlike leadership and tremendous suffering and sacrifices. To prevent Dr. Dadoo from giving information to UNO delegates, he was actually taken off the plane which was to take him to Paris. Apart from the injustice of the action (in the words of Justice Murray, who granted Dr. Dadoo an interdict restraining the Minister of the Interior from preventing his departure, "the liberty of the subject is affected here, which is a most serious matter"), it raises questions of a very serious character for all those who believe in the United Nations as the hope of mankind. The United Nations will be debating questions affecting the whole future of the Indians in South Africa, but their leaders are muzzled and may not exercise the elementary democratic right of furnishing information to the Assembly. Such actions by a member State, which pretends to subscribe to the principles of UNO, make a mockery of it and sap its moral foundations.

The Nationalist Party had a six-point programme to deal with the Indians:

(1) *Repatriation*. In collaboration with India and/or other countries to repatriate or transfer elsewhere as many Indians as possible.

(2) *Indian "Penetration"*. Indian movement and penetration must be strictly controlled.

(3) *The Cape*. The Cape urban areas must be protected against Indian penetration.

(4) *Mixed Living*. The Indians must not be allowed to live amongst the other sections of the population.

(5) *Trading Licence Restrictions*. The granting of Trading Licences to Indians outside their own areas must be curtailed.

(6) *Family Allowances*. Family allowances to Indians must stop.

The Nationalist Government is already putting into practice their programme:

(1) Dr. Malan has made it clear that he is prepared to meet India and Pakistan at a round-table discussion only in order to discuss repatriation and not on the basis of the UNO resolution.

(2) An Act has been passed to deprive the Indian community of even the limited communal franchise offered to it in the 1946 Act. Although the Indian community has never accepted the communal franchise, it strongly condemns the motive that Indians shall not have any form of representation at all.

(3) The Minister of the Interior has stated that he is considering the appointment of a commission to investigate Indian penetration in the Cape Province and to impose further restrictions on the Indians in Natal.

(4) Dr. Malan declared in Parliament that complete segregation of the Indians is planned.

(5) The Minister of Social Welfare has cancelled all applications from Indians for State relief.

(6) As far as trading rights are concerned, Mr. Eric Louw's Department of Economic Affairs is expected shortly to promulgate restrictions on the issue of trading licences to Indians.

(7) Indians resident in South Africa for as much as 15 years and domiciled within the country are being deported to India for minor offences.

(8) The 1946 Act is being rigidly applied by the present Government and a growing number of prosecutions are taking place which threaten the livelihood of many Indian families.

India has appealed to the highest tribunal once again to give fresh and urgent consideration to her case against South Africa.

The situation as far as the Indians are concerned has deteriorated seriously and unless timely and firm action is taken, the Indian community in South Africa faces disaster, ruin and extinction.

Case for Immediate United Nations Intervention

The doctrine of the supremacy of the white race over the black races, which is the State doctrine of the Union of South Africa and which has set South Africa on the road to Fascism, is a direct challenge to all the concepts of freedom and equality for which mankind has fought and suffered through the ages. The world must not forget that the crime against the Jews in Germany was only a prelude to the greater crimes against all humanity. So the attacks against all who stand for human decency there.

Neither in the name of "white civilisation" nor in the name of "Christian Trusteeship" can the inhuman doctrine of race superiority be accepted in this age. The United Nations has many difficult problems before it, yet, despite its limitations, it has established a very high standard of judgement and impartiality. A very grave responsibility rests upon the United Nations. South Africa faces the prospects of racial conflicts on an unprecedented scale which not only menaces the African continent but the peace of the world. Can our civilisation rise to the challenge of the pernicious doctrine of race hatred?

The dark races which comprise the majority of the people of the world have their eyes on this session of the Assembly of the United Nations, hoping that this terror which destroys all their desires and aspirations for a better life, which herds them into ghettos, which robs them of human worth and dignity and which makes cattle of men, will not only be condemned as it has been in the past, but that effective action will be taken against it, and the first step taken to eradicate it.

Is the world going to stop Dr. Malan and his race-maniacs or is it going to show him the green light, that he may go ahead unhindered to build his fascist State?

STATEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON, JANUARY 25, 1949[59]

Dr. Dadoo held a well attended press conference in London on Tuesday, the 25th of January 1949, at which he dealt with the features and causes of the recent Durban massacre, and placed primary and main responsibility for the pogrom on the shoulders of the extremely reactionary and fascist Government of Dr. Malan and the Nationalist Party.

Warning the United Nations he said: "The Durban massacre underlines in boldest manner the urgency for immediate action by the United Nations, if further and more dangerous calamities are to be averted."

Referring to the basic causes of grinding poverty, starvation, racial discrimination and the apartheid policy of the Malan Government, he stated "one cannot escape the conclusion that the outbreak here has the resemblance of organised attack that it was premeditated, although something went wrong with the timing, that a hidden hand of instigators lurks behind the events, that such events eminently suited the Government in order to weaken the growing opposition to the Government policy, that it may be used as a weapon to impose further repression on both Indian and African people, that the activities of the South African Protection League are calculated to foster and inspire, and get extended to other areas repetitions of what happened in Durban.

"The hands of the Malan Government are stained with the blood of innocent men, women and children. The Government and their racialistic supporters cannot escape their responsibilities."

He congratulated the leaders of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the African organisations for haying acted jointly together with commendable courage and despatch, to quieten the situation and afford relief to victims. He also paid tribute to sympathetic Europeans and the Red Cross for rendering yeoman services in supplying medical aid and foodstuff. "They have earned the deepest gratitude of non-white and all democracy-loving people," he said. Pointing out the task before South African people Dr. Dadoo said:

> "I make this urgent appeal to national organisations of African and Indian people to conduct an intensive organised drive and explain to the people the now situation, and to strengthen their organisational ties with the masses and to forge maximum unity for the struggle against apartheid and racial oppression and for full democratic rights. This united struggle must embrace all sections of South African people including all those Europeans who are against the policies of the present Government.
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> "While we welcome the announcement of the Government to appoint a judicial commission, we demand inclusion of African and Indian representatives. If we succeed in carrying out these tasks, we shall not only defeat fascist aims of the *herrenvolk*, but we shall also perform the historic role of transforming racialist-ridden South Africa into a fully democratic state with equal rights and opportunities for all."

Dr. Dadoo expressed gratitude to the Government and people of India for their deep concern and anxiety and their powerful expression of sympathy with victims and their readiness to help in every possible way.

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[59] From: Press release of the Transvaal Indian Congress

He announced that many enquiries have been made by British sympathisers at the South African Committee of the India League, as to the way in which they could morally and materially help and support.

> "In response to their requests, a fund-raising committee is in process of being formed, and we have no doubt that the British people will respond generously. While all relief should be afforded victims, both African and Indian, it is equally important that every possible step should be taken to remove the basic causes which make such calamities possible. We therefore make earnest appeals to people and organisations in Britain to ask the British Government to support India's case against South Africa at the United Nations so as to bring to book the Government of South Africa for its racial and fascist policies."

"INDIA, SOUTH AFRICA AND U.N.O.": ARTICLE IN *INDIAN NEWS CHRONICLE*, DELHI, SEPTEMBER 25, 1949

The complaint lodged by India against South Africa on its policy of discrimination against the South African Indian community once again constitutes an important item on the agenda at the forthcoming fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly which opened at Lake Success on September 20. South Africa, a member State of the United Nations Organisation, has been regularly indicted before the United Nations Assembly since its first session in 1946 for its racial policies which were held to be in contravention of the United Nations Charter.

This question has, in fact, become a hardy annual with the United Nations Assembly. If anything it underlines the weakness of the United Nations Organisation in taking effective action against an offending member State for blatant violation of the Charter and deliberate defiance of the decisions taken by the Assembly after due deliberations.

If, therefore, the dangers of racial conflagrations and violent upheavals in South Africa, which may have deleterious repercussions on the future of world peace and the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial countries for national independence and freedom are to be averted in time, it is necessary to comprehend the nature of the underlying international factors which make it possible for the pro-fascist Government of Dr. Malan in South Africa to continue unhampered with their repugnant racial policies.

Thus a brief review, in this respect, of the history of the South African question before the commencement of the coming session of the United Nations Assembly may be helpful and instructive.

In the year 1946 the Government of General Smuts, in the face of bitter resentment of the whole of the Indian people of South Africa and the strongest protests from the Government and people of India, enacted the notorious Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act which is known to the Indian people as the "Ghetto Act".

The Government of India demonstrated its protest by imposing trade sanctions on South Africa and by withdrawing its High Commissioner and also by taking up the matter before the United Nations. The South African Indian community, with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi and the national leaders of India, launched out on a Passive Resistance struggle in which in two years over 2,000 men and women volunteers courted imprisonment rather than submit to this unjust law.

General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa at the time, personally appeared before the first session of the United Nations Assembly in 1946 and staked his reputation as a

world statesman in defence of the racial and anti-democratic policies pursued at home by his Government. He fervently pleaded before the international Assembly that India's complaint was a matter of domestic jurisdiction and thus U.N.O. was hardly competent to judge the issue. He moved that the question of competence be referred to the International Court of Justice.

The United Nations Assembly, of course, quite rightly rejected such an unconvincing and lame plea and condemned South Africa for its racial policies by the requisite two-thirds majority. It called upon South Africa to bring its treatment of the South African Indians in conformity with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

As was not unexpected, the resolution of the United Nations was deliberately ignored by the South African Government and the matter again came up before the second session of the Assembly in 1947.

This time a mild resolution calling upon South Africa and India to meet at a Round Table Conference in order to come to an amicable settlement of the dispute between the two Governments was passed by a large majority. However, it failed by a narrow margin to get a two-thirds majority.

General Smuts's Government again defied this decision. But before the matter could come up at the 1948 session of the Assembly, General Smuts's United Party suffered a defeat at the hands of the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan in the general elections held in May 1948.

Dr. Malan's party had been returned to power by the white electorate: the non-white people have no effective say in the election of Parliament. The Africans or Natives in the Cape Province are entitled, on property and educational qualification basis, to elect three white members to the House of Assembly of 153 members; whilst the Indians and the Coloured people of the same province are on similar qualification basis, entitled to a vote on the common roll with the Europeans but are not allowed to stand as candidates themselves - they can only vote for European candidates.

Dr. Malan assumed office on a clearly defined programme of "apartheid" or complete segregation of the various communities into watertight compartments, the abolition of the existing franchise privileges enjoyed by the African, Coloured and Indian people of the Cape and the repatriation, or rather expatriation, of the Indian people as "foreign and outlandish elements."

At the 1948-49 session of the United Nations Assembly, Dr. Malan's Government was represented by Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Economic Development, a notorious advocate of racialism and Jew-baiter.

In view of the gravity of the situation in South Africa resulting from the policy and programme of Dr. Malan's Government, which was in no small way responsible for the pogrom against Durban Indians, the Indian delegation to the United Nations pressed at the Assembly session for a United Nations Commission of Enquiry to go out to South Africa to investigate the matter at first hand. At a later stage in the proceedings, however, the Indian delegation withdrew its resolution[60]

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[60] Apparently some words are missing here.

The Indian delegation withdrew its resolution for the appointment of a Commission, and a proposal by France and Mexico - inviting "the Governments of India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa to enter into discussion at a round-table conference, taking into consideration the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights" - was adopted, with only South Africa voting against.

calling upon the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa to meet at a Round Table Conference.

During the last two months, in terms of this resolution, the Government of India have already approached the South African Government to arrange for the Round Table talks. The reply of Dr. Malan has been that his Government still adheres to the attitude that, firstly, the Indian question in South Africa is a matter of domestic concern and, secondly, the declaration of human rights adopted by the United Nations is more idealistic than practical.

However, in spite of these objections, the South African Government have suggested preliminary talks between the representatives of India, Pakistan and South Africa in order to discuss an agenda for a Round Table Conference.

The latter suggestion was forthwith accepted by Pandit Nehru, who invited Dr. Malan to advise him of the venue and date for such preliminary talks. South Africa made a move when only two weeks remained before the United Nations Assembly began its work.

In these proceedings on the South African question at the United Nations certain factors are worthy of our consideration. The most glaring fact is the shameful role played by the United States of America, Britain, the white Dominions and the colonial Powers making it almost impossible for the United Nations to take effective steps against South Africa. Although they could not openly rally in defence of racialism, the actions of those States, both inside and outside of the Assembly, were aimed at rendering as much support as possible to the South African Government.

In the early stages, they sided with South Africa in the contention that the matter should go before the International Court of Justice and when that was rejected by the Assembly, they threw in their weight on the side which sought to make any resolution on South Africa as ineffective as possible. It is an open secret that they brought to bear their influence on other satellite States to take up the same attitude. Thus it can be seen in so far as America and Britain particularly are concerned, they have been following generally a policy of appeasement towards South Africa.

Thus having been assured of the not unhelpful attitude of Britain and America, Dr. Malan's Government have been emboldened to defy with impunity the decisions of the United Nations.

In the face of the Assembly's resolution on South West Africa, the South African Government has virtually annexed this mandated territory by giving its white population direct representation in the Union Parliament and by its refusal to submit annual reports to the Trusteeship Council.

In regard to the South African question, subsequent to the United Nations resolution adopted this year, Dr. Malan has personally piloted an amending Act through the South African Parliament, making the restrictions imposed by the "Ghetto Act" mare drastic and stringent. This constitutes nothing less than the most blatant and open defiance of the authority, and an utter disregard of the prestige of the United Nations.

In view of the grave situation which has arisen as a result of the intransigence of the South African Government, it will be necessary for the United Nations Assembly to act with the utmost severity and despatch if a serious danger to world peace is to be averted.

In my opinion the Government of India should instruct its United Nations delegation to call at the United Nations Assembly for the most drastic action in terms of the Charter against the racial policies of the South African Government. The question whether the requisite majority will be obtained or not should not be allowed to influence this demand for necessary and timely action.

A watered-down resolution without proper sanctions to enforce the decision of the United Nations can, in present circumstances, serve no useful purpose. Such a resolution can only help to

maintain the illusion which has lasted long enough that something is being done by the United Nations.

It would be preferable on the other hand, to risk failure on a stronger resolution. It would at least unmask the role of the imperialist Powers.

If President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee can intervene in the Kashmir dispute on the pretext that it endangers the peace of the world, why can they not intervene in the Indo-South African deadlock?

The conditions of fascist tyranny under which nine million African, Indian and Coloured people are forced to live constitute a violation of all democratic principles and offer a studied insult to the Asian and Coloured races of the world.

The duty of India is clear in the matter. Millions of oppressed people throughout the world are looking to it for leadership and guidance. India must not allow itself to become a pawn in the imperialist strategy of America and Britain. Commonwealth connections and dollar aid mean nothing if they stand for the perpetuation of racialism and colonialism, for the utilisation of the newly-won status of Asian countries for the maintenance and extension of imperialist interest and domination.

In dealing therefore with the question of racial discrimination in South Africa - the United Nations is called upon to answer the question: peace or war. And India, the question: national independence or subservience to Anglo-American policy.

"MARCH FORWARD, UNITED, THROUGH STRUGGLE TO FREEDOM": STATEMENT ON RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA, OCTOBER 1949[61]

"I am happy to be back in my homeland. I will have the opportunity to again take my full share in the struggle of all anti-Nationalists to overthrow the Malan Government and to establish a truly democratic State which will ensure full citizenship rights to every citizen."

These were Dr. Y. M. Dadoo's first words on arriving back in the Union last week from India, in defiance of threats of deportation and State action against him made by blustering Nationalists at their Party congresses.

Dr. Dadoo was denied a passport to the United Nations just over a year ago. During that year, travelling without a passport, Dr. Dadoo has enlisted support for the democratic cause in South Africa from Britain, Europe, India and Pakistan.

Interviewed by *The Guardian* the day after his return, Dr. Dadoo was emphatic that "every attack on the meagre rights of the Non-Europeans must be resisted."

"Every issue is a battleground on which the people must struggle for their existing rights and the extension of them.

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[61] From *The Guardian*, Cape Town, October 20, 1949

"The Government must not be allowed to mow down one section of the people or get away with any single attack, no matter how small."

Dr. Dadoo said he wished to warn the Indian people that they had no justifiable grounds for survival in South Africa unless they made common cause with, and worked in the fullest cooperation with, the Africans and all oppressed peoples in the struggle for national liberation.

Dr. Dadoo said that the Smuts` policy of divide and rule had been to give occasional trivial concessions to one section of the people as against another, in this way trying to prevent the unity of struggle of the Non-Europeans. He continued:

"Malan's tactics are, with the aid of police intimidation, pressure tactics, and threats of violence, to scare the people into inactivity and to create groups of stooges who, to save their own skins, not only do not oppose the Government, but themselves preach a brand of apartheid among their own people and help to foster racial antagonisms.

"The people must not be duped by these attempted sell-outs. They must make short work of the enemies of a vigorous anti-Nationalist struggle.

"The people of South Africa must march forward, unitedly, through struggle to freedom and must take their place as proud fighters in the democratic camp of the world headed by the Soviet Union, People's China, the new democracies and hundreds of millions of toiling people advancing towards peace, freedom and socialism."

"MALAN CANNOT SUCCEED WHERE HITLER FAILED": INTERVIEW TO *THE GUARDIAN*, CAPE TOWN, JUNE 1950[62]

"Never before in the history of South Africa have the national leaders acted so swiftly and with complete oneness of purpose in their determination to beat back the fascist attack on the lives and liberties of the people of this country," said Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, in an interview with *The Guardian*.

"The leaders realise full well the disastrous consequences which would follow if the Nationalist Government were allowed to go through with the Suppression of Communism Bill. South Africa would be turned into a concentration camp; her people would be subject to the ruthless tyranny of a Gestapo.

"The people are prepared to fight to the last - they are not prepared to allow the torch of freedom to be wrested from their hands and stamped out under the jackboot of apartheid tyranny. Rather than let this happen they will sacrifice all they have.

"The Government must be warned that this Bill will not and cannot crush the demand of the people for freedom - it cannot change the course of history.

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62 From: *The Guardian*, Cape Town, June 15, 1950

"The Nationalists will have to bear full responsibility for the holocaust they are letting loose on the country. They will have to face the bar of history as Hitler and Mussolini did," Dr. Dadoo went on.

"The people remember the innocent victims of the Nazi gas chambers. And the memory of the slaughter of men, women and children on Freedom Day in South Africa, people who were killed for no other crime than that they strove for freedom, is fresh in our minds.

"We remember, too, and are grateful for the triumphant victory of the soldiers of freedom over the evil forces in Europe which attempted to build up a fascist empire on false race theories.

"The African National Congress has given the clarion call to action. June 26 may well be the great and historic struggle which will be the outstanding landmark in the history of our battle for freedom.

"For the first time in the history of Africa, the African, Indian and Coloured peoples, aided by democratic Europeans - the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa - will give concrete expression of their united opinion by staying away from work.

"The Nationalists think that by introducing this Bill they will put an end to the just demand of the people for freedom. How wrong they are! The battle is just beginning:

"MALAN CANNOT SUCCEED WHERE HITLER FAILED!"

TELEGRAM TO MRS. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, LEADER OF THE INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER 21, 1950[63]

INDIAN COMMUNITY AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE DEEPLY GRATEFUL YOUR UNTIRING EFFORTS AND BRILLIANT ADVOCACY OUR RIGHTEOUS CAUSE. INDIA'S JUST STAND AGAINST APARTHEID TYRANNY AND RACIALISM AND FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS JUSTLY VINDICATED BY POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S DECISION. WE THANKFUL ALL DELEGATIONS HELPING ARRIVE EQUITABLE SOLUTION. WE THANK ALL MEMBERS INDIA DELEGATION. AFFECTIONATE GREETINGS

DADOO, PRESIDENT SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

STATEMENT WELCOMING RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA, NOVEMBER 1950[64]

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63 Press statement by the South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg, November 21, 1950

64 Press release of the South African Indian Congress,

We welcome with deepest satisfaction the resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations General Assembly.

We welcome in particular the clause calling upon South Africa to suspend the operation of the Group Areas Act pending a settlement through Round Table talks before 10th April, 1951.

This Act, which is already in the process of operation, aims at expatriating all Asians and imposes further oppression on the African and Coloured people. It was enacted in utter disregard of the wishes of the Non-European people since they have no direct voice or vote in the councils of Government and in the teeth of their strong opposition throughout the country.

The voting on the resolution in the General Assembly shows clearly that Asia is no longer prepared to tolerate the stigma of inferiority and dishonour and that the Coloured and non-white peoples of the world will not put up with racial discrimination in any form anywhere.

The responsibility now lies with the Union Government; an attitude of defiance will not help South Africa. The path of wisdom dictates that Dr. Malan's Government should lose no time in implementing the resolution.

The S.A.I.C. on behalf of the Indian community expresses its profound sense of gratitude to the member States of the United Nations for their endeavour to eliminate the demon of racialism from the face of the earth and assures them of its determination to cooperate fully with all sections of the South African population in the struggle for the realisation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"FIGHT FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND AN END TO EXPLOITATION": NEW YEAR MESSAGE, JANUARY 1, 1951[65]

Grave problems of life and death face us and the peoples of the world in the coming year. In the international field the imperialist warmongers headed by the United States are engaged in feverish activities to mobilise war materials and manpower to drown the world in the blood and destruction of war.

But the people of the world say otherwise. They want peace, they want freedom and independence, they declare that subjection of every form, of one country by another, of one nation by another, of one race by another, leads to human conflict and disaster, and must be wiped out.

There is no reason why the peoples of the Socialist countries should not live side by side and in peace and harmony with the peoples of the Capitalist countries. There is no reason why atomic energy, the greatest invention of mankind, should not be used for the betterment of humanity unprecedented in written history, instead of being used as a most satanic weapon of destruction as hoped for by the warmongers of the world.

Johannesburg

[65] From: *The Guardian*, Cape Town, January 11, 1951

It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the peoples of all countries to fight for peace, for the outlawing of the atom bomb, for the elimination of racialism and for the recognition to every country of the right to self-determination.

Apartheid

In order to fulfil this grave and sacred duty it is necessary for every South African to oppose every aspect of the policy of apartheid pursued by the Nationalist Party Government of Dr. Malan. During the last two years this government has enacted many pieces of legislation repugnant to democratic ways of life. During the next session of parliament which opens this month, the Coloured people, and indeed all the peoples of South Africa, face the gravest threat to their liberties.

The Malan-Havenga pact which threatens the Coloured franchise, is not merely a threat to the franchise rights of the Coloured people who have the right to vote, but it is also a most sinister attack on democracy as such.

The 48,000 Coloured voters in the Cape may lose the right of the common franchise, but it also paves the way for a fascist State in South Africa.

End of Democracy

To allow the Cape Coloured franchise to go would not only mean an end to the era of liberalism in the Cape; it would mean an end to democracy as we know it in South Africa. It would mean not only one Witzieshoek, but hundreds of Witzieshoeks, where the legitimate demands of the African people for land and living space would be drowned in blood.

It would mean more and more forcible expulsion of the urban Africans to work as serfs and slaves on the farms of the Afrikaner *herrenvolk*. It would not only mean the greater oppression of the non-white peoples, but the slow but sure whittling away of the rights of vast sections of the European population. The rise in the cost of living not only affects the Non-European people, but the vast majority of the Europeans.

Our Tasks

And so our tasks for the coming year are clear:

1. In common with hundreds of millions of people throughout the world we must fight for peace, for the outlawing of the atomic bomb and all bacteriological methods of warfare, for the ending of all war propaganda, for the meeting of the big Powers for a peaceful settlement of all disputes.

2. The elimination of racialism and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination in South Africa.

3. The abolition of the pass laws, police raids in locations, the granting of land for those who need it, the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Citizenship Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

4. An end to apartheid tyranny, which includes discrimination of languages, citizenship rights and the establishment of a *broederbond* republic.

A Convention

To end apartheid tyranny in 1951 it is fundamentally necessary that a clarion call should go out from the African National Congress, representing vast sections of the South African population, for the calling of a National Convention in the immediate future; to bring together at a central

conference representatives of all sections of the South African population, both white and non-white, in order to resolve on a programme which would oppose apartheid in every form, and work for the recognition of the human dignity and the basic human rights of all social groups of people in consonance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

This is a question which merits the attention and consideration of ail South Africans, and on this... will depend the future of South Africa.

1951 must see an end to apartheid tyranny. We fight for peace, democracy, and an end to exploitation of man by man on earth.

REPORT OF THE JOINT PLANNING COUNCIL OF THE ANC AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 8, 1951

To the President-General and members of the Executive Committee of the African National Congress and the President and Councillors of the South African Indian Congress:

WHEREAS the African National Congress, at the meeting of its National Executive, held on 17th June 1951, decided to invite all other National Executives of the national organisations of the Non-European people of South Africa to a Conference to place before them a programme of direct action, and,

WHEREAS a Joint Conference of the National Executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the representatives of the Franchise Action Council (Cape) met at Johannesburg on the 29th July, 1951, and

WHEREAS it was resolved at the aforesaid Conference:

(1) to declare war on Pass Laws and Stock Limitation, the Group Areas Act, the Voters' Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act;

(2) to embark upon an immediate mass campaign for the repeal of these oppressive laws, and

(3) to establish a Joint Planning Council to co-ordinate the efforts of the national organisations of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples in this mass campaign.

NOW THEREFORE, the Joint Planning Council, as constituted by the aforegoing resolution, have the honour to report to the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress as follows:

1

We, the undersigned, were constituted into a Joint Planning Council in terms of the resolution adopted at the Joint Conference of the Executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the representatives of the Franchise Action Council of the Cape, held at Johannesburg on the 29th July, 1951. Dr. J. S. Moroka, the President-General of the African National Congress, was elected as the Chairman and of the four remaining members of the

Council, two each were nominated by the executive organs of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

2

We are, in terms of the resolution mentioned above, charged with the task of co-ordinating the efforts of the national organisations of the African, Indian and the Coloured peoples in a mass campaign agreed upon at the Joint Conference for the repeal of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Voters' Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and for the withdrawal of the policy of stock limitation and the so-called rehabilitation scheme.

3

Having given due and serious attention to the task before us, we have great pleasure in recommending the following plan of action to the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress for consideration and decision at their forthcoming annual Conferences.

4

The African National Congress, in Conference assembled at Bloemfontein on the 15th-17th December, 1951, should call upon the Union Government to repeal the aforementioned acts by not later than 29th February, 1952. This call should be supported by the Conference of the South African Indian Congress and by all other democratic organisations which find themselves in full agreement with it.

5

In the event of the Government failing to take action for the repeal of these Acts which cannot be tolerated by the people any longer, the two Congresses will embark upon mass action for a redress of the just and legitimate grievances of the majority of the South African people. It is our considered opinion that such mass action should commence on the 6th April, 1952, the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary. We consider this day to be most appropriate for the commencement of the struggle as it marks one of the greatest turning points in South African history by the advent of European settlers in this country, followed by colonial and imperialist exploitation which has degraded, humiliated and kept in bondage the vast masses of the non-white people.

Or, alternatively, on June 26th, 1952. We consider this day equally as significant as April the 6th for the commencement of the struggle as it also ranks as one of the greatest turning points in South African history. On this day we commemorate the National Day of Protest held on 26th June, 1950, the day on which on the call of the President-General of the African National Congress, Dr. J. S. Moroka, this country witnessed the greatest demonstration of fraternal solidarity and unity of purpose on the part of all sections of the Non-European people in the national protest against unjust laws. The 26th June was one of the first steps towards freedom. It is an historical duty that on this day we should pay tribute to the fighting spirit, social responsibility and political understanding of our people; remember the brave sacrifices of the people and pay our homage to all those who had given their very lives in the struggle for freedom.

Although we have suggested two alternative dates, the Joint Planning Council strongly favours the earlier date as it considers that three calendar months would give the people ample time to set the machinery of struggle into motion.

6

With regard to the form of struggle best suited to our conditions we have been constrained to bear in mind the political and economic set-up of our country, the relationship of the rural to the urban population, the development of the trade union movement with particular reference to the disabilities and state of organisation of the non-white workers, the economic status of the various sections of the non-white people and the level of organization of the National Liberatory movements. We are therefore of the opinion that in these given historical conditions the forms of struggle for obtaining the repeal of unjust laws which should be considered are:

(a) defiance of unjust laws; and

(b) industrial action.

7

In dealing with the two forms of struggle mentioned in paragraph six, we feel it necessary to reiterate the following fundamental principle which is the kernel of our struggle for freedom:

All people irrespective of the national groups they may belong to, and irrespective of the colour of their skin, are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality. Full democratic rights with a direct say in the affairs of the Government are the inalienable rights of every individual - a right which in South Africa must be realised now if the country is to be saved from social chaos and tyranny and from the evils arising out of the existing denial of franchise rights to vast masses of the population on grounds of race and colour. The struggle which the national organisations of the Non-European people are conducting is not directed against any race or national group but against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the transformation or creation of conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African.

We believe that without realisation of these principles, race hatred and bitterness cannot be eliminated and the overwhelming majority of the people cannot find a firm foundation for progress and happiness in South Africa.

It is to be noted, however, that the present campaign of defiance of unjust laws is only directed for the purposes of securing the repeal of those unjust laws mentioned in the resolution of the Joint Conference.

8

Plan of Action. We recommend that the struggle for securing the repeal of unjust laws be Defiance of Unjust Laws based on non-cooperation. Defiance of unjust laws should take the form of committing breaches of certain selected laws and regulations which are undemocratic, unjust, racially discriminatory and repugnant to the natural rights of man.

Defiance of Unjust Laws should be planned into three stages - although the timing would to a large extent depend on the progress, development and the outcome of the previous stage. Participation in this campaign will be on a volunteer basis, such volunteers to undergo a period of training before the campaign begins.

Three stages of Defiance of Unjust Laws:

(a) *First Stage*. Commencement of the struggle by calling upon selected and trained persons to go into action in the big centres, e.g., Johannesburg, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

(b) *Second Stage*. Number of volunteer corps to be increased as well as the number of centres of operation.

(c) *Third Stage*. This is the stage of mass action during which, as far as possible, the struggle should broaden out on a country-wide scale and assume a general mass character. For its success preparations on a mass scale to cover the people both in the urban and rural areas would be necessary.

9

Joint Planning Council. In order to prosecute and put into effect the plan of Defiance of Unjust Laws and in order to co-ordinate the efforts of the various national groups, as well as of the various centres, both urban and rural, it will be necessary for the Planning Council from time to time to make recommendations to the Executive Committees of the national organisations who will jointly conduct, prosecute, direct and co-ordinate the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws as agreed upon by the Conference of the African National Congress and supported by the Conference of the South African Indian Congress. The Council must be empowered:

(a) to co-opt members to the Council and fill vacancies with the approval of the Executive Organs of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

(b) Invite representatives from Non-European organisations which are in full agreement with, and active participants in, the campaign, to serve as non-voting members of the Council.

(c) To frame rules and regulations for the guidance of the campaign for approval by the National Executive.

(d) To set up provincial, regional and/or local councils within the framework of the existing organisations.

(e) Issue instructions for the organisation of volunteer corps and frame the necessary code of discipline for these volunteers.

10

Under the direction of the Joint Executives, a provincial, regional or where possible local council will have the primary task of organising and enrolling volunteers into volunteer corps on the following lines:

(a) A leader to be in charge of each volunteer corps for the maintenance of order and discipline in terms of the "code of discipline" and for leading the corps into action when called upon to do so.

(b) Corps to consist of members of both sexes.

(c) The colours of the African National Congress - black, green and gold - shall be the emblem of the Volunteer Corps.

(d) Each unit of the Volunteer Corps shall consist of members of the organisation to which they belong, viz., ANC, SAIC, FAC. The Coloured organisations in the provinces of Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, participating in the campaign with the approval of the Joint Planning and Directing Council, shall also be allowed to form units of the Volunteer Corps.

(e) In certain cases, where a law or regulation to be defied applies commonly to all groups, a mixed unit may be allowed to be formed of members of various organisations participating in the campaign.

11

Laws to be Tackled. In recommending laws and regulations which should be tackled we have borne in mind the Laws which are most obnoxious and which are capable of being defied.

The African National Congress

Insofar as the African National Congress is concerned, the laws which stand out for attack are naturally the Pass Laws and the Regulations relating to Stock Limitation.

Method of Struggle on the Pass Laws:

(a) A Unit of Volunteer Corps should be called upon to defy a certain aspect of the Pass Laws, e.g., enter a location without a permit. The Unit chosen goes into action on the appointed day, enters the location and holds a meeting. If confronted by the authorities, the leader and all the members of the Unit court arrest and bear the penalty of imprisonment.

(b) Selected leaders to declare that they will not carry any form of passes including the Exemption Pass and thus be prepared to bear the penalty of the law.

(c) Other forms of struggle on the Pass Laws can also be undertaken depending on the conditions in the different areas throughout the country.

Rural Action

Whilst the Volunteers go into action on the Pass Laws in the urban areas, the people in the rural areas should be mobilised to resist the culling of the cattle and stock limitation.

(a) Stock Limitation: People in the rural areas to be asked not to cooperate with the authorities in any way in culling cattle or limiting livestock.

(b) Meetings and demonstrations to be held.

(c) Regional Conferences: Such Conferences in the rural areas should be called to discuss the problems of the people and to decide on the most suitable form of Defiance of Unjust Laws in the area.

The South African Indian Congress

Insofar as appropriate action by the South African Indian Congress is concerned, the conditions and effects of the laws vary in the three provinces, but we submit the following for the consideration of the South African Indian Congress:

(a) Provincial barriers

(b) Apartheid laws such as segregation in trains, post offices, railway stations, etc.

(e) Group Areas Act -- if and when possible.

The Franchise Action Council

(a) General apartheid segregation in post offices, railway stations, trains, etc.

(b) Group Areas Act -- if and when possible.

Both (a) and (b) will apply to the Coloured people in the other provinces as well.

In the Cape a strong possibility exists of having mixed units rather than having separate national organisation units.

12

The Population Registration Act

During the conduct of the campaign it should not be forgotten that the Government is preparing the machinery for the enforcement of the Population Registration Act. This Act is repugnant to all sections of the people and the campaign must pay particular attention to preparing the volunteers and instructing the masses of the people to resist the enforcement of this Act. The campaign on this Act may well take the struggle from stages one and two into stage three of mass action.

13

We cannot fail to recognise that industrial action is second to none, the best and most important weapon in the struggle of the people for the repeal of the unjust laws and that it is inevitable that this method of struggle has to be undertaken, at one time or another, during the course of the struggle. We also note that in the present-day South African conditions, the one-day protests on May 1st and June 26th, 1950, and the one-day protest in the Cape on May 7th, 1951, against the Separate Representation of Voters' Bill, demonstrated the preparedness of the people to undertake this form of struggle with no mean success. We are nevertheless of the opinion that in this next phase of our campaign lawful industrial action should not be resorted to immediately, but that it should be resorted to at a later stage in the struggle. In this new phase of the campaign a sustained form of mass action will be necessary which will gradually embrace larger groups of people, permeate both the urban and the rural areas and make it possible for us to organise, discipline and lead the people in a planned manner. And, therefore, contrary to feelings in some quarters, we are not keen to advocate industrial action as the first step, but only as a later step in the campaign against unjust laws. It should be noted, however, that our recommendations do not preclude the use of lawful industrial action during the first stage provided that conditions make its use possible on a local, regional, provincial or national scale.

14

It is apparent that the plan of action herein outlined cannot be put into effect without the necessary funds to back it. It is also apparent that no body of men can sit down and work out a budget estimate for such a vast national undertaking. Suffice it to say that a full scale campaign will require thousands of pounds. Conscious of this essential requirement, we recommend with some confidence that if the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress undertake to launch a "One Million Shilling Drive," it can sustain the campaign. The drive should be conducted under the slogan: "One Million Shillings by the end of March 1952 for Freedom."

National Pledge

This Council is strongly of the opinion that an inspired National Pledge should be issued which could be read out at public, factory and group meetings and repeated by all those present. A special day, e.g., April 6th should be set aside so that special meetings are called everywhere, in towns, villages, and hamlets, in factories and locations, and special church services be held on this day, where the National Pledge could be publicly read out. This day or any other day which the Conference of the African National Congress sets aside for the purpose should be called "The National Day of Pledge and Prayer."

(Sd.) J. S. MOROKA
(Chairman)

Y. M. DADOO
Y. CACHALIA
(Representatives of the
South African Indian Congress)

J. B. MARKS
W. M. SISULU
(Representatives of the African National Congress)

Thaba `Nchu
November 8th, 1951

"OUST THE NATIONALISTS FROM POWER": NEW YEAR MESSAGE, JANUARY 1952[66]

"The Union Government cannot hope to swim against the tide of history much longer. Its policy of apartheid has been decisively rejected by the overwhelming majority of the people, and must give way to a policy of human respect, racial tolerance and equal and direct say for all in the government of the country, if South Africa is to be saved from impending national chaos," Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, president of the South African Indian Congress, declared in a New Year message to all the people of South Africa, both European and Non-European.

"The Nationalist Government, mainly concerned with the implementation of its policy of apartheid, and paying scant attention to the burning question of high cost of living, housing and other essential needs of the people, is rapidly bringing matters to a head.

"Never have race relations been worse; never have the non-European people felt the tyranny of racialism more; and never has South Africa been more discredited in the outside world than now.

A.N.C. Warning

"A grave warning on the developing crisis in the country has been sounded by the conference of the African National Congress which met recently at Bloemfontein. The Conference, a most representative body of ten million African people, has called upon the Government to repeal some of the most vicious apartheid laws by the end of February, failing which the Conference has made a grim resolve to undertake a prolonged and protracted mass struggle of defiance against these laws.

"It would be a fatal error for the Government and the European people to dismiss this resolution lightly, for it manifests the stirrings of the Non-European people against conditions which cannot be tolerated any longer. The days are long past when the feeling and aspirations of the non-white people anywhere in the world can be looked down upon with contempt."

Urging the Government to act upon the A.N.C. conference resolution, in the interests of peace and the well being of South Africa, Dr. Dadoo made a special appeal to European South Africa:

"I appeal to the European people to view the whole situation in its proper perspective and not be blinded by colour and race prejudice. They are solely responsible for the election of the

[66] *The Guardian*, Cape Town, January 3, 1952

government of the country and in this hour of crisis it is their scared duty effectively to stop the Government from a course which can only lead to national disaster."

Dr. Dadoo called upon the Non-European people, African, Coloured and Indian to prepare themselves for the coming struggle.

Implement Decision

"The decision of the African National Congress must be implemented by us together with all those Europeans who are prepared to help us in the struggle.

"This must be done without malice or racial hatred. With unflinching determination we must suffer and sacrifice, act in a disciplined and organised manner until the evils of racialism are eliminated and our country, South Africa, assumes her rightful place in the comity of peoples as a genuine democratic state fighting for peace and progress."

Dr. Dadoo said it was not unnatural that the African National Congress should evolve a form of struggle peculiarly South African and born out of conditions in this country.

"The movement for the defiance of unjust laws as outlined by the African National Congress is as historical in its significance as have been mass movements of liberation in other lands. This in itself is a guarantee of its success and therefore not to be treated lightly. Whoever thought that in so short a time the Gandhian form of struggle would pave the way for India's liberation or that Nkrumah's movement in the Gold Coast would set the colony on the road to self-government?

"May 1952 ensure world peace and may our people bring to an end apartheid and racialism and oust the Nationalists from power! Therein lies the path to peace on earth and goodwill to all men."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE TWENTIETH SESSION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS CONFERENCE, JOHANNESBURG, JANUARY 25, 1952[67]

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We assemble at this 20th session of the South African Indian Congress Conference at the most vital hour in the history of our land - at a period of grave crisis - at a time when the Indian, African, Coloured and all democracy-loving peoples of our country face the most vicious onslaught on their rights, liberties and indeed, their very existence.

Meeting as we do, so soon after the momentous Conference of the African National Congress, which has given a direct and practical lead to the entire country, we are entrusted with the grave historical task of co-ordinating our efforts in the decisive struggle for the abolition of these evil laws which are aimed at destroying all human progress.

The Plan of Action for the Defiance of Unjust Laws adopted by the African National Congress Conference must therefore engage the serious and considered attention of Conference.

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67 From: *Onward to Freedom*, pamphlet issued by the South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg, 1952

This plan arises out of the hard realities of the situation in South Africa, the rest of the continent of Africa and of the world. The plan cannot be divorced from the most serious question which faces the whole of humanity, the question of peace or war. If indeed it were so divorced - and it is not - the plan would be unreal and most certainly ineffective. We must therefore examine the developments that have taken place in the international field.

War Clouds

Since our last Conference the danger of world war has not receded. Korean hostilities are not yet at an end: truce negotiations at Panmunjon have been bogged down. The colony-owning Powers, with the aid of American arms and dollars, are conducting what is virtually a full-scale war against the gallant peoples of Malaya and Viet Nam who wage a heroic struggle for the freedom and independence of their countries.

In spite of all attempts to outlaw the atom bomb, atomic scientists in the Western world have been charged with the task of building better and more destructive atom bombs. Rearmament programmes involving huge percentages of the incomes of many countries, and having deleterious effects on the living standards, health and welfare of the people as a whole, are being speeded up at a terrific rate. The imperialist war-mongers, especially in the United States, are making feverish attempts to build up the war machine, pile up armaments and stockpile basic raw materials for use in a third world war which they are trying to foist on the world.

Humanity Wants Peace

Yet the common people of the world have no desire to be cannon fodder, to see their homes and all that has been built for the good of humanity through centuries of toil destroyed by the madness of war. They want peace above all. The horrible and terrifying experiences of the last war are still fresh in their minds. The people of Europe, having lived under the nightmare of Nazism, and having emerged from the rack and ruin of five long years of the most cruel war in history, want peace. The teeming millions of the people of Asia who for centuries have been crushed under the iron heel of imperialism and who have lived through the brutalities of Japanese militarism, want peace. They desire to establish their newly-won freedom on a firm foundation so as to bring progress and happiness to their countries.

The vast masses on the continent of Africa whose forefathers were sold as slaves by the advancing imperialists and who are bearing the heavy and costly burden of colonial exploitation, also want peace. They do not want the imperialists to turn this continent with its unlimited resources of raw material and human labour into a military and economic base. They want peace because war will be a severe setback to the great struggles for freedom and independence which are being waged by the African people throughout Africa, from North to South.

This intense desire for peace has found concrete shape in the campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact, which has already been supported by nearly half of the human race - by the peace-loving people of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, the People's Republic of China and the Western world, the Middle and Near East, America and Africa. It is indeed due to the vigilance and active fight for peace on the part of the common peoples everywhere that a third world war was averted in 1951.

Recognise China

It is our pleasant task to greet the new Republic of China as one of the most important factors in the fight for peace and in the struggle of colonial peoples for their liberation. It is indeed a tragic commentary on the foreign policy of the United States of America that it has so far prevented this great and mighty Republic from taking a rightful place in the United Nations Organisation as a power for peace. We must continue to demand in common with the rest of the people of the world

that the new People's Republic of China be accepted as a member of the United Nations and that the farce of the now defunct Chiang Kai-shek regime appearing at this World Assembly be ended once and for all.

Asia and Africa - the Doom of Colonialism

We welcome the struggles of the Persian and Egyptian people to bring to an end foreign exploitation and military intervention in the affairs of their countries.

We are following with deep interest the general elections which are now taking place in the young Republic of India in which nearly 200 million men and women who not so long ago were helots under imperialist rule, are for the first time casting their vote as free citizens. The people in the Republic of India and the Dominion of Pakistan are destined to play their full share in the fight for peace and the progress of humanity.

On the continent of Africa, despite obstacles of colonial oppression, the people of Gold Coast have made far-reaching advances towards self-government. The people of Nigeria are also making steady progress towards their objective of national liberation. We also note with deep gratification the great advances of the trade union and national liberation movements in the Rhodesias, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Uganda, French Equatorial Africa and other territories in North Africa.

The people of Africa are astir and the colonial Powers will do well to recognise their legitimate demands for freedom in good time, lest they have to bear the same bitterness and conflicts they experienced on the continent of Asia. The era of colonialism is fast coming to an end. This has also been underlined by the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations` call to colonial Powers to set down a date for the declaration of independence of the mandated territories. The year 1952 must set a new high water mark in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and against discrimination of all kinds.

It is in this vista of international developments that we must review the situation in our own country and adopt that course of action which will assure the end of all the evil forces which are making life an unbearable misery for vast sections of the South African people.

300 Years of White Rule

This year 1952 marks the tercentenary of the first Europeans to settle in South Africa. The European settlement changed the course of South African history. It was no mere accident: it was the birth of imperialism which carried the men of Portugal, Holland, France and Britain to far-flung parts of the world and brought the teeming millions of Asia, Africa and America under colonial subjugation.

During the 300 years of European domination and imperialist exploitation of South Africa a whole caste structure has been built up, designed at keeping the Non-white population in a perpetual state of helotry so that they must remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water. As the demand for cheap labour for the gold-mining industry and the European-owned farms grew, the Land Act was introduced in order to confine four-fifths of the South African population to one-thirteenth of the land surface; the Urban Areas Act and the pass and permit regulations were promulgated to control rigidly the freedom of movement of the African people so that they could be forced to find work in the mines and on the farms. The system of colour bars and racial discrimination, which ignore the principles of justice and equality in human relationships, became the order of the day. Thus it is that, robbed of opportunities for economic, cultural and educational advancement and deprived of any political rights, vast sections of the Non-European people today are living in abject poverty and misery.

This tercentenary of Van Riebeeck therefore has nothing in it to make the Non-European feel proud or to make him raise his head high and look upon the history of the last 300 years with any sense of glory.

In opening the Van Riebeeck Festival at Ohrigstad, the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, said that the Festival had come as a clarion call to all population groups in the Union to assume, by word and deed, their partnership in South African nationhood, and to contribute, each on its own behalf, its share towards the upholding of the nationhood.

This call of Dr. Malan can have no real meaning or value in the present set-up and conditions in our country. Partnership implies equality of responsibility as well as obligations and is impracticable in the absence of full democratic rights for all.

It is self-evident that the declared policy of apartheid which the Government has ruthlessly pursued during its three and a half years of office has brought our country to the brink of national disaster. The legislation already placed on the Statute Book by the Nationalists, if fully implemented, would undoubtedly turn our country into a fully-fledged fascist State.

Apartheid Means Fascism

A careful analysis of the legislation so far enacted by the Nationalist Government makes the whole trend of Nationalist policy perfectly clear. The Nationalists want to maintain white "*baaskapism*" at all costs, and that can only be done by the adoption of fascist techniques and methods.. The Government is attempting therefore not only to halt further advances towards democracy but even to curb and destroy whatever little democratic rights and privileges exist at the moment. The Government is endeavouring to divide the multi-national population of the country into separate racial groups. It wants to reverse the progress of the African people by sending them back into the days of tribalism, it wants to split the organised might of the workers by dividing the trade union movement on a racial basis, thereby weakening the power of the workers to bring about better conditions for themselves. This fundamental trend runs through all the laws so far placed on the Statute Book.

The *GROUP AREAS ACT* is designed to force the various national groups of the non-European people into ghettos and locations, strangling their economic progress, making them serfs, and thus annihilating any political force they may possess as a people.

The *BANTU AUTHORITIES ACT* is aimed at breaking up the political growth and national unity of the African people, splitting them into tribes which will come under rigid State control through the offices of the chiefs, and making it impossible for the people to fulfil their inalienable right to a full and legitimate role in the affairs of the country. "Back to the days of tribalism", is the objective of this Act.

The purpose of the *SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT* is to suppress the fundamental rights of the South African people to organise, to criticise and to express by written and spoken word, their opposition to any aspect of Government policy which they may consider repugnant and anti-democratic. In terms of this Act, the Minister of Justice has arrogated to himself arbitrary powers to victimise and terrorise any person whose conscience may compel him to protest against Government policy which he considers to be against the interests of the people.

Similarly, the *SEPARATE REPRESENTATION OF VOTERS ACT* is aimed at depriving the Coloured people of whatever limited democratic rights they possessed in the election of members to Parliament.

The regulations for the culling of cattle and so-called *Rehabilitation Scheme* for the African Reserves will have the net result of further impoverishing the already impoverished African peasantry.

The recommendations of the *Industrial Legislation Commission*, many of which the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ben Schoeman, in spite of the strongest opposition by the entire trade union movement, is proposing to incorporate into a bill to be presented at the current session of Parliament, are just as sinister and fascist in their intentions. The trade union movement is to be divided into racial groups and the trade unions will be at the mercy of the Minister of Labour. In short it will mean the creation of State-controlled trade unions on the lines of the Nazi *Arbeidsfront*.

The threat to the future

Back to the days of the "Dark Ages", to maintain white "*baaskapism*" is the sole concern of the Nationalist Party and the Government of Dr. Malan, so as to ensure an unlimited supply of cheap Non-European labour for the mines and the farms. This is the grave threat that all sections of Non-European people face today. It is a threat to the progress which the Non-European people have made in the economic field despite the multitude of legislative and administrative obstacles placed in their way. The needs of industrial development together with the ability of the Non-European workers to acquire skill in industry is causing a breakdown in industrial colour bars. It is a threat to the growing advances which are being made by Non-European business and professional men who are breaking through the European monopoly of commerce, trade and certain professions, like medicine and law; it is a threat to the developing force of the Non-European people to assume a rightful place in the affairs of the country. Indeed, it is a threat to the whole future of the Non-white people.

We are confronted with the alternative of destruction or survival - destruction of our hopes, our aspirations and of our future for a very long time to come. Destruction we will never accept.

Path of Survival

The path of survival is the only path before us. It is but natural, it is but right and it is inevitable that we as a people must survive and make progress towards our freedom. It was with this choice before it that the Conference of the African National Congress decided to adopt a practical plan of action for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. It is a grave and historic decision which if implemented can and must change the course of South African history. It throws down the gauntlet to the Government's policy of "back to the Dark Ages." It breathes a new hope to the oppressed peoples of our land.

There are critics who say we must hasten slowly. But to sit quietly and do nothing now would be to allow free play to those evil forces which are bent upon destroying us. It is also being said that to launch out on a struggle now is to put ourselves in danger, but the triumph of truth can never be attained without risking danger.

On the other hand, there are critics who say that the demand for the repeal of certain specified laws does not go far enough, that our demand must be for full and equal democratic rights. The African National Congress, however, has been wise in limiting its demands - for the laws named for repeal are the laws which constitute the greatest threat to our very existence. Moreover, who could deny that if we can succeed in obtaining the repeal of these laws by our struggle, we would not have taken a long step towards the realisation of our objective of full citizenship rights?

The 1952 session of Parliament has already started its work and we urge the Government and Parliament to take steps to answer the call of the African National Congress by repealing by the end of February the unjust laws specified by its resolution. It is fitting that the Government should be reminded of the fact that a government by a minority of the people of a country cannot continue for long to impose its will with impunity on the majority of the people. The sovereign rights of Parliament are derived from the people as a whole and not only from a section. For the Union Parliament to be sovereign it must derive its power from all sections of the South African

population, both white and non-white. A Parliament can only sustain itself when it respects the natural rights of man and conducts itself on the broad principles of democracy. Parliament as it is presently constituted in South Africa violates every principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As long as these principles are not recognised it will be the primary duty of the people to fight for their recognition.

The Nationalist Government would do well to make a serious and objective study of the laws of development of history. It is an illusion to think that white "*baaskapism*" can be maintained under current historical conditions. The death-knell of feudalism has been sounded, and it is now impossible to revert back to feudal conditions. History cannot be put into reverse gear.

It is this historical fact which has made South Africa the target of the opprobrium of the world. It is futile for some of the Cabinet Ministers of the Union Government to put blame for adverse criticism of the Union Government's policy at the United Nations Assembly and in the outside world, on the Communist and Coloured countries.

South Africa Censured

At this session of the United Nations Assembly South Africa's racialist policies have once again been condemned by an even bigger majority than in previous years. For the second time the Union Government has been called upon to suspend the operation of the Group Areas Act pending the settlement of India's complaint on the treatment of South Africans of Indian and Pakistani origin by a three-man Commission. It will be neither wise nor possible for the Union Government to continue to ignore this decision. However, although a majority of the member States of the United Nations have unequivocally censured the practices of racialism in the Union as a serious threat to the peace of the world, they have significantly failed in their duty to take effective action against South Africa for its blatant violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This indicates a serious limitation in the proper functioning of the United Nations Organization and so long as it is not rectified it will prevent the United Nations from fulfilling its main and primary task, that of establishing and maintaining world peace.

The Union Government cannot hope to continue to remain a member of this World Assembly and yet continue to commit flagrant breaches of its constitution. On the question of South West Africa too, South Africa has received well-deserved admonition. We welcome the decision of the Trusteeship Committee to hear the case of the Herero people from the Herero chiefs in person as well as from the Reverend Michael Scott, who has proved himself to be the outstanding champion of the cause of the oppressed Non-white peoples of South West Africa.

We offer our heartfelt gratitude to this great Christian democrat for his selfless and devoted service to the cause of truth and justice. We condemn in unequivocal terms the action of the South African Government in declaring this great statesman a prohibited immigrant. We shall continue to fight for the right of the Reverend Michael Scott to enter South Africa as a legitimate and distinguished citizen of our country.

On the question of the Union Government's intention to incorporate the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland into the Union, the Nationalists should realise that this is outside the bounds of possibility as long as racialism, *herrenvolkism* and fascism are practised in South Africa. The people of the Protectorates have no desire to submit to these tyrannies.

Repugnant Policies

We say to the *herrenvolk*-minded Nationalists in power that their policies are out of date and out of step with the course of history; they cannot hope to halt the onward march of the people towards greater democracy. The decision to embark upon the struggle for the Defiance of Unjust Laws is a direct outcome of the Nationalist Government's illogical and repugnant policies. The Government and only the Government will have to bear the full responsibility for the

consequences that will ensue. Even at this eleventh hour we urge upon the Government to return to the path of sanity and abandon apartheid as a policy and recognise that "*baaskapism*" is absolutely untenable.

Democracy is Indivisible

We urge upon the Europeans who are responsible for the election of Government and Parliament, to view the whole matter in its logical perspective and with an objective frame of mind and not be blinded by the passions and fury of colour and race prejudices. The destruction of the rights and liberties of one section of the people must have its direct effect on the other sections as well. The European people cannot expect to enjoy democratic rights if the Non-European people are deprived of these rights: the law of cause and effect must come into play. Democracy like peace is indivisible.

Racialism and the deprivation of fundamental human rights are the breeding grounds of fascism. It is little wonder then that the Nationalist Government is not only oppressing the Non-white population but is also encroaching upon the rights and liberties of the European people. Interference with the freedom of individuals to travel abroad, with the right of parents regarding their children's education, with the freedom of the press, with the freedom of trade unions to conduct their own affairs, with the freedom of criticism in opposition to the Government, are but some of the glaring instances of the way in which the rights of Europeans are affected.

The time has come when the alternative before the European people is either a genuine democracy for all or fascist tyranny from which no section will be immune. White "*baaskapism*" cannot save the old order of things for it cannot survive. Nothing can prevent the Non-European people from realising their aspiration to live as free citizens. Therefore, the European who hopes for the old order to continue bangs his head against a stone wall.

The Non-European people bear no malice or hatred towards the European; they are only fighting for what is their right. We want all South Africans irrespective of their race, colour, creed or sex to live on a basis of equality and to contribute their rightful share in building a free, prosperous, progressive and peaceful South Africa for all its people.

It is in this spirit that we invite all those Europeans who believe in genuine democracy and in the principle of humanity to participate with us in the coming struggle to rid our country of the evil which will only spell disaster for all of us. The responsibility of the Europeans is as great as that of the Government.

For the Benefit of All

In view of the fact that the Government deliberately brands every struggle of the Non-European people as an incitement to create racial hostility between white and non-white, we make it plain to the authorities that this is an unjust and malicious accusation, without any foundation and intended as an excuse for suppression. Our intention in launching the struggle for the Defiance of Unjust Laws is to benefit the whole of South Africa.

This, then, is the situation, both international and national, in which Conference has to review the position of the Indian community.

Indians Face Disaster

The plight of the Indian people is more serious today than it has ever been since their arrival in this country in the early 60`s of the last century. In daily life we are confronted with many problems of a grave nature - our Congress through its provincial bodies is constantly dealing with urgent questions of unemployment, particularly among Indian workers in Natal, with immigration difficulties arising out of the harsh and inhuman administrative actions of the Immigration

Department, with the need for schooling for the thousands of our children of school-going age who are without schools, with the dire need of housing and the deplorable lack of civic amenities due to the gross negligence on the part of local authorities in so far as Indian and Non-European welfare is concerned, and with a host of other matters of similar urgency and gravity.

But the all-dominant question of life and death which the Indian people face today is the operation of the Group Areas Act. Even in this opening phase of the enforcement of this Act, untold damage has been done to the interests of our people. Not only has the material progress of the Indians been brought to a halt but a great blow has also been struck against the property interests built up through decades of toil and sweat. Properties and homes worth hundreds of thousands of pounds have already been deemed to be illegally held in terms of the Group Areas Act and the Minister of the Interior has given notice to many companies to sell their properties within a specified time, failure to comply with which order would make their properties liable to forcible sale by the State, the revenue accruing therefrom to be added to the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Not only are privately-owned properties affected in this way, but properties like temples, mosques, churches and other public institutions communally acquired for the welfare of the community are also severely threatened.

Serious as this is, it will be nothing compared to the dire misery and abject poverty that will come to the Indian people when they are cast into group areas, plans for the creation of which are already under contemplation by many local authorities in conjunction with, or at the behest of, the Land Tenure Board.

Life Without Hope

Group areas will mean an end to all progress in every sphere of life. It will mean economic retrogression and impoverishment with all its concomitant evils of crime and degradation. In short it will mean a life without hope and purpose, a life cut off from the moorings of civilisation and a life at the mercy of the powers that be.

From this morass of degeneracy and frustration, the Government hopes to make it possible to expatriate us, or, to borrow a phrase from Mr. R. K. Nehru, to accomplish the "bodily removal of Indians from the Union of South Africa".

Many Peoples - One Struggle

In this respect it is significant to recall that the present leadership of Congress assumed office on the principle that the Indian community is not only an integral part of the people of South Africa but that its destiny is also unalterably linked with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the land. On this fundamental basis it sought the closest cooperation of all the people in the common struggle against racialism and for democratic rights for all.

The correctness of this policy has been completely borne out by recent events. The rabid racialists in the camp of the ruling class have been defeated in their attempts to promote racial conflicts among the Non-European people, of which the race riots in Durban in 1949 were a tragic example. Instead, the awakening among the Non-Europeans as a whole has forged strong bonds of understanding and cooperation, aptly demonstrated on the 1st May 1950 in the Transvaal and on the 26th June 1950 throughout the country, indicating in no uncertain manner the urge to unity in the common struggle for freedom.

It is in this light that Conference should view the Joint Meeting of the National Executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress together with the representatives of the Franchise Action Council (convened by the African National Congress in July of last year). The outcome of this meeting was the setting up of a Joint Planning Council of the two Congresses to draw up a plan of action to obtain the repeal of unjust laws. In terms of this

plan the Conference of the African National Congress resolved to launch out on a struggle of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

Plan of Action

Here then is the practical plan of action, the lead for which the oppressed people of our land have been waiting for so long to end the nightmare of tyranny.

Our Conference must examine this plan carefully and decide upon its course of action. If it decides to adopt this plan, then it will be the business of Conference to work out a detailed programme of how the South African Indian Congress through its constituent provincial bodies, will be able to participate fully, without hesitation, and with courage and determination, in this vital and historic struggle.

Act Now - or be Destroyed

There is no other practical course open to us. Those among our people who with folded arms are still hoping for some recession of the crisis, for some relief from the operation of the Group Areas Act, are indulging in wishful thinking, waiting for a miracle to happen. Crises are not overcome in this way - freedom does not drop from heaven like manna! If we do not act now we shall be destroyed. If we are not prepared to make the necessary sacrifices now, we are doomed to extinction.

Deriving our inspiration from the heroic struggle of our fathers under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi from 1907 to 1914 and from the great passive resistance movement against the Ghetto Act from 1946 to 1948 in which many of us had the signal honour of serving, we look to the future with confidence.

We say to the Government: "You cannot expatriate us, you cannot doom us to extinction." We are sons of the soil and together with all the other sons of the soil we shall vindicate the cause of truth, justice and equality.

FORWARD IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS!

FORWARD FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA!

LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER MALAN, FEBRUARY 20, 1952[68]

Sir,

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68 This letter was signed by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo as President of the South African Indian Congress and Y. A. Cachalia as Joint Honorary Secretary.

The Prime Minister did not reply to or even acknowledge the letter.

We, the undersigned, in terms of the resolution adopted at the 20th Conference of the South African Indian Congress held at Johannesburg on the 25th, 26th and 27th January 1952, are enjoined to address you as follows:

The South African Indian Congress as the representative organisation and mouthpiece of the South African Indian community, has at all times striven to protect and safeguard the interests of the Indian people against discriminatory legislation and to ensure their honourable and legitimate share in the development of and progress of the land of their birth and adoption, in common with all sections of the population, both White and Non-White. In spite of all its attempts, however, the position of the Indians together with the rest of the non-European people has been rendered intolerable by the discriminatory laws of the country. Indeed, their position had become so precarious by the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 that the South African Indian Congress has no alternative but to embark on a Passive Resistance struggle as a protest, and to request the Government of India to raise this question at the United Nations Assembly.

It is to be noted that when a change of government took place as a result of the general elections of 1948 and your Government assumed office, the Passive Resistance struggle was suspended and an approach was made to you in your capacity as the Prime Minister for a statement of government policy.

This offer, as you may well recollect, was rejected and the Congress was informed through the Honourable the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, that the Government was not prepared to grant the requested interview. This attitude was no doubt the outcome of the policy of your party as formulated in its election manifesto which laid the main stress on apartheid which meant the compulsory segregation of all non-European national groups into separate compartments or ghettos, and which specifically stated: "The Party holds the view that Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is unassimilable. They can never become part of the country and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community. The Party accepts as a basis of its policy the repatriation of as many Indians as possible and proposes a proper investigation into the practicability of such a policy on a large scale in cooperation with India and other countries."

The Group Areas Act which the Prime Minister has claimed to be the "*kernel*" of apartheid, is a law which runs contrary to all the fundamental principles of democracy and of human rights. The enforcement of this Act will cause mass uprooting of the non-European people from areas and homes which they have acquired and built through the toil and sweat of many generations. The setting aside of Group Areas will mean to the non-European an end to all progress in every sphere of life. It will bring about economic retrogression and impoverishment with all its concomitant evils of crime and degradation. In so far as the Indian people are concerned, the Act is intended as a means of expelling them from this country, (*vide* the Joint-Departmental Committee's report on which the Group Areas Act is based). It is to be noted that even at this early stage of its enforcement untold damage has been done to the interests of the people. Their material and economic progress is coming to a halt and immovable properties and homes running into hundreds of thousands of pounds are in the process of being confiscated by the State in terms of the Act. The Minister of the Interior is using dictatorial powers by serving notices on many companies to sell their properties within a specified time, failing which the listed properties would be liable to forced sale by the State. Not only are privately owned properties affected but religious and public institutions communally acquired for the welfare of the community have also been served with such notices.

The Bantu Authorities Act is aimed at denying the African people their rightful role in the affairs of the country and rendering them ineffective as a political force. The purpose of the Act in granting controlled powers to the chiefs is to split up the African people into tribal groups which could be effectively brought under rigid State control.

The purpose of the Suppression of Communism Act is to suppress the fundamental rights of the South African people to organise, to criticise and to express, by written or spoken word, their

opposition to any aspect of Government policy which they consider repugnant and anti-democratic. The way in which the arbitrary powers vested in the Minister of Justice have been used to attack the freedom of speech and of the press is evident by the attempt to unseat a Member of Parliament and a Member of the Cape Provincial Council who were constitutionally elected to their offices, and by the Minister's threat to suppress *The Guardian* newspaper. It is apparent that this Act is intended to crush the activities of all democratic organisations and trade unions which are opposed to the apartheid and anti-democratic policies of your Government.

The Separate Representation of Voters` Act is yet another apartheid measure which is depriving the Coloured voters of whatever limited franchise rights and effectiveness they possessed.

This brief summary of some of the main apartheid measures placed on the Statute Book by your Government will suffice to show that apartheid is primarily intended for the complete suppression of the non-European people so as to procure an unlimited supply of cheap labour. With this purpose in mind the Government is endeavouring to divide forcibly the population of our country into separate racial groups and tribes. The policy of apartheid is anti-democratic, reactionary and contrary to the laws of natural development of history and can only be imposed by means of Fascist tyranny and unrestrained dictatorship. Indeed, not only have the non-European people become the victims of this policy but it has also encroached upon the rights and liberties of the European people as evidenced by State interference with the freedom of individuals to travel abroad, with the freedom of the right of parents regarding their children's education, with the freedom of the press and with the freedom of trade unions to conduct their own affairs.

It is a fact of history that since your Government came into power it has attempted to impose its apartheid policy with callous disregard for the feelings of the people and disastrous consequences to the country as whole. Race relations have reached the most critical stage in our country's history. There has been unbridled incitement of race animosity and prejudice between the different population groups and unremitting race propaganda. There has been a steady increase in the use of violence and intimidation by the police and the occurrence of race riots hitherto unknown. There has been a constant tendency to place unlimited and arbitrary powers in the hands of the Ministers, powers which under the provisions of the various laws enacted by your Government are being used to crush the rights and liberties, particularly of the non-European people. There has been continuous impoverishment of the people, with a steep and steady rise in the cost of living, with the brutal enforcement of the Pass Laws, the forcible deprivations of the African peasants of their only wealth, their cattle, and the further enslavement of the urban African population through the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

It was in this rapidly deteriorating situation that the Conference of the African National Congress resolved to adopt a plan of action to obtain the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Separate Representation of Voters` Act, the Pass Laws and regulations for the culling of cattle as an immediate step to lessen the burden of oppression of the non-European people and to save our country from the catastrophe of national chaos and ever-widening conflicts. This plan of action was endorsed by the Conference of the South African Indian Congress which met in Johannesburg on 25th, 26th and 27th January 1952. In terms of this decision we have been instructed to convey to you the full support of the South African Indian Congress to the call made upon your Government by the African National Congress for the repeal of the above-mentioned Acts, failing which the South African Indian Congress will participate with the African National Congress in holding protest meetings and demonstrations on the 6th day of April 1952 as a prelude to the implementation of the Plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

It is with abiding faith and calm confidence in the truth and justice of our cause and firm conviction in democratic ideals and principles that we made this supporting call notwithstanding the contents of your reply to the letter of the African National Congress.[69]

We solemnly affirm that the Indian community of South Africa is South African and that it shall live and work for the progress and prosperity of the country on the principles of equality of rights and opportunities for all sections of our population, irrespective of race, sex, colour or creed, and that it shall continue its firm alliance with the national organisations of the non-European people and all democracy-loving Europeans in the struggle for a Free and Democratic South Africa.

We unhesitatingly and emphatically state that our struggle is not directed against any national group, that we bear malice or ill-will to none and that our struggle is solely against unjust laws.

The Indian people in South Africa bear the proud inheritance of the precepts and example of Mahatma Gandhi, devotion to the cause of righteousness and truth, courage and determination in the prosecution of peaceful struggles against injustice and oppression.

The non-European peoples cannot allow their own destruction by accepting apartheid - it would be a crime against man. Our ideal is clear, our duty defined, our efforts peaceful and our resolve not to succumb to the evils of apartheid unfaltering. In the historic era of greater democracy and of independence of peoples both large and small, we in South Africa too, are giving expression to natural freedom urge and democratic rights of the people - for therein lies the true *Pad van Suid Afrika*.

In the interests of peace, humanity and the future well-being of our country and of our peoples, we expect that unbiased justice will prevail and that laws which offend the dignity of man and retard the progress of South Africa will be repealed.

(Signed) Y. M. Dadoo
President

Y. A. Cachalia
Joint Hon. Secretary

STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE FIRST BANNING ORDERS UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT, MAY 1952[70]

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[69] On January 29, 1952, the Private Secretary to Prime Minister Malan replied to the ANC, on behalf of the Prime Minister, that the Government had no intention of repealing laws differentiating between European and Bantu. He warned:

> "Should you adhere to your expressed intention of embarking on a campaign of defiance and disobedience to the Government, and should you in the implementation thereof incite the Bantu population to defy law and order the Government will make full use of the machinery at its disposal to quell any disturbances and, thereafter, deal adequately with those responsible for inciting subversive activities of any nature whatsoever."

It is against every concept of the rule of law and the principles of democracy and an act of sheer impudence for the Minister to call upon office bearers and leaders of democratic and lawful organisations to resign from office.

We have been elected in accordance with democratic procedure by the membership of our organisations and we are indeed proud and privileged to hold office in order to carry out the mandate of the people in a proper constitutional manner, very unlike the Government which is subverting the rule of law for the purpose of imposing an open dictatorship on the people.

It is extremely foolhardy for Mr. Swart[71] to imagine that by removing some leaders from official posts in their organisations, he will manage to strangle the activities of these organisations. The Minister, with all the weapons of suppression at his command, cannot and will not suppress the activities of the masses of the people against injustice and oppression.

Warning

The warning is clear for the people to see - both white and non-white! Today, the whip of dictatorship is cracked down on the heads of the leaders of the Non-European people, tomorrow it will be the turn of the leaders of the trade union movement, and then all and sundry who do not see eye to eye with the policy of Dr. Malan's Government will find themselves the victims of the law of the jungle.

The first and fundamental task before the South African people, European and Non-European alike, is to stop the government before it is too late, and oust it from office. Firm and resolute action must be taken by the people now. Intra-Parliamentary struggle is played out, it is now for the masses of the people everywhere to act and express in tangible form their opposition to the anti-democratic actions of the government. It is not too late - it can and must be done. From the factories and workshops, from the homes and the farms the voice of the people must be raised. The Nationalist Government has made a farce of the rule of law and laws are no longer made for the maintenance of law and order and the good government of the country. Laws are now framed to impose the will of the fascist clique in power. Civil liberty, freedom of speech and movement and every principle of democracy are being ruthlessly crushed.

No Alternative

It is clearly the duty of every citizen to obey the laws of the State but when certain laws are made in defiance of the rule of law and contrary to the cherished principles of civil liberty, then these laws are bad, unjust and immoral and cannot be tolerated by the people. When all normal constitutional avenues for voicing the opposition of the people against unjust laws are brutally closed by the government, then the people have no alternative but to defy these laws.

It is in this context that the plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws undertaken by the African National Congress and supported by the South African Indian Congress should be viewed and understood. If the United Party, !he Labour Party and the Torch Commando are in right earnest to save South Africa from fascism then there is only one way, that of building a firm alliance with the national organisations of the Non-European people on the basis of full democratic rights for all, in an all-out struggle to stop the Nationalist fascists. Any hesitation on their part to build this alliance will be a great and unforgivable betrayal of the future of South Africa.

The Non-European people are pledged through the decisions of the conferences of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the countrywide demonstrations of

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[70] From: *The Guardian*, Cape Town, May 22, 1952

[71] Charles Swart, Minister of Justice

April 6th to implement the plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. The joint meeting of the executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, which meets at Port Elizabeth on May 31, is called upon to meet the new situation fairly and squarely.

Stop Swart!

Rid South Africa of Fascist Tyranny!

Act and Resist now! Black and white unite to oust the Nats!

Join the struggle for defiance of unjust laws!

STATEMENT AT INTERVIEW CONCERNING BANNING ORDER SERVED ON HIM UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT, MAY 1952[72]

It is not possible for me at the moment to outline the precise and practical steps that will be undertaken to defeat the ban imposed upon me by the Minister of Justice. This matter will no doubt receive the consideration of the joint meeting of the National Executive of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress when it meets at Port Elizabeth on May 31.

The darkness of fascism is rapidly descending upon the country - the rule of law is being blatantly violated by the Government of Dr. Malan. It is self-evident that laws are made by the State for the maintenance of law and order and for the good government of the country. But when laws are made in defiance of the rule of law then the party in power is not making laws but imposing fascist tyranny and dictatorship on the people.

The Suppression of Communism Act is one of these laws and cannot be allowed to operate with impunity as it threatens the civil liberty and freedom of movement of every South African citizen who finds himself in legitimate opposition to the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government.

It is clearly the duty of every citizen to obey the laws of the State but all laws made in defiance of the rule of law and the principles of democracy are bad and unjust and cannot therefore be tolerated by the people for long. Such laws are bound to meet with the bitter resentment of the people.

When all normal constitutional avenues for voicing the opposition of the people against certain unjust laws are ruthlessly closed by the Government then the people have no alternative but to express their disapproval even by defying these laws.

It is in this context that the plan for the defiance of unjust laws undertaken by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress would have to be viewed by the Government and people of South Africa.

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[72] "Dr. Dadoo bewildered by Swart's ban" in *The Leader*, Durban, May 23, 1952

STATEMENT FROM THE DOCK BEFORE BEING SENTENCED IN THE JOHANNESBURG MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR DEFYING BANNING ORDERS, JULY 1952[73]

(Extracts)

By virtue of my professional activities I have been brought into very close contact with the lives of many people in our multi-racial community and I have found that the problems of public health and the well being of the people have been aggravated to an alarming degree by the pernicious system of colour bars and racial discrimination which obtain in South Africa.

It is shocking to realise that this system has reduced the overwhelming majority of our population, namely the Non-European people, to a state of chronic malnutrition, ill-health, illiteracy and poverty. Indeed, more than that, the stigma of racial inferiority has engendered in the minds of the non-white people not only frustration but a deep sense of resentment against the whole fabric of society in which they are treated as sub-humans...

It is therefore that I felt it a matter of duty to express in some tangible and concrete form my and the people's disapproval of the highhanded and unwarranted actions of the Minister and in doing so I happen to fall foul of what I consider to be an unjust and diabolical law.

We are law-abiding citizens and are prepared to obey all laws made for the peace, order and the good government of the country. But laws in the making of which we have no say and which are bad and unjust and calculated to disturb the peace and harmony can not only not be tacitly approved of but must be fought by every legitimate means at the disposal of the people.

LETTER TO *THE STAR*, IN REPLY TO ARCHBISHOP DENIS HURLEY, NOVEMBER 1952[74]

The proposal made by Archbishop Hurley when he addressed the Indo-European Joint Council at Pietermaritzburg to the effect that the Indian community make a "gesture of goodwill, that they 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." falls flat as a pancake.

The Indians are mere mortals, of course, and as such pay heed to the magnanimous advice of the Archbishop. However, if residential segregation is a means of allaying European fears, then Europeans have no cause to fear.

The Indian community of South Africa has already been segregated and their occupational position pegged down by laws of the land which disgrace the Statute Book of South Africa and offend Christian morality.

As the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 and the many laws which preceded it have compulsorily and forcibly pegged down the position of the Indian he is no longer in a position to move his residential occupation into any area he likes. We may, furthermore, respectfully draw the

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[73] From: *The Clarion*, July 24, 1952

[74] *The Star*, Johannesburg, November 14, 1952; reproduced in *Flash*, ANC/NIC bulletin, November 21, 1952

attention of the Archbishop to the fact that this situation has not been sufficient to satisfy the racialism of the Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan.

It has seen fit in its Calvinistic fervour to enact what is called the Group Areas Act of 1950, the provisions of which will force not only the Indians, but all non-white groups, into separate racial areas and thereby attempt to force the poor Indian minority to quit this country bag and baggage.

The Archbishop's proposal is not only wholly unjustified, but also misdirected. In all humility it is the Christian task of Archbishop Hurley and indeed of all Christians to demand as a Christian duty that the Nationalist Government repeal all unjust and racially discriminatory laws and abide by the Christian principle of human brotherhood and, if unable to do so, resign gracefully so that Christian and human principles of equality and brotherhood may find an abiding place in our country which we love so dearly.

MESSAGE FROM MOSES M. KOTANE, WALTER SISULU, J. B. MARKS AND DR. Y. M. DADOO READ AT THE UNVEILING OF A MEMORIAL TO JOHANNES NKOSI IN DURBAN, JULY 18, 1953[75]

To freedom-loving people in South Africa this day is of great significance. Twenty-three years ago, late in December, Johannes Nkosi, one of the most gallant sons of South Africa, lost his life in the thick of the struggle for the freedom of his people.

The huge mass demonstration that was then organised against the vicious pass laws was indeed a tribute to this great people's leader, who, by his courage, showed the down-trodden people of South Africa that liberation can only be achieved through courageous leadership and unity of the masses.

We, who are following in this hero's footsteps, call upon all freedom-loving people in our country to renew their hopes in our great struggle to make South Africa a happy country for all, and to continue in every possible way to help the march towards liberation.

GREETINGS TO THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN BANDUNG, 1955[76]

The Conference of Asian and African countries which is scheduled to take place in Indonesia in the middle of April should mark a historical step forward in the fight for world peace and in the struggle to defeat imperialism and win freedom by the peoples of Africa and Asia.

The very fact that a conference of this nature could take place in 1955 is proof in itself of the growing political maturity and strength of those countries which not so long ago lay prostrate under the iron heel of imperialist colonial rule.

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[75] From: *South African Communists Speak*

[76] From: *New Age*, Cape Town, April 7, 1955

The ten million oppressed non-white people and the democratic forces in the Union of South Africa, and indeed the 150 million African people throughout the continent, will be watching with deep and abiding interest the deliberations at the conference.

The *herrenvolk* police State of Strijdom[77] assumes an important role in the war plans of United States imperialism and its satellites, the Western Powers.

Not only does South Africa supply uranium and other important materials for war purposes, but the oppressive State manoeuvres which impose colour bars, racial discrimination and police terror and which deny fundamental rights to its non-white citizens serve as a pattern for the rest of Africa in the dastardly war aims of United States imperialism to turn the African continent into an arsenal and a war base in its efforts to destroy the independence and freedom and arrest the progress of the democratic sector of the world, The master plan for Africa is the complete exploitation of the rich mineral and other resources and the ruthless suppression of the liberation movements and the total enslavement of the people.

It is for those historical reasons that the Afro-Asian conference evokes world-wide interest, We hope that it will take firm and decisive steps for the furtherance of mutual aid and cooperation in the noble task of defeating the war aims of the imperialists and in eliminating the fascist policies of the South African Government, also in wiping out colonial rule and oppression from the face of the earth. A free Africa and a free Asia are the handmaidens of world peace, progress and human happiness.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR *NEW AGE*, JANUARY 1956[1]

As the Union Parliament prepares to assemble for its new session, the people of South Africa face the grim prospect of more fascist attacks from the Strijdom police state on their fast dwindling rights.

Our African womenfolk face the ghastly possibility of having to carry passes and suffer all the indignity and oppression of the pass system. Our Coloured people stand to lose their voting rights on the common roll and they, together with the Indian community will have to bear the main brunt of the further and more vigorous implementation of the Nazi ghetto law – the Group Areas Act. Our workers of all races and colours will be confronted with the sinister and foul implications of the new Industrial Conciliation Bill which is intended to destroy workers' unity, strangulate their trade unions, rob them of their most cherished right – the right to strike – and to place them under the corroding influence of racialism.

In the face of this onslaught the people of our land must rally and stand firmly united in order to turn back the tide of apartheid tyranny.

One of the most important and indispensable weapons in all these struggles is *New Age*, the people's paper. Without it the freedom struggle would be so much poorer.

It is, therefore impermissible that we should allow it to remain a four–pager when the needs of the time demand that *New Age* should be at least an eight-pager, if not bigger. *New Age* will become an eight–pager before the end of this month! It is our duty and our task to keep it up to eight pages for the duration of 1956.

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[77] Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

[1] *New Age*, Cape Town, January 12, 1956

We must make every effort to raise every single penny we can to support *New Age*.

We must set to work right now:

> We must collect on every pay day from our fellow workers in factory and workshop.
>
> We must collect every weekend from our neighbours in our residential areas.
>
> We must organise concerts, film shows, fetes, bazaars and other forms of entertainment to collect money.
>
> We must regularly donate ourselves.

Act now! Donate and Collect! Help to keep *New Age* an eight-pager. Every penny for *New Age* is a penny well spent for freedom!

LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, APRIL 1955[1]

[Dr. DONGES' recent attack on Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, and on the South African Indian community, was strongly condemned by Dadoo in a letter of protest to the Minister of the Interior.]

As a South African of Indian origin I wish to lodge my strong protest against what appears to be a deliberate misrepresentation of facts in regard to Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, and in regard to the South African Indian community which you deemed fit to make in a public speech at Mossel Bay.

You alleged that there was discrimination against the 'untouchables' in India. The fact of the matter is that the new Indian constitution guarantees full and equal rights to all its citizens and any discrimination against a person or group of persons is made a criminal offence punishable by law. The 'untouchables' of yesterday are citizens of today in the new Republic of India and are able to participate in the Government of the country, as cabinet ministers in the central and provincial governments as well as members of all the councils of the state. They, unlike the non-European people of South Africa, are fully and lawfully entitled to own and occupy land and property anywhere without discrimination.

It is true that customs die hard and there may be certain instances of some orthodox Indians resenting the acceptance of 'untouchables' on a basis of equality, but such an attitude is generally condemned and the offender is liable to criminal prosecution.

Your reference to 'the forced removal of seven million Moslems from India to Pakistan' in comparison with the forced removal of the African people from the Western Areas to Meadowlands is as irrelevant as it is mischievous, in view of the fact that the Indian migration with all its attendant tragic consequences was born out of great historical upheaval connected with the transfer of political power from British into Indian and Pakistan hands in 1947.

[1] *New Age*, Cape Town, April 28, 1955

It is illogical to compare it with the well-calculated brutal plan of the Nationalist Government in forcibly removing peaceful African citizens from the Western Areas and robbing them of their legitimate right of ownership. The Indian people take strong exception to your remark that 'if it were true that Indians in South Africa were oppressed one would think they would be only too happy to escape from this oppression to the paradise in India.'

The fact that over 98% of South African Indians together with the rest of the non-European people are oppressed and humiliated on grounds of race and colour cannot be denied. Apartheid hangs like a heavy millstone round their necks. They are denied any say whatever in the affairs of state.

It would be indeed cowardly for South African Indians to run away from oppression. We, as good citizens and patriots, shall stay here and struggle together with all true lovers of democracy to halt the onward march of the Nationalist Government towards a police state and contribute our due share in transforming South Africa into a genuine democracy freed from all the evils of racial and colour discrimination – a country of which we all who inhabit it can truly be proud."

STATEMENT ON THE PROCLAMATION OF GROUP AREAS IN JOHANNESBURG, AUGUST 1956[1]

[This statement was issued by Dr. Dadoo following the proclamation of the first large group areas in the country. It appeared in Johannesburg on the eve of the all-in conference on group areas convened by the Transvaal Indian Congress for August 25 and 26.]

In time of crisis there are invariably timid, faint-hearted people who panic and, like a drowning man, clutch at any straw.

We, too have such people in our midst. The proclamation of group areas in the western suburbs has sent them running helter-skelter in all directions shouting: "Accept residential segregation," "Accept Lenasia," and in the words of a certain rich Indian landlord:

> "We have no alternative but to accept Lenasia as a residential township and to trust that the Government will deal fairly and honestly with us in regard to the preservation of trading rights."

With the proclamation of group areas there is no doubt that our people face a very critical situation.

What are we to do? Accept the cowardly advice of those who say "accept residential segregation first and negotiate with the Government for the preservation of trading rights and means of livelihood?" Voluntarily and willingly go to Lenasia now?

[1] *New Age*, Cape Town, August 23,1956

This would be tantamount to presenting the Government with an accomplished fact. What more does it want! Once we have moved our homes from existing localities it will then be mere child's play for the Strijdom Government to close down our shops, businesses and all legitimate avenues of making a decent and honourable living.

Those who hope to "negotiate with the Government for the preservation of trading rights" are living in a fool's paradise. The aim of the Group Areas Act is clear for all to see. The report of the inter-departmental committees appointed by the Nationalist Government in 1948 which forms the basis of the Group Areas Act, states in clear and unambiguous language:

> "The fundamental theme of the evidence throughout the years has been and still is repatriation or, failing which, compulsory segregation…"

Thus to hope for negotiation is an illusion. Harbouring such nebulous notions can only lead to vacillation and confusion among the people. It can only have the disastrous effect of weakening and disrupting the so far successful, united stand of the community against the Group Area Act.

Any weakening of our stand or any sign of panic on our part will serve as a source of encouragement to the Government to proclaim further group areas and press on with its policy of apartheid.

The critical situation calls for vigorous and energetic measures.

We must not go to Lenasia or any other group areas set aside for our people. We must forge a strong bond of solidarity between landlords and tenants in the common struggle for existence, by calling upon Indian landlords to cease charging goodwill money and exorbitant rents.

We must seek the co-operation of all men of goodwill and of all democratic organisations in forming local and regional vigilance committees for the purpose of defending the legitimate rights and opportunities of all sections of the people irrespective of race, colour or creed.

We must enlist the support of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and trade union organisations in a mighty campaign to prevent the country's economic progress and welfare being disrupted by the application of the Group Areas Act and the apartheid policy of the Government.

We must take our full and rightful place in the mounting campaign against every facet of apartheid throughout the country. What happens in a year or two years' time will be determined by how effectively and courageously we discharge now the tasks enumerated above.

"RACIAL CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA": ADDRESS TO MEETING OF PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MARCH 2, 1961[78]

South Africa has a population of 15 million, of which 12 million are non-whites and 3 million are whites. The white people of South Africa are a settled community unlike those in the rest of Africa, with the exception of Algeria and to some extent Congo. While at the present moment many territories in Africa are becoming free, 9 million Algerian people are shedding their blood in the struggle for freedom against 15 million settled French population, and we in South Africa have to battle against three million white people. There is no reason why it should be so. Insofar as white people are concerned our policy is quite clear. We do not say that we want to push the white man into the sea or throw him out of the country. Our demand is that democratic rights should be enjoyed by all people. There should be equality between man and man. There should be no discrimination on grounds of race or colour. White and non-white can live peacefully and build a bright future for all the people of South Africa. Its natural resources are developing and we can all live together in prosperity. But the three million whites who have amassed all the power and wealth in their hands do not want to give them up. They do not want to give up their privileges. They want to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. That kind of policy cannot continue. There is bitter opposition to it and in the end a bitter struggle might ensue. They cannot for ever maintain their supremacy with the force of arms; their police and their military cannot subdue 12 million people.

Apartheid received its greatest condemnation on 21 March last year. That is the date of the Sharpeville massacre in which African men, women and children protesting against what is known as the pass law system were killed. They were demonstrating in a peaceful way. The police opened fire on them, 67 is the official number of persons killed in one place and there were killings in other places as well. This massacre shook the conscience of the world. The matter was raised in the Security Council. The apartheid policy and the massacre were condemned and the Secretary-General was instructed by the Security Council to communicate with the South African Government in order to see if changes could not be brought about in this whole system of apartheid and racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. A year has passed but there has been so far no change on the part of the South African Government.

The question arises why do they persist in this policy, knowing fully well that they will have to abandon it sooner or later. They say that they want to make South Africa safe for the white people for a thousand years. The present rulers of South Africa have been very closely following Nazi Germany's policy. They were great supporters of Hitler during the war and they opposed the war effort of the South African Government. They are fascist-minded and want to hold on to their privileges, depending upon the power of the State, its police, military and Air Force to keep that power as long as it is possible for them to do so.

Apartheid Tyranny

The word apartheid, when literally translated into English, means separateness. Different racial groups are to live separately, so that there should be no question of their coming together. That is the simple meaning of the word apartheid. But in the context of South African politics, it is something more than that. The system of apartheid was introduced in the year 1948 by the National Party, which is still the ruling party in South Africa. At that time Dr. Malan was the leader of

[78] From: *Pakistan Horizon*, Karachi, first quarter 1961

the Party. Today Dr. Verwoerd is its leader. It is mainly a party of Afrikaans-speaking people, that is, people of Dutch origin. Out of three million whites, 60 per cent are people of Dutch origin. The remaining 40 per cent are English-speaking people. These are mainly of British origin but there are also amongst them people from other parts of the continent of Europe.

In the 1948 election, the first one after the war, the Nationalists came out with the policy of apartheid against the traditional policy of segregation which successive white Governments had followed. Under the policy of segregation, political rights were denied to the non-white people. There was segregation in every sphere, so that whites and non-whites could not come together. That policy has been followed since the time the white people came to South Africa in 1652. They had landed at the Cape of Good Hope, which is now Cape Town. They were looking for the spices of the East but by accident their ship got wrecked and they landed at the Cape. Since then Africans have had to face misery. As the white people moved up, they had to fight bitter wars against the settled African population. So far as courage and strategy were concerned, the African people were better than the white men but the latter possessed superior arms. Therefore, gradually the whole of the area of the Union of South Africa was swallowed up by the whites. The Africans were robbed of their land. There is a saying amongst Africans that when the white man first came to South Africa he had the Bible and we had the land; now we have the Bible and the white man has the land.

When at the turn of the century there was a war between the English people and the Boers, the Boers were defeated but eventually self-government was given and in 1910 the Union was formed. The Act of Union prescribed that there should be no rights for the non-white people. That was a betrayal on the part of the British Government who in spite of the representations made by the organisations of the non-white people, sacrificed all their rights and gave a constitution in which the non-white people did not get any franchise or any say in the affairs of the State.

Then came the Land Act of 1913, which deprived the African people of their land. The result today is that 80 percent of the South African population, consisting of non-white people, mostly African, have only 13 percent of the land and 20 percent of the population that is, the whites today own 87 percent of land. One can imagine the land hunger and poverty of the African people. Then there were the pass laws which control and regulate the freedom of movement of the African people. The aim of these measures was to ensure cheap labour for the gold mines, which were then thriving, and for the white man's farms. Later, with industrial development, there was need for providing cheap labour for industries. Cheap labour being thus ensured, the white people benefited from it and enjoyed all the prosperity at the expense of the blood, sweat and lives of the non-whites.

When the Second World War came there were those who opposed it. But in spite of them there was war effort and industrial development took place in South Africa. One of the natural consequences of industrial development is that there is influx of people from rural areas into industrial areas. Precisely the same thing happened in South Africa. This influx of non-white people took place in spite of the restrictive laws and it could not be stopped. With this contact came the question of apartheid. The Nationalist Party, in the interest of the white farmers, sponsored the policy of apartheid. In industry there was a policy of *laissez faire* supported by General Smuts who was Prime Minister during the war. In 1942 when the Japanese submarines were around the African ports, Smuts said 'segregation` is gone. He said that in order to mobilise the non-white people in the fight against the fascists, people were allowed to come into towns and some form of integration was taking place. With industrial development, black people came into the towns and naturally mixed with the whites. The Nationalist Party demanded that there must be a conscious, calculated effort on the part of Government to bring to a halt this form of insiduous integration. When after the war we had the elections, the majority voted the Nationalists into power.

Since then we have had this policy of apartheid. Every movement of a non-white person is controlled or regulated or governed by the laws of the country. We thus have in South Africa a

system of racial discrimination sanctioned by law, which is the worst in the history of mankind. Of course, there has been discrimination in many parts of the world. People in Asian countries and in other parts of Africa have suffered from discrimination of one kind or another. But here is discrimination sanctioned by law and enforced by the authority of the State against a section of the population on the ground that it is not white. Merit does not count. I may be a doctor, but when I walk in the street, I am a 'coolie`. People of mixed breed or Coloured people are no better treated. That happens in education and in social welfare. This kind of system makes life absolutely intolerable.

Is it surprising that people in South Africa should rise against this tyranny? We have been conducting a struggle for 50 years or more. Non-white people have had to suffer for it, many have been killed, sent to prison or sent out of the country and so on. In this decade, when territory after territory in Africa is becoming independent, there is a great upsurge on the part of the African people which no one can prevent. Freedom is coming to other territories in Africa. That has its impact on the non-white people of South Africa, who are determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end. Until they have won their freedom, basic human rights and their self-respect, this struggle will go on.

A World-wide Struggle

What about the other countries of the world? Can they do anything to help? The struggle against racial discrimination has been a world-wide struggle. A bond of solidarity has existed between all those who are engaged in this struggle. The struggle against racial discrimination is a part of that against colonialism. South Africa constitutes a base against all people striving for freedom and equal rights. You have seen what has happened in the Congo. What the colonialists gave with one hand, they tried to take back with the other. But they will not succeed in their desire in the Congo. The Portuguese too will have to forego their African possessions. The struggle in Africa is part of a common struggle of the African people. The independent African States recognise that fact, and nobody in Africa is prepared to tolerate the policy of apartheid followed by Dr. Verwoerd.

At the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference to be held in London a week hence, Dr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana and Alhaji (Tafewa) Balewa of Nigeria are bound to make that clear. At the time of the last year's Conference, a state of emergency was declared in South Africa, about 2,000 leaders were arrested and the two main political organisations of the African people were declared illegal. These organisations are now functioning underground. Most of the leaders were arrested but some of us who managed to escape the net were asked by our organisations to go out of South Africa to work abroad for the cause. Of course we could not have got permission and passports to leave South Africa from the Government.

The South African United Front comprises five organisations of South Africa and South West Africa. South West Africa is a mandated territory, which was given as a trust territory to Britain after the First World War. Britain in turn gave it to South Africa to manage it as a trust territory. The Government of Dr. Verwoerd has incorporated South West Africa into the Union of South Africa, unconstitutionally and illegally. The question is before the United Nations as to what should be done about it. The matter has been referred to the International Court at the Hague. The Government of South Africa is trying to find a loophole for maintaining that since no provision was made when the United Nations was formed that this territory would go to the United Nations, it belongs to South Africa. The United Nations itself has not accepted the South African position.

Boycott South Africa

It is our duty to thank the Government and people of Pakistan for their constant support in our struggle daring all these years. We want to thank also the people of other countries that have supported us. At the same time we ask them now to do something positive and resolute to help us. We demand that there should be a boycott of South Africa and it should be isolated in the international field in every possible way, diplomatically, culturally, economically. So far as this is

concerned we are very glad that the independent States of Africa at a conference last June resolved not to have diplomatic relations with South Africa and that is now being implemented by them. They are also considering the question of not allowing South African planes to fly over or land in their territories. The African States are determined also not to allow South African ships or South African goods to come into their territories. The movement is not confined to Africa. Malaya has just imposed a trade boycott against South Africa. That has also been done by the Caribbean States like Trinidad and Jamaica.

Then there are voluntary movements for the boycott of South African goods. There has been tremendous support for our stand from people in Britain, where it is now being officially supported by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress and unofficially by other organisations. A similar movement is afoot in the Scandinavian countries and it has been just as successful as that in Britain. To a lesser extent movements of this kind are winning support in other European countries and in the United States of America.

For our part we shall not be satisfied with the boycott of South African goods. We want economic sanctions against South Africa to be imposed by the United Nations. Every year the policy of apartheid has been condemned by an overwhelming majority in the United Nations. We appeal to the member States of the United Nations to wholeheartedly supports the proposal in the General Assembly for imposing economic sanctions against South Africa.

Membership of Commonwealth

Then there is the question of South Africa's membership of Commonwealth, a conference of whose Prime Ministers is to begin on 8 March in London. We appeal to member States to take steps to exclude South Africa from the Commonwealth. South Africa has decided to become a republic through a referendum, a referendum which was confined to the white people. Eighty percent of the South African population was excluded from it. Perhaps we want a republic; but we were not consulted about it. When the constitutional form of a member country is changed, it has to re-apply for the membership of the Commonwealth. South Africa has now to seek admission as a republic. We ask the Prime Ministers of all the Commonwealth countries to refuse it admission.

There are some people who say that if South Africa is thrown out of the Commonwealth, there will be no restraining influence on its policies. Dr. Verwoerd will impose further restrictive and oppressive measures on the people. Would it not be better to have South Africa in the Commonwealth so that we might exercise some check on its policies?

South Africa has been a member of the Commonwealth for many a long year but that has not had any restraining effect on its Government. On the other hand South Africa has been using its prestige as a member of the Commonwealth to further oppress non-white people. The factor of economic relations within the Commonwealth has been used by the South African Government against the non-white people. You know what will happen if South Africa is retained as a member? Dr. Verwoerd will go back from the Conference and proclaim to the whites that South Africa is still a member of the Commonwealth and he will be acclaimed as a hero by them. At the time of the referendum there were some among the whites who opposed the creation of a republic on the ground that if they did that they would be thrown out of the Commonwealth and isolated in the international world. Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues went round the country and assured the white people that nothing of that sort would happen and that South Africa would remain a member of the Commonwealth. If Dr. Verwoerd goes back successful then he will have strengthened his position amongst the white electors, and have a freer hand to carry out his detested policies. On the contrary if South Africa is excluded from the Commonwealth, that will disillusion the whites. They will then know that these policies will not receive even the tacit support of people of the Commonwealth. That will have a salutary effect on the whites.

I must say one thing clearly, namely, that when I speak of white people I mean the majority of them. There are brave and courageous whites who abhor racial discrimination and apartheid. We

respect and love them for the sacrifices they have made in common with us for our cause. Some of the Church leaders have also supported us. Men like Bishop Reeves and Alan Paton, a great writer and author, have had to go out of Africa. They had the courage of their convictions to condemn and speak against apartheid. There are others like them. There are also white industrialists who are perturbed because of the unfavourable reaction of the world to South Africa's racial policies. Its economic position is affected and people outside no longer look upon South Africa as a stable field for investment. By excluding South Africa from the Commonwealth you will further isolate it and weaken the position of those among the whites who advocate apartheid.

Tragedy Can be Averted

We do not believe that our battle will be won by outside pressure alone. We know that the struggle will have to be carried on, as it is being carried on, by our people, legally or illegally, openly or underground. As time goes on, that struggle will become more bitter and hard. There is still time when external pressure can help to shorten the duration of the struggle, to minimise bloodshed and violence on the part of the Government and reduce the suffering of the people. If timely action is not taken, we may see in South Africa, whether we like it or not, a situation similar to that in Algeria, perhaps on a bigger scale. That tragedy can be averted only through the active intervention of all justice-loving people of the world.

We have seen several Prime Ministers and we shall be seeing your Foreign Minister. Then we shall go to London. There Dr. Verwoerd will face a severe attack from the Prime Minister of the Malayan Federation and from other Prime Ministers. The Malayan Prime Minister has made it quite clear that the question of apartheid will be raised in the Commonwealth Conference in spite of the fact that Mr. Macmillan,[79] who having spoken of "the wind of change sweeping the Continent of Africa" has been trying his best that there should be no controversy about it. Mr. Diefenbaker[80] too has made his position clear to Mr. Macmillan and so has Dr. Nkrumah.[81] So far as others are concerned, they have not yet spoken their minds but we know what they think about it. In any case Dr. Verwoerd[82] is not going to have an easy time. A policy such as his cannot be tolerated in the year 1961 and it cannot last.

"FORCED WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE COMMONWEALTH - HISTORIC STEP FORWARD IN STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID": MESSAGE FROM LONDON TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE, MARCH 1961[83]

The enforced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth is a resounding victory for our people, and marks an historic step forward in our struggle against apartheid and for democratic rights.

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[79] Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

[80] Mr. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada

[81] Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana

[82] Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

[83] From: *New Age*, Cape Town, March 23, 1961

This is a stunning defeat for Verwoerd and a dismal failure for Macmillan in his frantic attempt to retain Dr. Verwoerd's Government within the Commonwealth by means of tricky manoeuvres both prior to and during the Commonwealth conference.

The Prime Ministers' determined stand is a tribute to their steadfast opposition to racial discrimination, as well as a tribute to the solidarity of the peoples in all their countries with the struggle of the South African masses against apartheid and for freedom.

The world is solidly against Verwoerd's racial policies.

We are now engaged in a campaign

-to urge economic sanctions through the United Nations;

-to call upon workers not to handle South African goods;

-to press upon the British Government to honour the spirit of the Commonwealth conference decision and not have backdoor trade and other deals with the Verwoerd Government; and

-to work for world-wide isolation of South Africa in the international field.

This new development opens up vast possibilities for us to make further inroads into the bastion of racialism and white supremacy built by the *herrenvolk* supporters of Dr. Verwoerd and his Nationalist Party. The people at home must redouble their efforts and work with renewed energy in opposing every facet of Dr. Verwoerd's Government. The Pietermaritzburg All-African Conference deserves every success in its demand for a national convention backed up by mass action for its speedy realisation.

Verwoerd's end is near. The warm rays of Africa's dawn of freedom will soon be felt in our beloved land.

"THE BELL IS TOLLING FOR APARTHEID": NEW YEAR MESSAGE, 1962[84]

The year 1962 will bring no comfort to Verwoerd, the white racialists and the colonialists.

The final and complete liquidation of apartheid and colonialism is on the agenda of history. During the closing days of 1961 we have witnessed the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, the last remnants of colonial rule in India, from the tyranny of Fascist Portugal.

Tanganyika, yet another colonial territory, has joined the comity of independent States. The patriotic forces of Indonesia are poised to liberate West Irian from the clutches of Dutch Imperialism if the latter is not prepared to hand over power immediately to the Indonesian Government.

Three-quarters of Africa has won political independence and it will not be long before the remaining quarter overthrows the heavy and murderous yoke of colonial oppression.

Not all the dollars, arms and white mercenaries which Western imperialist Powers can provide, and not all the shady manoeuvres which they employ, will help arch-agent Tshombe to halt the

[84] *New Age*, Cape Town, January 11, 1962

onward march of the Congolese people, inspired by the heroism and supreme sacrifice of Patrice Lumumba, to bring the secession of Katanga and the powerful monopoly interest of the Western Powers to an end and build a great united democratic Republic of the Congo.

At the same time the triumphant journey of our beloved Chief Albert Lutuli to Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, and the proceedings at the United Nations should serve as a clear warning to the racialists of South Africa that the bell is tolling for apartheid all over the world.

The age-old dream of philosophers is coming true. We are entering into the great new epoch of the deliverance of mankind from the exploitation of man by man.

Verwoerd has no friendly voice left save that of Fascist Portugal and that voice is failing. Neither will the support of the monopoly capitalists of Britain and the United States be of much avail since their financial and political interests are caught up in the web of contradictions.

The unity and determination of peoples everywhere are wresting political power and independence. Our white supremacist rulers cannot escape the inexorable laws of social development.

It is therefore with supreme confidence in the future that I, in this new year of 1962, send my fraternal greetings to all the freedom fighters of South Africa. The era of Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality and Happiness for all peoples of the earth is upon us.

Amandla ngawethu!
Power is ours!
Forward to freedom!

"WHY THE SOUTH AFRICA UNITED FRONT FAILED: DISRUPTIVE ROLE OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS": ARTICLE, MARCH 1962[85]

"The South Africa United Front has been dissolved," said the statement issued by the representatives of the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and South African Indian Congress (SAIC) - Messrs Oliver Tambo, Nana Mahomo, J. Kozonguizi and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo respectively - after a meeting of the South Africa United Front held in London on 13 March 1962.

Behind this bland statement lies the history of the Front's achievements and also of the causes which led to its tragic downfall.

The South Africa United Front was formed abroad soon after the Sharpeville massacre, when the Verwoerd Government had unleashed a regime of terror, murder and violence. Our leading organisations were suppressed and many of our leaders and other democrats were detained without trial.

Our Aim

We then felt that despite the deep differences that marked the policies of the ANC and with it

[85] Article published in *New Age*, Cape Town, March 29, 1962

the SAIC on the one hand and the PAC on the other, this crisis was so overwhelming in character as to demand of those of us abroad the joining of our forces in a united front with a view to seeking the sympathy and support of the peoples and governments of the world for our struggle, to bring international economic and political pressure on the South African Government and in general to secure its expulsion from the world community of nations.

We believed that by uniting with this purpose we would help and inspire our peoples and bring nearer the victory of their struggles.

Much was achieved in the early stages of the United Front's existence. By concentrating on what was common to all our policies and aims, we succeeded in winning wide international support for our cause. The trade boycott became one of the most important and, politically at least, the most effective instrument of world solidarity against apartheid.

We won effective support from virtually every independent African State. Largely through our efforts South Africa had to withdraw from the Commonwealth.

Divisions

However, these successes by themselves had not proved strong enough to consolidate or develop the unity of the United Front. Instead, the United Front became increasingly ineffective. It soon reached the point where it was doing little if anything to further the aims and tasks we had originally set ourselves. As a result the Front quickly fell into disrepute.

United Fronts in general demand a high level of discipline and integrity from their participants. They call for absolute honesty and frankness, for a regular discussion of outstanding problems and difficulties and above all for unity in action. They forbid public attacks of one partner by another. They prohibit conspiracies, underhand schemes designed to undermine one or other partner of the front.

This discipline has been shown to be of no less importance by the SAUF. We knew that existence as a united front depended heavily on the absence of recrimination and attack on each other and on our organisations in South Africa.

The ANC and the SAIC representatives tried hard to maintain the integrity of the United Front on these bases. They conscientiously held back from expounding their own policies abroad in their desire to maintain faithfully the unity of the Front. They refused, in spite of repeated provocations, to engage in attacks on their principal partner, the PAC. They always confronted their partners with common problems and had even compromised aspects of their policies - all with a view to maintaining the unity and cohesion of the Front.

Slander Campaign

On the other hand, the PAC had acted differently. The PAC and its overseas representatives and members - despite their presence in the Front - had already at an earlier stage embarked on a campaign of wilful slander and attack on the African National Congress and its leaders.

They directed their energy mainly towards establishing for the PAC the image that it alone was the leading organisation of the African people, commanding overwhelming support - a wholly fraudulent image in terms of the actual balance of strength of our organisations in South Africa.

Through malicious distortion and lies, the ANC was presented as being both conservative and the instrument of Communists, whites and Indian merchants.

Behind the back of the United Front, the PAC representatives worked for privileged contacts with governments and public organisations abroad.

Within the Front itself, the PAC representatives proved to be particularly difficult allies; they tried to foist their organisation's chauvinistic policies on the Front itself. They persistently refused to permit the Front to invite the support of other well-known anti-apartheid forces in South Africa.

These unprincipled methods of the PAC abroad were matched by a particularly treasonable PAC act towards the struggle of our people in South Africa itself. After having been invited and given positions of importance in the campaign for a National Convention and a three-day national strike in May last, members of the PAC withdrew at a vital stage of the campaign's preparations. Not stopping at this attempt to sow confusion, the PAC then treacherously tried to scab the strike by distributing anti-strike leaflets. Any basis for unity in South Africa was thus removed.

Furthermore, we understand that the PAC organisation abroad is now split into two sections each claiming to speak in the name of the organisation, one having expelled the other and both engaging in mutual recrimination of a most embarrassing kind. This has created abroad considerable doubt about the authority and political substance of the PAC representatives.

These then are the factors which have led to the dissolution of the United Front. This regrettable course may cause some disquiet among many of our supporters and friends. We are, however, confident that they will understand the reasons for the dissolution and will continue to support the cause we have stood for: the winning of a free and democratic South Africa, of full and equal opportunities for all our people based on a common non-racial citizenship, of one man one vote and the liberation of our people from the poverty and ignorance so assiduously fostered by the regime of apartheid.

MEMORANDUM, ON BEHALF OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, TO THE UNITED NATIONS GROUP OF EXPERTS ON SOUTH AFRICA, MARCH 6, 1964

The South African Indian Congress

1. The South African Indian Congress is, as stated in the memorandum submitted to the late Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on his visit to South Africa, the major political organisation of the approximately 600,000 people of Indian origin in South Africa.

2. In pursuance of its policy and programme of fighting against the racialist policies of the South African Government, the South African Indian Congress in 1947, through the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact, entered into cooperation with the African National Congress.

In 1952 the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress launched the historic Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws as a result of which Africans and Indians went to prison demonstrating their opposition to the tyrannical laws which were being enacted by the Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan.

3. The South African Indian Congress, as a result of the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People sponsored by the African National Congress, amended its constitution to make the Charter part of its aims and objects.

Thus the South African Indian Congress, as well as the South African Coloured People's Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats (an organisation of progressive whites which has now been banned by the South African Government) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions are fully committed to the Freedom Charter under the leadership of the African National

Congress.

4. On this basis the South African Indian Congress continued to undertake jointly with the African National Congress and other organisations, further campaigns which followed the Congress of the People.

Many of its leaders were involved in the Treason Trial, arrested and detained under the Emergency Laws in 1960 and banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

5. One of the major tasks of the South African Indian Congress has been in the forefront of the resistance of the Indian and non-white people against the Group Areas Act of 1950. The application of this inhuman measure whereby Indians are compulsorily evicted from their hearth and homes to live in separate areas or ghettos set aside for them on open veld outside of and miles away from the cities and industries, cuts them off completely from the mainstream of social and economic life.

6. The South African Indian Congress and its constituent bodies, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, have suffered heavy casualties as a result of the repressive measures of the Government. In terms of the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the General Laws Amendment Acts of 1962 and 1963, most of the officials and leading members of the organisation have been banned, charged with sabotage, placed under house arrest or put into detention.

The South African Indian Congress has not yet been formally declared unlawful, as was the African National Congress. But this makes little difference. As a result of the restrictive orders served upon its officials and members, the South African Indian Congress is therefore as effectively muzzled as the African National Congress.

Submission of Matters Related to the Mandate of the Expert Group

7. In terms of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 4th December 1963, the Group is mandated "to examine methods of resolving the present situation through full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all inhabitants of the territory as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed, and to consider what part the United Nations might play in the achievement of that end."

In respect of this the South African Indian Congress wishes to make the following submissions:

(a) The application of human rights and fundamental freedoms can only be achieved through the establishment of a democratic State ensuring fully elective institutions on the basis of adult franchise of one-man-one-vote. In this respect the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and other organisations of the Congress movement stand for the translation into reality of the principles of the Freedom Charter.

The Maritzburg All-in African Conference of March 1961, representing almost the entire African population, called for a fully representative National Convention, elected by all South Africans irrespective of colour, to frame a democratic constitution for the country.

This just and practical demand for the peaceful solution of the situation was completely ignored by the South African Government, and on the question of consultation with the African people, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, made the following statement in the South African House of Assembly on January 25, 1963:

> "Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white. 'Keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination. Not 'leadership,' not 'guidance,' but 'control', 'supremacy'".

(b) The South African Government has continuously and contemptuously defied all the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council urging it to revise its racial policies and initiate measures "aimed at bringing racial harmony based on equality".

The extraordinary gravity of the situation was recognised by the United Nations General Assembly. Not only was the South African Government enforcing its apartheid policies by increasing internal repression and the use of brute force and leading the country into a state of violence, murder and racial war, but was also threatening the security of the African continent as a whole, and endangering international peace and security. By its flagrant violations of international obligations as a member State of the United Nations and by its flagrant defiance of United Nations decisions the South African Government directly threatens the existence of the United Nations and its peace-keeping functions.

It was in the light of this situation that the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 on November 6, 1962, calling upon all member States to apply specific measures of sanctions as outlined in paragraph 4 of the same resolution.[86]

Further, the General Assembly set up a special committee to keep South Africa's apartheid policies under review and requested the Security Council "to take appropriate measures, including sanctions" and to consider taking action under Article 6 of the Charter which provides for the expulsion of a member State which persistently violates the principles of the Charter.

At the request of the African countries, the Security Council met twice in 1963 to consider the South African question. At its first meeting it called for am embargo on the supply of arms, ammunition and military equipment to South Africa. In December, the Security Council decided to extend the sanction on arms supply by calling on all member States to ban the shipment of equipment and material required by South Africa for the domestic manufacture of arms and ammunition. Further, the Security Council added its influential voice to the world-wide demand for the release of political prisoners and for abandoning the trials of anti-apartheid leaders now taking place in the country. The 1963 session of the General Assembly added to its 1962 recommendation of specific measures for sanctions by calling upon member States to stop the supply of oil to South Africa. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid of September 1963 went a step further in its recommendations to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

> "The Special Committee feels that they should consider, without further delay, possible new measures in accordance with the Charter, which provides for stronger political, diplomatic and economic sanctions, suspension of rights and privileges of the Republic of

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[86] In paragraph 4, the General Assembly requested Member States to take the following measures, separately or collectively:

> "(a) Breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations;
>
> "(b) Closing their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag;
>
> "(c) Enacting legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports;
>
> "(d) Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa;
>
> "(e) Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and companies registered under the laws of South Africa."

South Africa as a member State, and expulsion from the United Nations and its specialised agencies."

(c) The decisions on sanctions are timely and in keeping with the growing world-wide demand for effective actions to bring the whole apartheid structure in South Africa to a speedy end.

By the time the 1963 session of the General Assembly met, forty-six countries had formally informed the Secretary-General that they were implementing the United Nations resolutions on sanctions, whilst another twenty-one countries had publicly declared at various times that they had not maintained or had ended their trade and political relations with South Africa. This ready response by well over half the countries of the world has brought the issue of sanctions well within the scope of realisation and implementation.

(d) However, despite this achievement, South Africa's foreign trade is expanding and its economy is going through what is claimed to be an unprecedented boom.

The fact that South Africa's economy had continued to flourish since the boycott decision is primarily due to the unwillingness of the imperialist States, particularly Britain and the United States of America, to comply with the decisions of the United Nations. They continued to trade and extend their capital investments and helped to build up the South African military machine by continuing to supply arms and equipment.

Between 1962 and 1963 Britain, the United States of America and the capitalist countries of Western Europe pushed up their exports to South Africa by well over a quarter, raising their share of South African import trade from 65.8 percent to 70 percent. They also continued to maintain their high volume of purchases of South African products, taking well over 60 percent of her exports. Between 1960 and 1963 there was an increase in American capital investment in South Africa from $ 590 million to $ 700 million.

Conclusions

8. Repeated appeals by the United Nations over the last ten years have been completely ignored by South Africa. No purpose can now be served by similar appeals since failure to take effective action only encourages South Africa to believe that it can with impunity ignore these appeals.

Nothing less than the most energetic enforcement of the sanctions resolution can have the desired effect and any delay in implementing it will have the effect of weakening the authority and prestige of the United Nations as an international force for peace, security and justice.

9. No solution of the South African situation is possible without the total abandonment of the racial policies of apartheid and no useful purpose can be served by entering into an examination of methods other than one of seeking the most direct ways and means of making the operative clause, paragraph 4, of the November 1962 resolution of the General Assembly enforceable.

The South African Government has made its stand clear. It does not even recognise the right of the United Nations to interfere in any way with its treatment of the non-white people and it rejects the idea that there is an alternative to apartheid.

The choice before the world was aptly put by Bishop Reeves, former Bishop of Johannesburg, in his speech before the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly in October 1963, in the following words:

"The choice is between effective international action and the probability of bloodshed on a vast scale in South Africa. And the choice cannot be evaded by maintaining that all that exists in South Africa is a form of government which many people find repugnant. That I suppose is true of many governments. But in South Africa there is a situation in which the

majority of the inhabitants at this moment are living in a fully-fledged police State under a tyranny which is a flagrant contradiction of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

10. The main problem confronting the United Nations in securing the most resolute and energetic implementation and enforcement of sanctions by all member States is the deliberate refusal by the major imperialist Powers to comply with its resolutions on the pretence that these decisions are not "mandatory" on member States. In this way they, as the trading partners of South Africa, want to undermine the efforts of the large majority of countries which is carrying out these decisions.

It is imperative that adequate measures be taken to impel these Powers to abide by majority decisions and thereby be made to play their proper role on the crucial issue of South Africa on which hinges the future of the United Nations itself.

11. The situation in South Africa is deteriorating rapidly. Thousands of brave men and women are behind bars and many hundreds are facing severe sentences and even the maximum penalty of death for sabotage in the many trials now before the courts of the country. The Rivonia trial in which nine outstanding and recognised leaders of the overwhelming majority of the people are involved, is coming to an end and the verdict of the court in this case may well mark a turning point in South Africa's history - a turn for the worse leading to a bloody and violent conflict on an unprecedented scale.

This perilous situation calls for the most stringent action on a world-wide scale. South Africa must be quarantined, completely isolated in every sphere of international relationships, diplomatically, economically, socially and culturally, and steps taken for her exclusion from the United Nations and all international agencies and bodies. All traffic in arms and goods of all kinds must cease forthwith; all oil supplies must be cut off; a total ban must be placed on all ships and aircraft trading with her.

The South African Indian Congress, therefore, appeals to your Expert Group to request the Secretary-General that the Security Council be called upon to take immediate steps along these lines, in conformity with the United Nations resolutions of 1962 and 1963 and taking into consideration the recommendations of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

(Dr.) Y. M. Dadoo
Former President and Accredited Representative of the
South African Indian Congress

London
March 6, 1964

STATEMENT TO THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, LONDON, APRIL 1964[87]

On behalf of the South African Indian Congress, I should like to express our deep gratitude to the Special Committee against Apartheid for having given us this opportunity of presenting a written memorandum and for giving me the privilege of appearing here personally in order to

[87] From United Nations document A/AC.115/L.65

underline some of the submissions which we have made in our written document.

We, the South African Indian Congress and the Indian people in South Africa, as well as all the non-whites and the democratically minded white people of South Africa, deeply appreciate the drive, the energy, the integrity and the determination with which this Special Committee has been carrying out its task. It has indeed been a great inspiration to our suffering people in South Africa, and for that we are very grateful indeed.

The written memorandum which we have presented makes all our points, but, nevertheless, I would like to underline some of them in order to emphasise some of the aspects of the situation in South Africa.

Position of the Indian Community in South Africa

Representing the Indian community in South Africa, I would like to say a few words about the position of the Indian minority there. That minority, which comprises almost 600,000 who live in and who have made South Africa their home, are indeed Africans in every sense of the word. The Indian people suffer a great deal under the apartheid tyranny and the racial segregation policy of the South African Government. The Indian people ask for no special privileges. It must be understood that about 80 per cent of the Indian people live below the bread line. Their position, because of the laws of the country, because of the policy of the South African Government, may not be so terrible or as bad as that of the African people, but by and large, the Indian people suffer as much under this racial tyranny of the South African Government.

Out of the 80 per cent of the South African Indian people who live below the bread line, at the present moment in a city like Durban with a population of 130,000 Indians, 30,000 of the 130,000 are unemployed. It must be understood that the Indian people, when they went to South Africa about one hundred years ago, did not go of their own free will. They were under the British and were taken as indentured labourers to work on the sugar plantations of Natal for the white settlers. Since then the position of the Indian people has deteriorated. Therefore, the Indian people have been struggling for their just rights all these long years, as far back as the beginning of this century when Mahatma Gandhi went to South Africa and led the Indian people in their fight against the discriminatory policies of the government at that time. Since then the Indian people have realised that these differentiations which were brought about by the South African Government were not in the interests of the Indian people or indeed in the interests of the people of South Africa as a whole. Therefore, the Indian people have thrown in their lot completely with the African people, with the other non-white oppressed people in the struggle for human rights, for justice and for liberty. Today we find that the Indian people, under the leadership of the South African Indian Congress, are wholly allied with the principles of the Freedom Charter for the African people in their struggle.

As I said before, we ask for no special privileges for the Indian people. The Indian people have suffered in proportion to the population and in the ratio to the population in all the struggles that have been conducted in the last twenty years and more. The Indian people at the present moment are confronted with a situation where they face a position of genocide, which is indeed the word to be used, when they are faced with the application of the Group Areas Act that was enacted by the present Nationalist Government in 1950. The terms of this Act affect all the non-white people, but particularly affect the Indian people more since the African people have already been segregated into separate areas and robbed of their land. The Indian people are being driven into ghettos far away from the cities where they have been living; they are cut off completely from the economic and social stream of life in the country. This is the policy of the Government as declared at the time when the Group Areas Act was enacted, to eliminate the Indian people in South Africa.

At first they started with a policy of expatriating the Indians, to send them back to India and Pakistan and other parts of the world. The South African Indian people refused to do this. They said that they came to South Africa, that South Africa is their home and that they were prepared to

live and die in the struggle, if need be, for their just rights in common with the other sections of the South African population. So that today we are carrying out a struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress. The African National Congress has the whole-hearted support of the Indian community of South Africa, as represented by the South African Indian Congress, in all the submissions made by the African National Congress and by its leaders to the Special Committee and to the other agencies of the United Nations.

As regards the present situation in South Africa in general, I do not think that there is any dispute at all that we are in a racial war, a war carried out by the South African Government, backed by the armed and police might of the State against the non-white people in the country. Violence has been used by the police in this war at every conceivable opportunity, even when the non-white people were demonstrating in a peaceful manner for their rights.

Save the Lives of Leaders on Trial

As the other submissions made before the Special Committee bear out, the present position is that the non-white people in South Africa are faced with violence on the part of the Government. This has brought about a situation whereby the non-white people are confronted with the choice whether to submit to tyranny and a life of ignominy, or face up to the situation and meet the violence of the Government with determined resistance on their part.

It is this situation which is leading the country into a period of conflict, bloodshed and violence. The Government has led the South African people on the path of murder and repression. As has already been pointed out, there have been many sabotage trials; many persons have been sentenced to death. Under the 90-day detention act hundreds of people have been detained. Under various other acts thousands of people are in prison or are being banished to distant parts of the country.

In this respect we have to bear in mind the Rivonia trial where some of the most outstanding leaders of the people, leaders who stand for a way of life which only can bring about a peaceful solution in South Africa, are at the moment walking in the valley of the shadow of death.

We have been reassured by the Chairman of this Committee, in reply to the submission made by Thabo Mbeki, the son of one of the leaders who face a death sentence in this trial, that this Committee is doing everything in its power to persuade the United Nations to take such action - such immediate action - as may be necessary in order to save the lives of our leaders in South Africa. That is very heartening indeed. I think that no stone should be left unturned, that every effort should be made to see that these leaders are saved, because if they are taken away, if they are executed, then there can be no return to a peaceful solution in South Africa; it means then a period of bloodshed and violence in which the people will meet force with force in order to obtain their just human rights.

So it is therefore one of our submissions that everything possible should be done. One of the urgent tasks before the United Nations today, indeed before all Member States of the United Nations and world opinion as well, is to try by every possible means to save the lives of these leaders.

Impose Effective Sanctions on South Africa

The other question is: What is to be done in the situation in South Africa? It is our submission that only effective sanctions, mandatory economic sanctions, applied against South Africa can save the situation. In this respect I should like to touch upon two arguments which have been persistently put forward from time to time by the opponents of sanctions, those who do not desire sanctions to be applied.

One argument is that sanctions will hit the non-white people of South Africa and will therefore

bring about further suffering on their part. I think that contention must be scotched right away. It is indeed the submission of the African National Congress, on behalf of all the people of South Africa, and for many long years the appeal of Chief Albert Lutuli, the president of the banned African National Congress, that we desire sanctions to be applied against the South African Government because that will help us to reduce the suffering of the people and the cost in life and bring about a speedy settlement of the South African problem. In this respect you will be hearing in a little while the representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, who will be speaking on behalf of the working people of South Africa. I have no doubt that his submission will be as it has been many times proclaimed by the South African Congress of Trade Unions on behalf of the working people, that they are prepared for those sacrifices. If they are prepared to die in the struggle, they are prepared for whatever sacrifices may come as a result of economic sanctions, and it is the duty of the outside world and of the United Nations to impose those sanctions effectively so that a situation may be brought about in South Africa which will be favourable for the return of democracy and the national liberation of the people of South Africa.

The other argument which is being put forward in some quarters and which has no validity at all in fact is that sanctions tend to harden white public opinion in South Africa; that is, that the more people talk about sanctions and the more sanctions are applied by the outside world, the more the white people will be driven to support the South African Government.

It must be understood that the large majority of the white people in South Africa are with the Government because they stand to benefit from the apartheid policies; because under apartheid they enjoy extra-ordinary privileges and live from the sweat, the blood and the very lives of the non-white people. They will not give in; they will continue to support the Government as long as they think they are assured of this way of life. The only way in which sense could be driven into large sections of these people is to make them begin to feel the brunt of effective sanctions, to make them realise that there is no way out for the white people and that they cannot continue to live a life of luxury out of the exploitation and the blood of the non-white people. And this point can be driven home to them only when effective sanctions are taken. Therefore the question of hardening white public opinion holds no water at all. The white people will understand only when effective action is taken. The South African Government assures the white people in South Africa that the talk of sanctions is merely talk, that it will not come about, it will not come to pass because they have allies in the Western world. And their allies in particular are Great Britain and the United States because they have tremendous investments in South Africa, because they derive terrific profits out of the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa - and it is this which is keeping and hardening white public opinion and making them rally in support of the fascist Government.

So the one problem with regard to effective sanctions is, of course, the question of what the Western world, and in particular Britain, the United States of America and France, will be able to do. It is our submission that, as far as the United Nations is concerned, they must seek ways and means of making these sanctions enforceable by making them mandatory in some way, so that all the members of the United Nations will be able to take effective sanctions. The resolutions of the General Assembly, if they are carried out, will, in our opinion, meet the situation. The question of how the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the other Western countries could be persuaded to impose sanctions is two-fold: first, through moral persuasion, and second, through pressure to be brought to bear on the governments. These governments should be made to realise that if they desire to profit from the blood of the people of South Africa, then they will have to meet with opposition and unfriendliness from the rest of Africa and the rest of the world. For, after all, these Powers are helping the South African Government which, by its actions, by its armament plan, is today poised as a threat to the security of the whole continent of Africa. It is a matter of life and death for the people of South Africa; it is also a matter of security for the continent of Africa and indeed for the peace of the world.

Therefore we submit that as far as possible and as speedily as possible effective sanctions must be imposed. The kind of sanctions to be imposed has already been dealt with in many documents

and I will therefore not dwell upon it save to say that these sanctions are absolutely essential if the international community and the international organisation is to do anything effective to bring about a solution of the South African problem with a minimum of cost in life and a minimum of violence.

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, APRIL 1964[88]

On behalf of the South African Indian Congress I express my appreciation for this opportunity to address you.

This is not the first time that a representative of my organisation has been accorded the privilege of making submissions to those agencies of the United Nations Organisation concerned with one of the most important moral testing points for the whole of humanity - the theory and practice of the racial regime which holds power in South Africa.

My people - the 600,000 Indians - have a proud and noble tradition of opposition, struggle and sacrifice against the white supremacy State. Brought to South Africa more than a century ago to satisfy the insatiable greed for cheap labour and bigger profits, the Indian people have never been ready to submit to *herrenvolkism* and all that it means to those whose skin colour is not White. As long ago as the beginning of this century the great Mahatma Gandhi who founded the Natal Indian Congress, the principal unit of my organization, led my people in a campaign of resistance against the now entrenched pattern of treating non-whites as foreigners and strangers in the land of their birth. He, together with many of his colleagues, was thrown into jail.

In the half century which has passed since then, the Indian people have played no small part in the resistance movement against white rule. For us it is a matter of pride that our organisation, following the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign, played such an important role in placing the question of the treatment of South African Indians on the agenda of the United Nations Organisation, and thus, for the first time, gaining acceptance that the treatment of non-white people in South Africa is no domestic matter but goes to the very root of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It is also a matter of pride for us that the Indian people have over and over again rejected with contempt the efforts by the South African State to divide them from the African people in their common ideal to create a non-racial democracy in our land. The vicious discrimination to which Indians are subjected is repeated tenfold when it comes to the African people. We have always recognised that our fate is inextricably tied up with that of our African brothers whose organisation, the African National Congress, stands at the head of the movement for national liberation. Together with the African National Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, our organisation has made the Freedom charter part of its aims and objects and we are fully committed to its achievement. It follows that we can accept nothing less than the creation of a society in which those who do not accept majority rule have no place.

In the last fifteen years many members of the South African Indian Congress have demonstrated in practice that they are prepared to fight in order to destroy the Verwoerd regime. The thousands who went to gaol during the Defiance Campaign, those who were accused for four years in the Treason Trial, those arrested during the 1960 State of Emergency; all this and more speaks of a determination on the part of my people in the heroic struggle for liberation. During the last few

[88] From United Nations document A/AC.115/L.65

years when almost all avenues of peaceful protest have been closed, many Indians have found themselves amongst those who are prepared to die rather than submit. Savage sentences of up to twenty years are being served by members of my organisation. In the infamous Rivonia Trial one of our leaders, Ahmed Kathrada, is in the dock together with men like Mandela, Sisulu, Bernstein and others.

The men in the Rivonia Trial today stand in the shadow of the gallows and whether they are allowed to die will depend on the extent to which the members of the United Nations Organisation respond to their responsibilities.

The political prisoners in South Africa, over 5,000 of whom crowd Verwoerd's gaols, represent the cream of the resistance movement. The oppressed and fighting people of South Africa will never submit to Verwoerd's tyranny despite an almost Job-like patience which they have displayed for over fifty years. The stage has been reached where it would be both absurd and unreal to counsel moderation and constitutional methods of persuasion. Every protest, every demonstration, every exhortation has been met with the bullet, the baton, and the hangman's noose.

The enormity of the situation requires to be re-emphasised. For in this second half of the twentieth century, when the world is moving inexorably towards the eradication of race and national oppression, Verwoerd and his clique are still at large to spread their insults and race poison at home and in important world councils. They are encouraged and feel their strength because they are not alone. No amount of sanctimonious condemnation of apartheid and all its evils will blind mankind to the fact that Verwoerd has important friends and allies.

I refer particularly to a few governments who would have us believe that they are the bastions of the free world but who at the same time clutch South Africa to their protective bosoms. They endeavour to render ineffective the resolve of the vast majority of mankind to put an end to the shame of apartheid. The "Saracen" armoured cars, the machine guns and rifles which left seventy dead at Sharpeville and which are still used to answer every legitimate expression of political opposition, have their origin in the arms factories of these very countries.

The luxury of the white minority which serves to keep Verwoerd economically prosperous and stable is fed by investors and traders who have a stake in the continuation of apartheid because of its effectiveness in bringing in maximum returns. Countries like Britain and the United States of America who make profit out of apartheid and who attempt to undermine every real effort for United Nations action are as much a part of this regime as if they were actually sitting in its executive councils.

Apartheid is not only a moral question. It is bound up with the question of maintaining international peace, particularly on the African continent. The existence of the white-dominated State constitutes a daily provocation to the pride and self-respect of every non-white outside South Africa. It further constitutes a concrete threat to the achievements of the independence movements in Africa. By virtue of its arms build-up and its connection with the Salazar colonialists it has become an important factor in the conspiracy to turn the clock back in Africa and to re-establish foreign control in the liberated areas. Its collaboration with, and assistance to, the Tshombe group in the Congo is just one example of this. Nor has Verwoerd abandoned his Government's declared aim to add the three British Protectorates to his cheap-labour reservoirs. This live threat to the peace and security of the continent of Africa has in it the seeds of a world-wide conflagration.

It does not require a great deal of argument to become convinced that what is going on in South Africa is the responsibility of all humanity. If only the nations of the world had responded to that responsibility in time in the case of Nazi Germany, all the blood-letting might have been avoided.

It is no longer a question of whether there will be a clash. It is a question of when and how many lives will be lost or ruined. A shirking by the nations of the world of their responsibilities will not, in the long run, prevent the inevitable victory of the people. It will make the coming

struggle more protracted, more bitter and more bloody. It will increase its dimensions. United and effective world action could isolate and cut out this cancer and will make the inevitable transformation less costly and less painful.

For the mass of the non-white people in South Africa time is running out and patience is wearing thin. Inspired as they are by what has already been done at the united Nations, they look to this forum to play its true role in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is its very foundation. If it does not carry out this responsibility it will reveal an impotence which will undermine the confidence of people everywhere in its humanistic purposes and declarations.

Not one session of the United Nations Organisation has passed without a scathing condemnation of the system of apartheid and without an appeal to the South African Government to change its ways and to start abandoning its vile policies. Far from being persuaded the South African Government has arrogantly spat contempt and defiance at this world body. It is a measure of the strong feeling of revulsion which people have towards this form of racial barbarism that over half the countries of the world had by 1963 complied with the spirit of the United Nations resolutions relating to sanctions and arms embargo.

But the continued direct and indirect support which flows to Verwoerd from those who are his business partners had enabled him to claim an expansion in foreign trade and an unprecedented economic boom. Up to now even the limited steps taken by the United Nations have been welcomed by us all, but the time has come when nothing short of mandatory international action, backed by United Nations strength, will serve to make an effective contribution to the expressed desire of the United Nations for an end to the fascist practices of South Africa. In putting forward this proposal we stand together with the most important leadership of the African people - the African National Congress.

The reluctance to take effective measures because of the argument that it would also do harm to the non-white people does not bear analysis. Every nation represented here has, at some stage or another in its history, been caned upon to make sacrifices in an attempt to stamp out tyranny. Lives have been lost and in many cases the suffering has been immeasurable. If suffering and deprivation caused by such struggles was the sole measuring rod, the whole of humanity would still be living in bondage.

Of course the imposition of effective sanctions in all fields will result in short-term deprivation to the non-white people. But of what importance is such deprivation when compared to the prolonged and unmitigated agony of a life under apartheid.

The bluff and the boast are weapons in the armoury of racists everywhere. When Verwoerd tells the world that the non-white will suffer more than he will, if it isolated South Africa and strangled it economically, he is drawing on these weapons. He, and all who make profit out of apartheid, know very well that those who would be dealt the death blow by this sort of action are the very ones who keep apartheid going because of its immense financial profits. It is precisely for this reason that not one representative voice of the non-white people has even hinted at opposition to various far-reaching and effective measures which have been proposed from time to time. Indeed, it is for this very reason that the non-white people call for, and wholeheartedly support, effective sanctions measures against the Verwoerd regime.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to refer to the fact that the United Nations resolution on the Rivonia Trial and on the thousands of other political prisoners, has been treated with contempt by the South African Government. There are today over forty Africans in the death cells waiting for the door to be opened and for the short walk to the scaffold. A further three have been added when Mini and his two colleagues were sentenced to death two weeks ago. The men in the Rivonia Trial and in dozens of other political trials throughout the country are still undergoing the ordeal of the expectation of what is to come. We all owe it to those heroic victims of apartheid, and the

oppressed people they represent, that the racist regime be urgently prevented from pressing on with its persecution and its judicial killings.

Allow me to repeat. The time for talking is past. The vocabulary of condemnation has run out. A failure to take effective action will only encourage the South African Government in its belief that it can with impunity ignore United Nations appeals for sanity. Nothing less than the most energetic enforcement of the 1962 and the 1963 sanctions resolutions can have the desired effect. Any delay in implementing this and any further pandering to those big Powers who attempt to sabotage every real effort, will weaken the authority and prestige of the United Nations as an international force for peace, security and justice. What is at stake here is not only the future of the South African people but, in a large measure, the future of the United Nations Organisation itself.

Y. M. Dadoo
South African Indian Congress

MESSAGE ON INAUGURATION OF *SECHABA*, MONTHLY ORGAN OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, IN LONDON, JANUARY 1967[89]

The publication of *Sechaba* as a regular monthly journal is to be welcomed as a further source of information for the already powerful and well-sustained world-wide movement of condemnation of apartheid, and the ever-growing international campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

We are fully aware that the ending of the whole evil system of apartheid and the complete annihilation of white minority rule depends on the united struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves. We are confident that the African, Indian and Coloured peoples, and the small but determined band of white progressives, will emerge victorious under the revolutionary leadership of the African National Congress.

But at the same time we are not unmindful of the fact that international solidarity action is of the utmost importance and that no effort should be spared to build up adequate international pressures to prevail upon Britain, the USA, France, West Germany and Japan - the main props of the whole edifice of white supremacy in southern Africa - to impose total economic sanctions through the United Nations.

I am confident that in the prosecution of this important task, *Sechaba* will play a useful role by bringing before world public opinion every known instance of injustice committed in apartheid South Africa and by laying bare the facts of apartheid oppression and the danger it constitutes to the security of Africa and the peace of the world.

Long live *Sechaba*!

Amandla! Ngawethu

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL

[89] *Sechaba*, February 1967

COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, JUNE 1968[90]

I. The South African Indian Congress has on many occasions brought to the attention of the United Nations and its Member States the condition of the people of Indian origin in South Africa and the impact of the policies of apartheid on them. We have done so, however, in the knowledge that there can be no redress for the Indian community in isolation.

II. The South African Indian Congress is a member of the Congress Alliance which is led by the African National Congress. The policy of the Movement is to eliminate discrimination and racialism in our country and to establish a free and democratic South Africa for all our people.

III. The South African Indian Congress therefore wishes to address itself to the Special Committee as an integral part of the Liberation Movement in South Africa. We draw the Committee's attention to the particular impact of the policies of apartheid on the people of Indian origin, but we seek support for action against the policy of apartheid itself and as it affects all the people of South Africa.

IV. Since members of the Liberation Movement last addressed the Special Committee, the South African Government has further intensified its oppressive policies and it is seeking actively to divide and isolate the various racial groups within the country.

V. The Committee is aware of the policies that claim to establish "Bantu homelands" for the African people, and of the special system of education that has been devised to create a subservient people. These policies are now being extended to the Coloured and Indian people.

VI. With reference to the people of Indian origin, the Government has for example:

1. Intensified the implementation of the Group Areas Acts to cover almost the entire country and the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. Figures published by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1966 revealed that in the Transvaal alone 87.62 per cent of the total Indian population had already been moved, or were in the process of being moved, from their homes.

The self-professed aim of the Group Areas Act is to divide the entire country into racially exclusive areas. In its implementation, however, the authorities are aware always of the basic aim of Government policy, namely, to organise all institutions and development for the maximum benefit of the white minority in South Africa.

Thus it is the non-white people who inevitably have to move whilst the white communities remain settled. It is the non-white schools, cemeteries, mosques, hospitals, temples and homes that are forcibly evacuated, and the people moved like pawns into a bare wilderness.

Our people, after over 100 years of living in South Africa, are still basically insecure. This insecurity arises from the fact that we are restricted in our choice of occupation, employment, education, trade and association. Added to the massive restrictions have been the recent clamp-down on professional people wanting to live and work abroad. The ruthless and systematic implementation of the Group Areas Act has resulted in the increase of suicides in Durban and

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[90] The memorandum was presented by Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo, on behalf of the South African Indian Congress, to the United Nations Special Committee at its special session in London in June 1968. It was published as United Nations document A/AC.115/L.231 on July 8, 1968.

Pietermaritzburg. There are ten known cases of suicide which can be directly attributed to the Group Areas Act. Social life has rapidly deteriorated and has resulted in an increase in delinquency, gang warfare and imprisonment for petty and large-scale crimes.

For an Indian, the right to travel from province to province for the purposes of employment, study or holiday is seriously curtailed by the requirement of obtaining a permit. A permit for a limited stay which can be refused, curtailed or extended is at the behest of a petty clerk with the result that thousands of unemployed Indians in Natal are prevented from seeking jobs in other provinces.

2. The South African Indian Congress rejects totally any doctrine which claims that there should be a distinct education for each racial group. The experience of the introduction of "Bantu education" has given rise to justified fears amongst our people that this is merely the first step in introducing a system of indoctrination for our children and isolating them within South Africa whilst denying them opportunities for fulfilment and development.

3. Established a South African Indian Council (formerly the Indian National Council) which, it is claimed, speaks for the Indian people.

The South African Indian Congress categorically rejects this claim.

The Council is a puppet body established by the South African Government to lend semblance of democracy to its apartheid structure. Its members have been chosen not by the people but by the Minister for Indian Affairs. Its functions are merely advisory and, even as envisaged in the future, its powers will be limited and subject to the veto of a central government in whose choice the people have had no voice.

Not only is the Council unrepresentative of the Indian people, but it is based on the principle of separate representation, a principle which has been repeatedly rejected by the Indian community since 1946, and which has been universally recognised as being contrary to democratic practice.

VII. The South African Indian Congress is a federal union of the following organisations:

The Natal Indian Congress (founded in 1894 by the late Mahatma Gandhi);

The Transvaal Indian Congress (founded in 1903);

The Cape Indian Assembly (founded in 1949).

These member organisations have consistently represented the aspirations of the Indian people. We are committed to the full equality of all the people of South Africa, as enunciated in the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955.

The disciplined and persistent opposition of the South African Indian Congress and its member organisations has led to many of its officials and members being banned, restricted, placed under house arrest or forced into exile. Many others are serving various terms of imprisonment.

Thus, though the South African Indian Congress is nominally still a legal organisation, it has, due to the restrictions placed upon it, to all intents and purposes been compelled to operate illegally.

VIII. Nonetheless, the Indian community has expressed its opposition to the Government's policies.

1. No recognised figure among the Indian people has accepted nomination to the South

African Indian Council and the Minister for Indian Affairs has had to admit that he had been unable to obtain the support of the representative leaders of the Indian community (Speech opening discussion on establishment of INC).

2. In spite of the intensive propaganda efforts of the Government listing the alleged benefits to the community of its apartheid policies, the people have refused their cooperation.

At every step they have resisted the establishment of a separate Department for Indian Affairs, and it is able to function at present only in so far as the people are forced to resort to its services.

3. Individuals have taken courageous stands and repeatedly resisted the application of the Group Areas Act. Special mention must be made of Nana Sita who has served three jail sentences since 1962 for refusing to move from his home in Hercules, Pretoria, which he has occupied for over forty years.

4. Despite police intimidation the schools have been a focus of political activity - with repeated demonstrations in support of arrested teachers and political prisoners, and against government-organised functions and policies.

5. Individual members of the community have joined with the African people in armed resistance, under the banner of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*.

Some of these are today serving sentences on Robben Island alongside our national leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki. One of the leading members of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, Sulaiman "Babla" Saloojee, "committed suicide" while being interrogated by the Special Branch.

6. Last month a leaflet issued by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo was printed and distributed widely within South Africa. A copy of the leaflet is attached as Appendix 1.

IX. The SAIC firmly believes that the problems of South Africa will be resolved by the people of South Africa themselves, under the leadership of the African National Congress. We believe, however, that the positive support of peoples and organisations outside South Africa can contribute to the liberation of our country, and we actively seek such support.

X. We have noted with appreciation the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council referring to the situation in South Africa, and more particularly: the resolution demanding the release of South African political prisoners; the resolution calling for an arms embargo; and the resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa.

XI. It is our view that a primary prerequisite for the development and expansion of the role of the United Nations in the deteriorating situation in southern Africa is the rapid and complete implementation of the resolutions already adopted.

We are particularly appreciative of the concern and activities of the Special Committee and its aim of intensifying its efforts to promote an international campaign against apartheid.

The South African Indian Congress holds that this campaign can most usefully be intensified in the field of seeking methods to implement the existing resolutions and ensuring the adequate supervision of the compliance of member States with such resolutions.

XII. The need to implement the United Nations resolutions becomes more urgent in the light of the militarily expansionist policies of the South African Government. The threat to world peace is manifest in that Government's disproportionate expenditure on armaments, in the

presence of its armed forces in Rhodesia, its close military and economic ties with Portugal, and its threats of aggression against the independent State of Zambia.

XIII. The South African Indian Congress associates itself with the submissions made by the African National Congress on the situation in southern Africa, and the urgent need for the United Nations to prevent the flouting of its resolutions by South Africa and by member States who continue their overt support of apartheid in defiance of the world community.

(Signed) Dr. Y. M. DADOO
South African Indian Congress

APPENDIX 1

FREEDOM FIGHTERS ON THE MARCH

A message from Dr. Y. M. Dadoo to the Indian people

Brothers and Sisters

The struggle against apartheid and for Freedom has entered a new decisive phase. Freedom-fighters, combat units, well-trained and well-armed, are already giving battle to the oppressors with great daring, skill and determination in Rhodesia. Contrary to local press reports, they are dealing severe blows to the fascist forces of Ian Smith and Vorster. Soon they will be fighting the enemy on South African soil.

"WE ARE AT WAR" says the leaflet of the African National Congress which was widely distributed in South Africa recently. In a rousing CALL TO REVOLUTION which appears in the January 1968 issue of *Sechaba*, official organ of the ANC, Oliver Tambo (the Acting President-General) states that "as our forces drive deeper into the south, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats."

Period of Revolutionary Upheavals

Our country, South Africa, faces a period of ever-increasing revolutionary upheavals. Life can no longer go on in the same old way. The new developments call for a reappraisal of the role and the task in the coming struggle of each sector of the oppressed people, African, Indian and Coloured.

We Have Suffered Enough

Our community, like the African and the Coloured people, has had enough of racial discrimination, apartheid and White Supremacy.

The GROUP AREAS ACT is taking a heavy toll; daily more and more families are being driven out from their hearth and home and thrown onto the garbage heap of Indian group areas; we are being robbed of our means of livelihood; the standard of education of our children is being lowered. Unemployment is rife. Once the Government succeeds in completely driving our people into Ghettos, all kinds of restrictions will be applied preventing our people from going out of the areas to seek work, carry out professional duties or to trade; prevent non-Indians from coming into our areas without permission. We shall be cooped up in a lot of hovels; cut off completely from the mainstream of the life, economy and culture of the country.

We Have a Proud Record of Struggle

From the days of Gandhiji the Indian people have resolutely and bravely offered resistance to racial discrimination and segregation. The campaigns of passive resistance and the Great March of 1913 conducted under the leadership of Gandhiji are unforgettable and historic landmarks in the history of our people. The Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 against the Ghetto Act inspired our people and prepared them for the struggles ahead. Since the advent of the Nationalist Government in 1948 our people have marched hand-in-hand with the African people under the leadership of the African National Congress, playing our part in stay-at-homes, *hartals*, the great Defiance Campaign of 1952 and participating in the many demonstrations against apartheid tyranny. Our people were participants in the Congress of the People which formulated the historic FREEDOM CHARTER which guarantees freedom and democracy to all South Africans.

To the call of the *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, our militant youth responded without hesitation and with determination; Babla Saloojee gave his life; and many of our brave activists like Billy Nair, Chiba, Maharaj, Indres Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhai, Reggie Vandeyar, George Naicker, Ebrahim Ismail, together with the African, Coloured and white comrades-in-arms are at this very moment serving long terms of imprisonment.

Ahmed Kathrada, together with the outstanding leaders of our country, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Abram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg and others, is condemned to life imprisonment.

Nana Sita, the veteran leader of our movement, men like Mohamed Bhana and those brave students who valiantly refused to participate in the Republic celebrations, continue to hold aloft with self-sacrificing courage the banner of resistance.

What Now?

The terror let loose by the Government through its Special Branch has made it impossible for our national organisation, the South African Indian Congress, and its constituent bodies, to function legally. Every one of the office-bearers and prominent committee members has been banned, imprisoned or driven into exile. Every form of intimidation and blackmail is used by the Government and the Special Branch to silence criticisms of apartheid. There has arisen amongst our people a small minority of traitors, stooges and puppets who speak in the voice of their masters - Vorster and Trollip. Some of them have been cajoled, bribed or intimidated by the authorities into serving on the bogus government-appointed South African Indian Council.

Our people should have no illusion about the South African Indian Council. Remember the *Judenraten* (Jewish Councils) set up by the Nazis at the time of Hitler! The "representatives" of the Jewish community on these councils were used merely as instruments to facilitate the sending of hundreds of thousands of the Jewish people into concentration camps and the gas chambers.

However, all the efforts of the Nationalist Government and its stooges will fail. Our people can never submit to the ruination and indignity imposed by white supremacy. Brave spirits will speak out and organise and fight for liberty.

Vorster Cannot Win

As the freedom-fighters gather strength the sound of their guns will be heard throughout the land.

All Vorster's arms and all Vorster's men will not be able to stop the onward march of the

people to freedom. The struggle may be grim and protracted but it will not cease until apartheid has been overthrown and full and equal rights and opportunities ensured to all the citizens, irrespective of race, colour or creed - until the Freedom Charter is translated into reality.

Our Tasks

History calls upon us to play our full part in the new phase of the struggle:

1. Heed the call of the ANC - ally yourselves with the freedom-fighters - help them in every possible way! Make their path easy!

2. Reject the government-managed South African Indian Council!

3. Maintain and intensify resistance against the Group Areas Act and against every aspect of apartheid!

4. Youth! Your place is in the forefront of the struggle. Become freedom-fighters! Carry this message far and wide among our people. Help mobilise full support for the freedom-fighters in town and country! We shall win!

Amandla Ngawethu! Jana Shakti!

Matla Ke A Rona!

Power to the people!

APPENDIX 2

THE EFFECTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY ON THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

The central thesis of the policy of apartheid is white supremacy its preservation and perpetuation - based on Black servitude. The realisation of this object of apartheid is ruthlessly pursued in every walk of life - political, social, economic, cultural and educational. white supremacy can only be a reality with the total emasculation of the "non-white" peoples.

In the sphere of education the key principle of the Government's policy is that of non-equality in opportunity and provisions aimed at providing a minimal education to the "non-white" peoples whilst at the same time creating and providing optimal conditions for the education of the whites. The general effect of such a policy ensures a vast disparity in the educational attainments of the two national groups.

Whereas emphasis is placed on the effects of the educational policy on the Indian people, the purpose here is not to project the treatment of the Indian people as a separate "non-white" entity with problems exclusively peculiar to itself, but merely to demonstrate the validity of a basic tenet of apartheid - viz., racialism is indiscriminate and indivisible. It subjects all the "non-white" peoples to the matrix of oppression with only the slight variances in the order and degree of this matrix.

1. *Expenditure on Education*

In 1965[91] the Republic of South Africa spent approximately 4.5 per cent of its total national

[91] Estimate in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, (SRR),

income on education and training at all levels for all the people.

For 1965 this amounted to approximately R326,475,000. The distribution, however, was as follows:

77.27 per cent for the Europeans (population: 3,395,000), 9.45 per cent for the Coloureds (population: 1,742,000), 4.38 per cent for Asiatics (population: 533,000, including about 7,500 Chinese people) and 2.39 per cent for the African people (population: 12,162,000)

Without exception, at all levels of education, the overwhelming bias in favour of the white minority group is maintained. The effect is not only a steady depression in the educational aspirations of the "non-white" majority, but an ever-widening gap between the main national groups.

2. ***The Pupil-Teacher Ratio***

By the end of 1964[92] there were some 730,000 White pupils at school compared with some 145,000 Indians. At the same time there were approximately 32,000 white teachers as compared to 4,400 Indian teachers thus giving a teacher-pupil ratio of about 1:33 for Indians and 1:22 for whites. For the African people this ratio was approximately 1:73 as far back as 1960.[93]

According to Mr. P. H. T. Nel,[94] recently appointed Director of Indian Education, approximately 40 per cent of all Indian teachers in employment were not fully qualified, while 10 per cent of these were wholly unqualified academically, possessing not even the minimum requirements or training. In the context of the policy of inequality, this serves two purposes simultaneously - a considerable saving of money, since unqualified teachers are paid less, as well as a deliberate lowering in the standard of education provided. With an ever-increasing exodus of graduates and experienced teachers from education to other better-paid employment, or emigration to countries offering more attractive salaries and conditions, the incidence of unqualified teacher employment is aggravated.

3. ***The Platoon System***

At the same time, Mr. Nel stated[95] that some 30,000 children in certain areas and schools in Natal have to attend school during the afternoons due to an estimated shortage of some 1,000 class-rooms. The platoon system, as the afternoon school classes are termed, is operating in some 133 schools involving about 800 teachers. The system has already been in continuous use for the last fifteen years.

In the Transvaal, the platoon system was originally instituted in Johannesburg for primary school children more than twenty years ago. It is still being operated. Recently, a similar shortage of schools in the Indian Group Area of Lenasia in the Transvaal saw the introduction of the system during 1963 to 1964.

There can be no doubt that educationally afternoon classes are detrimental to maximal learning. Lack of accommodation, over-crowding in class-rooms, and insufficient educational equipment are powerful factors in the general depression of educational standards of the "non-white" peoples.

1967

[92] SRR, 1965

[93] Bishop Ambrose Reeves, *Let the Facts Speak*, 1963

[94] SRR, 1964

[95] SRR, 1964

4. ***The Policy of Self-Education***

Of particular significance is the unfair burden which the educational policy of the Government places on the "non-white" people, the burden of providing for the education of their children largely through their own efforts.

Thus out of about 281 schools in the Natal province in 1966[96], only 51 were actually built by the educational authority on its own: 220 were built by the Indian community on a rand-for-rand basis at a cost of well over R2 million to itself. This dire economic sacrifice falls on a community whose per capita income in 1960 was R147 as compared with R925 for the Europeans who are not called upon to make additional contributions for the education of their children. Besides, all school equipment and educational aid are only provided on a rand-for-rand basis.

5. ***Salaries***

As in all other spheres of employment, remuneration is not based on the principle of equal pay for equal work by equally qualified persons, but on colour. An equally qualified Indian male teacher earns approximately 58 per cent of the salary of his white counterpart; women earn approximately 50 per cent of the salary of a white woman teacher.

The figure for African teachers is 41 per cent for men and 37 per cent for women, relative to the earnings of white teachers.

6. ***Distribution of Pupils and Academic Attainments***

The emphasis of the educational system *vis-à-vis* the "non-white" people is markedly on primary education.

According to the *Statistical Yearbook* for 1964, based on the 1960 census, the following figures obtained:

(a) 65.7 per cent of the total white population had passed Standard 5, (immediate pre-secondary school year), as compared with 23.8 per cent of the total Indian population and 8.2 per cent of the total African population;

(b) 15.39 per cent of the total white population had passed Standard 10 (Form 5), as compared to 1.37 per cent Asians and 0.13 per cent Africans.

The distribution of pupils in the primary and secondary levels in 1965 was as follows:[97]

	Asiatics	Whites
Primary Schools	82 per cent	66.2 per cent
Secondary Schools	18 per cent	33.8 per cent

It is the calculated policy of apartheid which operates to depress the educational attainments of the "Non-European" people. Without an understanding of the machinations of apartheid at all

[96] SRR, 1967

[97] SRR, 1967

levels of life for the "non-white" peoples, figures like the above would tend to lead the uninitiated to the erroneous conclusion, (one that the exponents of the theory of "white superiority" always use), that the "non-white" peoples are mentally inferior.

Despite the overwhelmingly oppressive nature of apartheid, academic attainments are by no means completely blunted. Thus at the end of 1965 the results for the Matriculation examination were as follows:[98]

	Asiatics	Whites
Number of entrants	1,300	45,000
Percentage passes	55 per cent	57 per cent

Of particular significance in this respect is the comparability of performances for the two groups at equivalent examinations. This however is not the case with the results obtained by African pupils under the "Bantu education" system. Figures snow that there has been a steady deterioration of passes since the introduction of the system in 1953. The range is from approximately 47 per cent passes in 1953 to about 17 per cent in 1960.

7. ***Vocational Training***

The only institution providing any technical and vocational training for Indians is the M. L. Sultan College in Durban, Natal. There is no such institution in the Transvaal.

8. ***University Education***

In 1959, the policy of apartheid was extended to university education by the Extension of University Education Act. The Act restricted the entrance of "non-white" students as far as the "open" universities were concerned. Henceforth "non-white" students were required to go to racially and ethnically exclusive colleges.

Despite the title of the Act, however, the fields of study open to "non-white" students were rigorously determined by the type of employment open to them. There is no place for "non-white" architects, engineers, chemists, surveyors, etc., in apartheid-ruled South Africa.

The most pressing factor militating against university education is the high cost entailed. Enrolment fees alone amount to about R600 over the normal three-year course. The intense economic difficulties with which the people have to contend in order merely to exist, makes higher education an almost unattainable goal.

Despite all the hardships placed in their way, "non-white" students and parents generally sacrifice tremendously to obtain university education. In this field too the disparity between the two national groups is vast. Excluding the "non-white" colleges, the following is a summary of degrees and diplomas awarded in 1963 by South African universities:[99]

	Whites	Coloureds	Africans	Asiatics
Degrees and diplomas	5,517	58	117	146

[98] SRR, 1967

[99] SRR, 1964

Post-graduate	682	10	19	26

In terms of the Separate Universities Act, Salisbury College was established in 1960 to provide for higher education for Indians. The college's "temporary" premises are a former naval barracks on Salisbury Island in Durban Bay. By 1967, the proposed new premises had still not materialised. The college offers courses in only Arts, Pure Science, Commerce and Education.

The establishment of the college however was met by widespread disapproval by the Indian community and student body throughout the Republic, but rigorous application of the Act forced students to enrol. As a result of the strict and authoritarian control of student activities and wishes - for example, the Students` Representative Council was forbidden by the university authorities from affiliating to the National Union of South African Students - student unrest and agitation was rife since its establishment. This culminated in the arrest and detention of a number of students in 1964 and the subsequent imprisonment of one, Subya Moodley, for a year on charges of incitement, slogan-painting and distribution of leaflets.

9. ***The Group Areas Act***

Of significance is the manner in which the Government used the Indian children to enforce the Group Areas Act in the case of those Indians resident in Johannesburg and the surrounding areas. In 1960 the Group Areas Board, responsible for the implementation of the Act, declared that the only high school for Indian children in Johannesburg would no longer serve as a high school, but as a teacher training college. Parents were asked to send their children to the high schools in the Indian group area of Lenasia, some 22 miles away. Despite widespread protests by the children and the community, the Board refused to change its ruling. By 1963 pupils were forced to travel a round trip forty-four miles daily. With a view to the welfare of their children, many Indian families moved to Lenasia. Previously, the Indian community, led by the Transvaal Indian Congress, had resisted by establishing a school financed entirely by the community. This multi-racial venture in teaching - the staff was composed of Indians, Africans, Coloureds and Europeans - was eventually forced to close down because of persistent intimidation by the Security Police, bannings of members of staff, and a serious lack of funds after about eight years.

10. ***The Indian Education Act, No. 66, 1965***

With the passing of the Indian Education Act in 1965, a structurally uniform pattern of education for the "non-white" peoples was consummated. The Act is the logical extension of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, and hence the general policy of apartheid. The Act provides for the control of the education of Indians by its appropriate racial institution - the Indian Affairs Department.

A cursory examination of some of the clauses of the Act can leave no one in doubt as to its intentions - that of rigorously policing the education of the Indians within the framework of the Government's basic policy. In so far as many of the main clauses deal with teachers, the Act also provides the key for the implementation of its policy - the teacher himself. Thus Clause 16 (g) states that he cannot be a member of any party, political organisation or group which the Government deems undesirable; nor can he participate in its activities or further its aims in any way deemed to cause embarrassment or danger to the State as a whole. Furthermore, he cannot publicly, otherwise than at a meeting approved of previously by the Minister of Indian Affairs, criticise the administration of any State Department (Clause 16 (f)). Neither can he disclose, other than in the immediate discharge of his duties as a teacher, any information gathered, nor use any such information other than in the discharge of his duties (Clause 16 (n)). It is clear that the fundamental purpose of the teacher is vitiated. He becomes a tool in the systematic implementation of a rabid racist policy.

Furthermore the Act does not provide for the real participation of the Indian people in the formulation and execution of educational policies.

There can be no doubt that the principle of non-equality of provisions and opportunities in education is a grave threat to the well-being and development of the non-white peoples. At the same time, however, the deliberate imposition of non-equality forms the basis of the intensification of the under-development of the non-white majority, and hence the maintenance and continuation of white supremacy.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION: AN INTERVIEW IN 1968[100]

QUESTION: Dr. Dadoo, you have just published a leaflet which is the first public call you have made to the Indian people since you left South Africa in 1960.[101] Can you tell us what the background to this leaflet is, and why you have chosen to make your call at this time?

ANSWER: Today, history is witnessing a decisive turning point in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. Armed struggle has begun. Under the leadership of the African National Congress in alliance with the Congress movement, the brave freedom fighters of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) are on the march. Already combat units of *Umkhonto*, together with contingents of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, are giving battle to the armed forces of Ian Smith and Vorster in Rhodesia. Reliable reports from the battle front, contrary to the whitewashing accounts put out by the South African press and radio, indicate that the freedom fighters are fighting with great daring and skill, and are inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. Even the enemy has to admit that the freedom fighters, whom he calls "terrorists", are not only well armed but highly skilful in the use of their weapons. It is on the cards that soon there will be fighting on South African soil.

So, in this new period of armed struggle and developing revolutionary upheavals, it is necessary to make every section of the South African population, both white and black, aware of the changing situation and of the tasks and responsibilities that it is being called upon to fulfil. As a leader of the Indian people, it is my duty to ask them to respond unreservedly to the call made by the Acting President of the African National Congress, our comrade Oliver Tambo, in which he says: "As our forces drive deeper into the south we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of white democrats".

I have no doubt that the Indians will respond readily, and with the same spirit of self-sacrifice and determination that they have shown throughout their long and bitter struggles against segregation, and for human rights, ever since the days of Gandhiji.

Role of the Indian People

Q: What precise role do you expect the Indian people to play in this new phase of the struggle?

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[100] From *ANC Speaks*, published by the African National Congress in Lusaka in 1976

[101] Please see previous item.

A: As an integral part of the South African population, the Indian community of half a million people has a very important role to play in the new form the struggle has taken. The militant Indian youth, who played not an insignificant part in the early struggles of *Umkhonto* since 1961 - several of them are serving long terms of imprisonment on Robben Island and in other South African jails together with their African, Coloured and White comrades-in-arms - have yet a larger role to play in the liberation army, and in mobilising the Indian people in town and country to support and help the freedom fighters in every possible way. The Indian people must and will, I am certain, help to make the path of freedom fighters easy. They must also mount ever-increasing resistance to every aspect of apartheid: the Group Areas Act must not be allowed to govern them; they must oppose and reject the regime's stooge body, the South African Indian Council, which is being used by Vorster as an instrument to obtain the collaboration of the Indian people in the implementation of apartheid policies. Every form of opposition to apartheid is of help to the freedom fighters in the war against white supremacy.

Q: The South African Indian Congress is still technically a legal organisation. How legal is it in practice, and how is it functioning? And how will the publication of the leaflet, calling for support for the armed struggle, affect the organisation?

A: The SAIC is a legal organisation only in name. The terror let loose by the Government through the Special Branch has made the legal functioning of the SAIC and its constituent bodies, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, impossible. Every one of its office-bearers and committee members at national, provincial and branch level, has been banned, imprisoned or driven into exile. And this applies to the members appointed to replace those banned and imprisoned, and again to those appointed to replace them. The legal functioning of the organisation is now impossible. But the new leaflet, and the fact that it is being distributed in spite of all the penalties, bears witness to the fact that the spirit of resistance for which the South African Indian Congress stands, lives on, and that no power on earth can crush it.

The Congress Movement

Q: You spoke earlier of the Congress Movement. Can you tell us something of the background of the alliance between the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress and the other organisations of the Congress Movement?

A: Freedom is indivisible. A section of the population cannot be free if the rest is in bondage. In the course of their struggle against unjust laws, and for the redress of their grievances, the Indian people began to realise that no fundamental changes were possible without unity of action between all the oppressed people. And it was this realisation that made the younger members of the Indian Congress, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, set about trying to change the policies of the Congress in order to seek cooperation in the common struggle with the premier national organisation of the African people, the ANC, and with the national organisation of the Coloured people. A similar spirit also prevailed among the younger elements in the African political movement and in the Coloured community. This led to the formation of united front bodies to campaign to show the people that they must act unitedly, and to bring about changes in the national organisation (and necessary changes of leadership) to follow the new policies of cooperation and united struggle.

To bring about the changes in the Indian Congress, vigorous campaigns had to be conducted amongst the Indian people, and many bitter battles had to be fought against the "moderate" leadership of the time. Members of the progressive groups were assaulted, sometimes brutally. In the Transvaal, a volunteer of the progressive group was actually killed.[102] But with the crushing

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[102] At a mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress in Johannesburg on June 4, 1939, armed thugs appeared and assaulted members of the Nationalist Bloc. Dr. Dadoo escaped narrowly. Dayabhai Govindji was stabbed and died four days later.

of the moderate leadership it was possible for the Indian people once again to conduct a militant campaign - the Passive Resistance Campaign against Smuts` "Ghetto Act" in 1946. This was entirely a struggle of the Indian people, but a few African and Coloured volunteers participated as a gesture of solidarity.

Simultaneously there was a change in the leadership of the ANC, and this made possible cooperation between the Indian Congress and the African National Congress through a pact known as the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947. After that many joint struggles were conducted, such as the stay-at-home on May 1, 1950, the stay-at-home on June 26, 1950 (the first South Africa Freedom Day), and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952 in which over 8,000 volunteers of all races defied laws and went to prison. Under the leadership of the ANC, in alliance with the organisations of the Indian and Coloured people, of the workers and of the progressive whites, the Congress of the People was held in 1955 - at which the Freedom Charter was adopted by over 3,000 delegates of all races. This Charter became the programme of all the organisations participating in the Congress Movement, and laid the basis for a united struggle for the transformation of South Africa. A Joint Consultative Council of all the organisations continued to operate until the premier organisation, the ANC, was banned in 1960.

The Campaigns of 1946 and 1952

Q: What, in your opinion, did the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in 1952 achieve?

A: With the departure of Gandhiji from South Africa in 1914 and with the removal from the political scene of some of his staunchest lieutenants because of death or old age, the leadership of the Indian community fell into the hands of "moderates" who believed in compromising with the Government on each and every legislative measure of racial discrimination against the Indian people. The Indian Congress was reduced to representing, by and large, the voice of the small Indian merchant class only.

The campaign for all-out resistance against all discriminatory legislation conducted by the younger progressive group among the Indian people culminated not only in ousting the moderate leadership but also in transforming the Indian Congress into a mass organisation of the whole people.

The Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, enacted by the Smuts Government brought together in a united struggle all sections: the working people who constituted 80 percent of the Indian community, the professional class and traders. The unity it wrought was indeed so powerful that not a single Indian accepted even the limited franchise which the Act offered.

The Campaign of 1946, furthermore, laid a strong basis among the Indian people for the subsequent unity with the African National Congress and the other organisations of the Congress Movement in the struggle for liberation. The Campaign also made a significant impact internationally. It made the Indian community appreciate more fully the importance of international solidarity in the world-wide struggle against racialism, colonialism and imperialism. At the request of the SAIC, India demonstrated her solidarity by breaking off relations with South Africa and imposing economic sanctions. At its request India also took up the treatment of the South Africans of Indian and Pakistani origin at the United Nations. This was soon broadened to include the whole question of apartheid. Thus it is that the question of the apartheid policies of the fascist South African Government has been on the agenda of the United Nations Organisation ever since its inception.

The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, similarly, not only increased the attention of the world to the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples; it also welded the masses of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples into a united force. Furthermore, it gave rise to the formation of the

Congress of Democrats, a small but active group of white democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, who later joined the united front, popularly known as the Congress Alliance.

Q: How do you reconcile the tradition of passive resistance in SAIC with your call for support for armed struggle?

A: Passive resistance was never the ideology of the organisation, although it had been used as a method of struggle since it was introduced by Gandhiji in the early part of this century. The principles of *Satyagraha* as enunciated by Gandhiji were never accepted as a creed by the Indian people. It is true that in the SAIC, as a national organisation representing all interests and all viewpoints, there are some leaders - like Dr. G. M. Naicker and Nana Sita - who implicitly believe in Gandhian principles and who have lived by them; and of course we honour their convictions and their sufferings for their convictions. But in this connection it is significant to note that when the ANC and the SAIC jointly embarked upon the Defiance Campaign of 1952 it was deliberately not called a passive resistance campaign. It was called a Defiance Campaign, although it was non-violent. It expressed a more militant outlook, because most of the leaders had realised that in the situation of South Africa, where violence was the normal instrument of Government policy, there could arise a situation where no alternative would be left to the people, if they were to continue to fight for their freedom, but to resort to violent methods. When *Umkhonto we Sizwe* was formed, Indian youth readily responded to its call, and participated in its activities.

No Liberation Without African Majority Rule

Q: The argument has often been put to the Indian people in South Africa that as a minority group they would be no better off under African rule than they are under white rule. In the light of what has happened in Kenya, for instance, what is your answer to this argument?

A: This is absolute nonsense - it is merely the tactics of divide and rule used by the authorities in order to maintain the divisions of the people, as they already do by law, keeping the national groups apart and preventing intercommunication. This is the argument of the South African Police who seek to intimidate the people from participating in the struggle; it is the argument of their *agents provocateurs* in our midst who deliberately try to provoke hostility between African and Indian, African and Coloured, to convince each that their grievances are not the fault of an oppressive government, but of another oppressed group. They use this tactic precisely because it is our unity in the face of oppression that the oppressor most fears.

It must be understood that the fundamental of the liberation struggle is first and foremost the liberation of the majority of the population, the African people, and that it is unthinkable that there could be liberation without African majority rule.

TRIBUTE TO J. B. MARKS: SPEECH, AUGUST 11, 1972[103]

[Speech at funeral of J. B. Marks at Novodovichy cemetery in Moscow, August 11, 1972]

We are gathered here to bid our last farewell to one of the greatest sons of our country, South Africa, outstanding fighter of the international working class, John 'Beaver` Marks.

[103] From: *African Communist*, No. 51, fourth Quarter, 1972

Uncle J. B., as he was affectionately known to us all, was truly a hero of our struggle. His long history of courageous leadership of the cause of liberation, his dauntless championing of the aspirations of the working people, deservedly made his name a household word among the oppressed and exploited people throughout the length and breadth of the land, inspiring confidence among the masses and striking awe into the hearts of the enemy - the ruling class and the white racialists.

As Chairman of our South African Communist Party and a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, he played an indispensable role in helping to guide our whole liberation movement through one of its most difficult periods. His conviction that our cause would triumph never for one moment flagged.

After listening to the late S. P. Bunting addressing a meeting of workers at the mine where he was employed, J. B. Marks joined the Communist Party in 1928 and devoted himself thenceforward to the fight for national and social emancipation, undeterred by the fierce hostility of the white racialists towards the revolutionaries of our country. He narrowly escaped death in 1929 when a fascist opened fire on the platform he was speaking from. The incident served only to steel his determination. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1932.

The name of J. B. Marks will ever be associated with the bitter struggles of the African gold miners of the Witwatersrand, surely among the most savagely exploited proletarians in the world. Recruited from all corners of Southern Africa, both inside and outside the borders of the Republic of South Africa, herded like prisoners into barrack-like compounds, and constantly policed and spied upon by the monopoly-capitalist owners and their State, the organisation of these workers was a most formidable task. This task was successfully accomplished by the African Mine Workers' Union under the presidency of our late Comrade J. B. Marks. In August 1946 under his inspiring leadership the miners came out in a historic strike directed at the heart of the cheap labour system until after a week they were forced back to work by police bullets and batons.

There followed a wave of unprecedented repression and persecution of Communists and all revolutionaries which has continued to the present day - first under the Smuts Government and then its successor, headed by the openly Nazi Nationalist Party of Malan, Verwoerd and Vorster. The Communist Party was banned in 1950 and the African National Congress in 1960.

J. B. Marks, like his comrades, was subjected to numerous and repeated bans and restrictions on his activities and movements. He continued undeterred with underground activity, both in the ANC and in the South African Communist Party of which he was elected Chairman at its fifth illegal conference in 1962.

He was then instructed by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress to join the headquarters of the External Mission in Tanzania in organising our resistance. He stood at the heart of this movement until he suffered a stroke - that is, cerebral damage - one year ago.

Comrade Marks was an outstanding internationalist. As the Chairman of our Party he ardently supported our unanimous policy; unity of the international Communist movement - the core of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and war, for national independence and peace.

As a Marxist-Leninist he firmly believed in the need at all times for the international working class to rally around the banner of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the community of socialist States, the main force against imperialism and reaction.

The Soviet Union - 'Land of the proletariat` of 'the Mecca of revolutionaries` as J. B. was fond of calling this country - was very dear to his heart and it was but fitting that the last year of his life was spent here, and that this great land has become his resting place. The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party expresses its deep and sincere appreciation of the wonderful care and attention which was shown towards Comrade J. B. Marks by the Government of the

Soviet Union and the leadership of the CPSU, the skill and kindness of the doctors and the nursing staff and the hospitality
of the Soviet people.

Farewell Comrade Marks!

Your personal warmth, humanity and charm will ever remain fresh in our minds. We shall ever be inspired by your example as a man, a comrade and a great political figure.

Rest assured that we and the millions of our oppressed and exploited people shall not relent nor waver, but shall continue to work unceasingly, as you did, for the complete victory of the noble cause of destroying once and for all the hideous system of white supremacy and of creating a South Africa free from all forms of exploitation.

We pledge to carry on to the complete victory of our revolution - for the final triumph of the noble cause for which you lived, struggled and died, in your own words:

> "The triumph of peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism, all over the world!"

Hamba kahle, J. B. Marks!

Maatla ke a Rona!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Mayibuye i Afrika!

"FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS": FOREWORD TO BOOK, 1972[104]

We, South African communists and progressives, are very pleased that the People's Publishing House has considered it of sufficient importance to come out with an Indian edition of Comrade Lerumo's book - *History of the Communist Party of South Africa; Fifty Fighting Years* - so as to place within reach of the wide reading public of the Indian subcontinent the story of the Communist Party of South Africa and its vanguard role in the bitter struggles of the oppressed South African working peoples against imperialism and racial oppression.

The book, I have no doubt, will be read with deep interest in India since the history and destiny of our two countries is closely interwoven. Both have for long been the victims of British imperialism, the consequences of which still have disastrous impact on our lives.

It was as a 'halfway house' to India that the Dutch first set up their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, thus setting off the long and tragic sequence of aggression, conquest and dispossession which marked and still marks the entire history of Southern Africa.

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[104] Foreword to the Indian edition of *History of the Communist Party of South Africa: Fifty Fighting Years, 1921-1971* by A. Lerumo, 1972. (A. Lerumo is pseudonym of the late Michael Harmel.)

All this is explained in the terse but factual outline contained in the opening chapter of this book.

And, of equal interest to the Indian readers will be the story of the hard and difficult struggles of the Indian people against the humiliation of racial discrimination and the denial of basic human rights ever since the year of 1860 when they were first brought to South Africa under the British raj to work as indentured labourers to satisfy the greed of the white sugar planters in Natal. It also deals with the birth of the South African Indian resistance movement under the leadership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who originally came to South Africa as a little-known lawyer to handle a civil case and stayed on in the country for twenty years to guide and organise the Indian community against injustice. It was indeed in our country that Mahatmaji was to undergo his political baptism which led to such momentous consequences for the Indian subcontinent itself.

This volume deals with the formation of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921, inspired by the great October revolution and the heroic deeds of the bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, and its subsequent development as a leading force of the working peoples in the bitter struggles against the restrictive racial laws which had deprived the African people of their land and turned them into a reservoir of cheap labour for the mines and the white man's farms; it deals with the inner-party struggle against the dogmatic, sectarian tendency in the twenties and early thirties which threatened the isolation of the Party from the masses of the people; and, it also deals with the work and activities of the South African Communist Party under conditions of illegality enforced by the fascist Nationalist regime.

In doing so, it also traces the parallel development of the national liberation movement, centred in the African National Congress, in which the South African Indian Congress played a notable and honourable part. It is clear too that the SACP itself was a vanguard pace-setter in the building of this united front of liberation.

My associations with Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, the present Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the leaders of various political parties, the trade union, student and youth movements clearly show the close concern which the people of India have in the outrageous doctrine and practices of apartheid and of their desire to help in every possible way the just struggle of the black people for freedom. This has been manifested time and again at the United Nations and in many Asian and Afro-Asian assemblies. We South Africans are deeply grateful for this interest and solidarity.

Yet it is plain that much still remains to be done. Despite every resolution of abhorrence for apartheid and every plea and demand from the world community, the fascist regime of Vorster has multiplied its repression and its crimes from year to year.

Only the united struggle of the South African masses, every form of mass action including armed conflict, will overthrow this hateful and anti-human regime of white domination.

But in that struggle our people need every bit of support from the working class, progressive and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world - for it is clear that the white fascist regimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon enjoy the open and concealed backing of world imperialism.

If the widespread study of Lerumo's book in India serves to increase knowledge of African problems and thus increase support for and involvement in our fight for freedom it will have served a most worthy purpose.

22 May 1972

TRIBUTE TO VIETNAM: LETTER TO THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, JANUARY 26, 1973[105]

26th January 1973

Dear Comrades,

The epic fight of the Vietnamese people has been of immense world-historical significance to all who oppose imperialism and who long for national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace.

Especially to those like our own people suffering gross national oppression, colonialism and racialism in South Africa, your victory inspires us with fresh energy and unshakeable confidence that our just cause will triumph.

On behalf of all the oppressed and exploited people of our country we pay undying tribute to your Party, Government and people. Your steadfastness and endurance, your high patriotism, and brilliant political, military, theoretical and practical leadership have enabled your people to sustain the most massive and prolonged onslaught of any nation in history, and to emerge with a victory for your people which is shared by the whole of freedom-loving mankind.

Please accept, dear comrades, our cordial congratulations, our ardent hope for the early realisation of the peaceful reunification of the nation of Vietnam, enjoying friendly relations with the free, fraternal peoples of Indo-China, advancing along the path illuminated by the immortal Ho Chi Minh.

We pledge to you that our people and our Party, as part of the world's forces against imperialism, will stand ever vigilant at your side to safeguard the peace against treachery and sabotage.

Yours fraternally,

Y. M. Dadoo
Chairman
South African Communist Party

"AMILCAR CABRAL - OUTSTANDING LEADER OF AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT": A TRIBUTE, 1973[106]

> "How is it that we, a people deprived of everything, living in dire straits, manage to wage our struggle and win successes? Our answer is: this is because Lenin existed, because he fulfilled his duty as a man, a revolutionary and a patriot. Lenin was and continues to be, the greatest champion of the national liberation of the peoples."

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[105] From: *African Communist*, No. 53, second quarter 1973

[106] From: *African Communist*, No. 53, second quarter 1973

These were the words addressed to the delegates attending the seminar on "Lenin and National Liberation" held at Alma Ata, capital of Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan, in 1970 by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, who met his death on 20th January 1973 at Conakry, Guinea, at the hands of a traitor, Innocenta Canida, an agent of the Portuguese colonialists who had infiltrated into the ranks of the movement three years ago.

These words reflect the revolutionary thinking and life-work of this utterly dedicated patriot, outstanding African revolutionary of our time and the father of the new independent sovereign State of Guinea in the process of birth. It was the cognition of the scientific theory of revolution, of Marxism-Leninism, to which he was introduced by his contacts with the Portuguese Communist Party during his student days in Lisbon which was to combine within him, in the words of the statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, "a deep understanding of the processes of the African revolution with an untiring devotion to practical struggle."

Ideological Base

Whilst eschewing dogma, he continually stressed the need for a firm political and ideological base for a revolutionary: "If it is true that a revolution can fail even though it is based on perfectly conceived theories -- nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."

Cabral was above all a man of action. Born on September 12, 1924, at Bafata in what was then the Portuguese West African colony of Guinea, he spent part of his youth in Bissau, the capital. He was able because of his family's relatively comfortable position, to go to secondary school and then to the University of Lisbon, where he qualified as an agricultural engineer in 1951. Returning to his country he served for two years in the colonial administration as an agronomist which provided him with ample opportunity to learn at first hand of the dire poverty and intense suffering of his people, especially in the countryside. His experiences made him more determined than ever to find ways and means of working for the freedom of his country and delivering his people from the yoke of colonial bondage. This inevitably led him into bitter conflicts with the governor of the colony and he transferred himself to Angola.

There in 1956 he helped to form what is now the most important national organisation of Angola, the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). In the same year he also became one of the founders of the African Party of Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands and was its leader until the time of his assassination.

Under his leadership the PAIGC mobilised the country's patriots to struggle for the freedom of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, created the people's army and led the national-liberation war against the Portuguese colonialists. Cabral knew and understood his enemy well, and every phase of the struggle was carefully planned and action meticulously organised. The cadres of the PAIGC were given political education as well as military training and he stressed always "that we are armed militants and not militarists."

The Race Question

Cabral saw the task of the national liberation movements as not merely to usher in Black rule replacing white faces with black ones; it was not only to raise a different flag and sing a new anthem but to remove all forms of exploitation from the country. "Bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present world economy, as well as experience already gained in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism." Cabral was careful to distinguish the colour of men's skins from exploitation and repeatedly emphasised that the struggle was against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people. He made it clear that:

> "We are fighting so that insults may no longer rule our countries, martyred and scorned for centuries, so that our peoples may never more be exploited by imperialists not only by people with white skin, because we do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the colour of men's skins; we do not want any exploitation in our countries, not even by black people."

Though the focus of Cabral's activity was always the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, he was an internationalist and saw his people's struggle as merely one front of a common international struggle against imperialism which "is trying simultaneously to dominate the working class in all advanced countries and smother the national liberation movements in all the under-developed countries."

Socialist Allies

The historic role which the socialist community, as an integral and powerful part of the world anti-imperialist front, is playing for peace, independence and socialism was clearly understood and recognised by Cabral. At a conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1965, Cabral had said:

> "It is our duty to state here, loud and clear, that we have firm allies in the socialist countries ... Since the socialist revolution and the events of the Second World War, the face of the world has definitely changed. A socialist camp has arisen in the world. This has radically changed the balance of power, and this socialist camp is today showing itself fully conscious of its duties, international and historic, but not moral, since the peoples of the socialist countries have never exploited the colonised peoples."

He had very close association with the Soviet Union which he visited on many occasions and made a major contribution to the promotion and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Soviet Union, between the PAIGC and the CPSU. Speaking as the head of the PAIGC delegation at the Joint Meeting in the Kremlin dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Cabral said:

> "Availing ourselves of this opportunity we want to express on behalf of our people fraternal gratitude to the Soviet people, the CPSU, its Central Committee for the versatile assistance you render us in our bitter struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, against the war and genocide, for independence, peace and progress of our African Motherland."

The assassin's bullets struck down this great African leader just as preparations were going ahead for the convening of the National Assembly in the early part of this year for the adoption of the Constitution and the official declaration of the new independent sovereign State of Guinea. This foul deed was engineered by the Portuguese colonialists with the nefarious aim of sowing confusion and disruption among the ranks of the PAIGC and of causing disunity among the national liberation movements of Southern Africa.

It shows that the evil triumvirate of Caetano, Smith and Vorster will stop at nothing to stem the irresistible advances of the courageous and steeled guerrillas and brave freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their noble struggle to free the whole of southern Africa from national, racial and social oppression.

In our own country, South Africa, Vorster faces the ever growing tide of indignation and resistance of the Black masses against apartheid tyranny and especially of the bulk of the Black working people against the whole of the inhuman cheap-labour system and starvation wages.

In spite of the use of the deadly modern weapons of war, terror and devious manoeuvres, the colonialist and racialist regimes are doomed. The new State of Guinea shall be a reality, the whole of southern Africa shall be freed.

However, the struggles ahead call for, on our part, ever stronger unity and organisation of masses, ever greater vigilance against the manoeuvres and machinations of the enemy, ever more determination and will to sacrifice in our efforts to exterminate the forces of oppression and win final victory.

By the death of Amilcar Cabral, Africa has lost one of her great revolutionary leaders. We, the fighting black people and all the revolutionaries of South Africa, salute this indomitable fighter. We shall see to it that the cause -- which is also our cause -- to which Amilcar Cabral devoted all his energies and ultimately gave his life, will triumph.

AMANDLA!
RONA KE MAATLA!
MAYIBUYE AFRIKA!

"SOUTH AFRICA: TIME OF CHALLENGE": REPORT, ON BEHALF OF THE SECRETARIAT, TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OCTOBER 1973[107]

Events in the last nine months have confirmed the broad lines of the report adopted by the last Plenary Session of our Central Committee.

In that report we noted that the special contradictions and stresses inherent in the White supremacy system were being aggravated. This was reflected not only by signs of conflict between various elements of the ruling classes over problems of how best to safeguard the racialist-colonialist structure, but even more significantly by expressions of renewed militancy and upsurge amongst all sections of our oppressed and exploited people.

Even then there were a number of encouraging signs that the liberation movement was recovering from the setbacks which followed heightened repressive measures in the post-1960 period. This tendency has been strengthened, and shows itself in the spread of the strike movement, growing opposition to rural resettlement schemes, a marked spirit of resistance amongst the students and working youth, and the increasing search by militants for yet more effective measures and organisational forms to advance the liberation struggle.

The scale of recent industrial action by workers is even more impressive when we recall that in 1970, for example, the total number of Africans who went on strike in 17 stoppages was only 665. This was the pattern for ten years up to 1973 when in the first four months alone scores of strikes involved over 100,000 Black workers.

The recent action by Black miners crushed in one case by batons and in another by the murder of 12 workers, is evidence of renewed stirrings amongst this most exploited section of the working class.

Student militancy continued to grow despite arrests, jailings and unending harassment of the student leaders. This year's mass actions at the Coloured University of the Western Cape and at Fort Hare in which the student bodies refused to bow to authority, follows on earlier actions of Black students at most of the ethnic universities.

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[107] From: *African Communist*, No. 56, first quarter 1974

There have been further examples of whole communities refusing to carry out removals and resettlement orders, some of which have had to be enforced by armed police contingents.

Amongst the Coloured and Indian people there have been more signs of growing identification with the African people. Solidarity with their African brothers by Indian workers during the recent strikes and the rejection by Coloured political figures, especially in the Labour Party, of Government attempts to steer them away from cooperation with their fellow Blacks, are amongst the many indications which reflect a further growth of all-Black unity.

Externally, the Vorster regime's campaign for 'dialogue' and its attempts to overcome its isolation from Black Africa have been sharply rebuked, as witness the UN General Assembly demonstration in October when every African State (with the exception of Malawi) walked out on Muller's[108] speech. Even the Leabua Jonathan Government of Lesotho is impelled to take up a belated but welcome stand for independence from domination by Pretoria.

The action by SWAPO guerrillas and its impressive political activity inside Namibia has shaken the Government. Last year's successful industrial action by the Namibian working class, the impressive resistance to the implementation of the Bantustan programme and the growth of mass SWAPO organisation within the territory are amongst the signs of the continued development of a more favourable situation for the liberation forces. Although the white regime continues to exercise its open racial dictatorship in Namibia, it is from time to time forced to have regard to the Territory's special international position.

In Zimbabwe, the successful and sustained activity of the ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas is creating a new crisis for the Smith regime and its main prop - South Africa.

Above all, the impressive strides by the forces of FRELIMO in Mozambique, bringing the liberation force closer and closer to the White man's main fortress, create serious concern for the Vorster-Smith-Caetano trinity of reaction.

In Guinea-Bissau the recent declaration of independence and the creation of a people's government which has already been recognised by scores of countries throughout the world, is a major blow against the white alliance.

Outside Africa, too, the world-wide solidarity movement is scoring advances in its efforts to mobilise world opinion and action against the racist regime. The regime has failed to make any significant breaches in the wall of isolation which surrounds it in the world of sport. Of special significance is the recent Geneva trade union conference representing 186 million workers. The decisions of this conference provide an impressive basis for world-wide workers' action against apartheid. It united for the first time in many years all the main detachments of the trade union movement, unanimously denounced apartheid and race discrimination as a crime against humanity and called for a whole series of practical measures to be taken by governments, trade unions and employers to boycott racist South Africa and render financial, moral and material support to the workers and people of South Africa "through their authentic trade unions and political organisations".

In general, there can be no doubt that the situation in our country contains within it the seeds of an even more fundamental sharpening of the confrontation between the people and white supremacy. The crisis of apartheid is growing and, more than at any time in the last decade, conditions are ripening which hold out possibilities of major advance. The fact that wider sections of the people are now beginning to show a greater readiness to speak out and to act, is in part due to an absolute and relative deterioration in their living conditions, and the unbroken example of the activity of our liberation movement. But it is also significantly connected with a deepening of the

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[108] Hilgaard Muller, South African Foreign Minister

conflicts and stresses in the socio-economic structure itself. This structure shares with world imperialism, of which it is an integral part, an inability to overcome the ever-recurring financial and economic crises inherent in the capitalist mode of production. At the same time it suffers from special contradictions which flow from its internal racialist-colonialist character.

Although the basic framework of white rule in South Africa has, broadly speaking, remained unaltered, it is the duty of our movement to examine more closely the important developments that have taken place particularly in the last decade which have a significant bearing on the struggle for revolutionary change.

African Integration

In the first place, apartheid as understood by some of the post-1948 Nationalist ideologists, has demonstrably broken down. If there ever existed a genuine intention to create a White South Africa which is geographically and economically independent of Black labour, the inexorable laws of economic development have destroyed the fantasies of the apartheid "idealists." The statistical picture tells a clear story.

The percentage of Black labour employed in secondary industry has increased steadily and spectacularly from 57.6 per cent of the work force in 1936 to 66.5 per cent in 1951 and 70.3 per cent in 1967.[109]

The trend continues. Between 1971 and 1972, the rate of increase of Africans employed in manufacturing industry was twice that of the whites, and in the railways five times as much. The same pattern shows itself in the mining industry and repeats itself in almost every sphere of urban and rural employment. On the white farms Africans constitute 82.7 per cent of the labour force (most of the balance being Coloured and Indian), whereas between 1936 and 1967 the number of white farmers decreased from 132,000 to 90,000.

The planned reduction of Black presence in White areas was to be accompanied by the creation of job opportunities in and near the so-called Bantu homelands by a process of industrial decentralisation. The efforts in this direction have produced results which can only be described as farcical. In the "border" regions, a grand total of 78,451 jobs were created for Africans in the eleven and a half years from June 1960 to December 1972. Inside the homelands themselves, the figures are even more pathetic. According to the Government-supporting Afrikaanse Handels-instituut, only 8,000 new jobs have been created in all the Bantustans in the last ten years.[110] This led it to conclude (rather late in the day) "that this meant the Bantustans were not going to be able to siphon off enough Black people to make white South Africa meaningfully white in any political sense". The scale of the deception reaches monstrous proportions when we recall that the Government's Tomlinson Commission recommended that even a minimal implementation of true apartheid would have required the creation of 500,000 new jobs during this period.

Even in the central public services, Blacks now outnumber whites.

Government estimates show that during the period 1947 to 1967 there has been an increase of 156 per cent in the number of Africans in white areas and the latest census shows that in a city like Johannesburg, the African population has increased at more than twice the rate of the white population increase during the period 1960-1970.

The attempts to keep Africans out of skilled and semi-skilled jobs was continuously being undermined by the economic processes. It was universally recognised that the device of job reservation had substantially failed. The Divisional Inspector of Labour for Johannesburg claimed

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[109] *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1972

[110] *Rand Daily Mail*, August 18, 1973

earlier this year that "employers don't even apply for exemptions any more. They employ non-whites regardless. As a labour department official of 40 years' standing, I say job reservation is a dead letter."

Crisis of Apartheid and Recent "Reforms"

The traditional labour structure in South Africa was, in its earlier period, based almost completely on migratory labour, all of which has had direct or indirect links with the reserves. Such a shifting labour force was not only more easily dealt with but its connection with the reserves provided the excuse for below-
minimum wage levels. The routine argument of every employers' organisation before Labour Commissions and Wage Boards was that the "Native's" cash wage packet was not his sole source of income but was supplemented and subsidised by landholding in the reserves.

Apartheid emerged as a special ideology in the late forties when the influx of Africans into the urban areas and its developing industries had received a new spurt in the post-war economic growth. This fact did not in itself create a new situation for a ruling class which has always flourished on the maximum exploitation of Black labour. But the increasing dependence of the system on a growing Black work force which is permanently urban-based and more and more cut off from the land, posed new problems; and the ideology of apartheid was seen as the prime instrument for overcoming them.

Like any other ideology, apartheid is the expression of a class political policy. It reflects the interests of capitalist rule, and we must be especially on our guard to separate the rhetoric from the substance. There were no doubt a few in the enemy camp who genuinely dreamt of achieving a "white" economy in the "white" State, eventually free of its dependence on Black labour. But the real driving force of apartheid is economic. The capitalist class is ever seeking to intensify exploitation and at the same time to keep the Black workers in check. As the character of the African working class has changed, so new mechanisms had to be sought to maintain the cheap labour system. Apartheid in this sense was a continuation of, and a break with, the past. Its primary objective was to strengthen and perpetuate the policy of white domination over the whole of South Africa. It contained a special flavour because changes in the economic structure demanded new mechanisms to further this aim.

The permanent urbanisation of a Black proletariat no longer having economic links with the countryside called for fresh measures. This aspect was put very crisply by the Minister of Mines in 1948 when he told Parliament:

> "There should be a migratory labour policy, not only as it is on the mines, but in the country generally....This is exactly the policy which has been proposed by this side of the House in regard to Native labour required for secondary industries."

In the first place new steps were needed to cope with the growing challenge and potential revolutionary capacity of an urban proletariat more and more cut off from the land. The answer which apartheid gave was to go in for a more intensive and naked form of political repression against the Black political opposition. Events have further exposed the liberal illusion that economic growth would, by a slow evolutionary process, force the white State to make meaningful political concessions. Indeed economic growth in the last twenty years has been accompanied by more naked repression and by a narrowing rather than a widening of political and social rights. Secondly, apartheid attempted to stop and reverse the process of permanent Black urbanisation and to create conditions in which the reserves could more effectively be used both as reserve pools of labour, and as a means of transforming the urban proletariat once again into a semi-migratory work force with direct or indirect economic links in the reserves. The fiction that every Black urban worker had a "citizenship" in a homeland, was designed to create acceptance that even those born in the urban areas (the vast majority) were there as "foreigners"

at the pleasure of the white man and could expect no political rights. The Government tried to reduce the number of Africans in the towns whilst keeping them integrated into the white economy by encouraging industrialists to move their factories to the borders of the homelands.

In fact, as shown above, there has been a growth rather than a decrease of the Black population in the towns and in all spheres of industry, and a pathetic level of economic development in and around the reserves. The crisis of apartheid is, in important respects, connected with the system's substantial failure to turn the clock back by the use of these new devices. It has not succeeded (despite a stepping up of political terror) in removing the growing political threat to its survival. In every sphere of life, the white State has become more and not less dependent on a permanently urban-based Black proletariat which is once again beginning to show its teeth. The new efforts to give substance to the Bantustans and various so-called "reforms" in the urban areas reflect the pressures on, and the weakness of, the regime. It tries to divert the growing pressures in the towns and to take more effective measures to obtain Black collaboration in holding on to the reins of power. It strives to handle the crisis which it has created in the reserves.

The Reserves

The population in the reserves has risen to seven million with a population density of 46 per sq. km. compared to 13 per sq. km. for the rest of the country, including cities and towns. The increase in population is partly the result of the implementation of resettlement policies, affecting people mainly from the "White" farms and those in rural "Black spots". In the period 1967 to 1970, reliable estimates by the Institute of Race Relations show that 1.6 million Africans were dumped into the reserves, of whom 1.2 million were squatters and labour tenants in rural areas or occupying so-called rural "Black spots". It is significant that the rate of "repatriation" from the urban areas has been comparatively smaller and has in fact slowed down. Of the 1.6 million sent to the "homelands" between 1960 and 1970, 400,000 were endorsed out of urban areas. In the shorter period, 1957 to 1963, the total was close to 530,000. The homelands "consolidation" plan envisages the resettlement of a further 363,000 people from rural "Black spots" in Natal and the Transvaal. The homelands, observes a South African columnist, "are in fact degenerating into labour reservoirs for the systematic exploitation by white industrialists or farmers".[111] There are now many areas with massive unemployment which are being reserved for particular types of employment recruitment. An example is one area in Bophuthatswana which is closed to labour officers from the white towns and has been reserved for farm labour recruiters only.

The reserves have for long been grossly overcrowded. In 1956, the Tomlinson Commission stated that they could at best support a maximum of 2.3 million people. It is an enormity to uproot about 13 per cent of the African population from elsewhere and dump them there. The traditional subsistence economy into which these people are received is already unable to sustain life even at its lowest level. Studies in the Ciskei in the late 1960s show that one-third of families had no arable land at all. In the Transkei, 95 per cent of families have much less than the 4.3 hectares of land officials regard as the minimum necessary to make a living in the Umtata district. In all the homelands unemployment, land and cattle shortages, starvation, regular famines, horrifying levels of infant mortality, etc. are creating conditions of crisis proportions. These discarded people will be on permanent standby to meet the labour need of white farms and industry. It is migrant labour of a new sort with the bulk of this reserve army of unemployed having no visible means of subsistence until they are conscripted by a recruiting officer. This is the reality for the overwhelming majority of people in the Bantustans.

Despite the apparent advantages which such conditions have for an economy based on the maximum exploitation of Black labour, there is a noticeable recognition that urgent measures are necessary to defuse the explosive potential which it contains. This explains the new energy

[111] *Rand Daily Mail*, August 18, 1973

which has been shown in the last three years in the direction of pushing ahead with the political aspects of the Bantustan programme. There is a growing recognition too that the trend in the towns towards Black permanence in industry and of a work force no longer having a real connection with the reserves, has proved to be irreversible. The recent spate of so-called "reforms" and talk of "reforms" are partly the response to growing pressure from the people, and partly an attempt to preserve the ruling class in its present position of dominance in the light of these realities. In a rare moment of candour, the Minister of Bantu Administration warned recently that in regard to White-Black relations "it is one minute to midnight."

Reforms in Urban Areas

Industrial action by the Black working class has resulted in nominal wage rises in industry and on the mines. In fact the workers have not even been compensated for the dramatic fall in their real income as a result of inflation rates which are amongst the worst in the world. J. J. Cloete, senior economist for Barclays Bank, stated that "inflation has reached a breakneck 10-13 per cent a year and...it may now be totally out of hand".[112]

In the mines where the real income of the average Black miner was no higher in 1972 than in 1911, the average 22 per cent rise in income still means that the Black miner earns less than R 21 per month. The meanness of the increase is underlined by the fact that in 1972 the increase in mine profits alone was more than double the total Black wage bill. Natal Consolidated Industrial Investment, a major part of the infamous Frame group, recorded a 70 per cent rise on profits in 1972 while at the same time, despite minor wage rises, it continues to pay its Black workers starvation wages.

The massive pay gap between white and Black labour continues to widen. The white working class - one of the main supporters of white rule - uses its political influence and sectional trade union organisation to maintain and extend its share from the exploitation of Black workers. Shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, which interfered with the expansion of the economy as a whole and threatened to create havoc in important sectors of industry, resulted in all-round pressure particularly by employers for the admission of Blacks into certain levels of skills previously monopolised by white workers. Steps are now being taken for the controlled influx of Africans into some areas of skilled and semi-skilled operations. The resistance of the white workers to this is being broken down not by working class solidarity but by open bribery, ranging from life-time guarantees of existing white jobs to hard cash on a scale which once again makes so-called African advancement pale into insignificance. On the mines, for example, the latest wage agreement with the 7,000 white artisans gives them an immediate rise of R100 per month in exchange for allowing Africans to do certain artisan tasks under their supervision. This rise alone is five times the average monthly earnings of the Black miner, even after the recent increases.

The enormous potential of the industrial strength of the Black proletariat which showed itself in this year's industrial actions, is even more impressive when it is remembered that it was carried out at a time when formal trade union organisation is at an extremely low level because of Government repression of all trade union rights for Blacks. This lesson was not lost on South Africa's regime and some of the "reforms" which have been introduced are clearly designed to pre-empt the natural growth of Black trade union organisation. There is an adjustment in the make-up of the existing Works Committees which will leave them as powerless and as vulnerable as they ever were to employer and official pressures. The legislation to "legalise" African strikes has been described by a commentator as "a symbolic concession to the muscle-power of the awakening giant in our midst."[113]

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[112] *The Star*, weekly edition, Johannesburg, July 21, 1973

[113] *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, May 25, 1974

The pretence that the new labour laws represent a measure of "liberalisation" is a gross deception. The absolute prohibition against strikes still applies to vast categories of workers including those employed by local authorities, in "essential" services (light, power, water, sanitation, passenger transportation), farming, domestic service, Government and Provincial Administration, railways, and coal and gold mining. This total prohibition can be extended by the Minister at any time to all industries concerned with the supply, distribution and conveying of perishable foodstuffs, or with the supply of petrol and other fuels to local authorities or "others engaged in providing essential services". For the rest, the conditions under which a strike becomes legal are so circuitous and complex that for all practical purposes the so-called "right to strike" is utterly meaningless. There is a built-in device by which strikes are in any case prohibited if the Minister refers the dispute to the Wage Board for investigation which, in practice, could prevent a single legal strike in any dispute whatsoever. Unified strike action in more than one factory is made impossible by other provisions which involve a cooling off period after the dispute has not been resolved by a specific Works Committee. We do not doubt the Government's claim when introducing the legislation that it was designed to prevent even further the growth of African trade unions.

The white argument that Africans in the towns were "sojourners" and "superfluous appendages" was always a crude rationalisation for a policy which squeezed what it could from African labour but kept it completely rightless and voiceless politically and industrially and dumped it into the wasteland of the reserves when it became too old or sick to be profitable. The mechanisms for this policy are being centralised and strengthened in the shape of further "reforms".

Consolidated Bantu Administration areas have been created in various parts of the country within which labour mobility will be far easier. The effect will be that the size of the pass areas have been increased and Africans residing in some towns will no longer need special permission to take jobs in a limited number of others which fall within the wider area. The usual tight control over the movement of labour will be slightly relaxed. Within each of these areas labour mobility will now be in the hands of centralised Government boards and no longer fall under the local authorities, some of whom the Government has been accusing of a lack of vigour in implementing the pass laws.

Although presented as a "reform" and as an easing of the pass laws, its true meaning can already be seen by a statement of the chairman of the East Rand Bantu Administration Board, Kalie van der Merwe, that one of the greatest aims of the Boards is that economically inactive Africans "will in time disappear from White South Africa". He mentioned the figure of 300,000 who will be affected within his Board's jurisdiction alone.

Against this background the increasing talk of removing some of the irritating effects of so-called "petty apartheid" and the claim by Jansen, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, that he would try to make the lot of Black urban dwellers "as happy as possible" and that "we should get away from the idea of the homelands as dumping grounds for people we don't want in South Africa", is of minor importance. It does, however, highlight a recognition by some of the more astute observers in the enemy camp that urgent gestures are necessary to cover up the real processes at work, because more than ever before the previous rationalisations are wearing thin.

In some areas, like sport, the threat of international isolation led to minor concessions which leave the substance of colour domination unchanged.

Our Attitude to Reforms

In general, we know that everything the white State gives with one hand it will try to take away with the other. At the same time, the fact that the regime is forced to make concessions,

however minor, and to go in for complex deceptions which pretend to meet some of the basic demands, is evidence of a ferment within the system reflecting an intensification of its contradictions.

How then should our revolutionary movement approach the limited "reforms" we have described and those which the regime may be forced to make in the future in an attempt to overcome these contradictions and to preserve itself? We have always been and will always be in the forefront of the struggle for better all-round conditions, because we believe that the struggle for these, properly directed and related to long-term aims of power to the people, is an indispensable school for the creation of revolutionary consciousness. We. therefore, distinguish between reforms such as a rise in wages which are won by the struggle of the people, and manoeuvres like the new strike law which are aimed at entrenching class exploitation and race rule.

On the whole, the measures which have been taken recently reflect the responses of the ruling class in a situation in which it is trying to contain an awakening people and to find new ways of overcoming the insoluble contradictions and stresses of capitalist-race rule in South Africa and, more specifically, the failure of some of its recent policies.

From the point of view of the people, even the small successes such as the recent meagre wage rises create rising expectations and have given them new experience of the potential of united action on a much bigger scale. The forced retreat by the Government on the question of certain levels of skilled work for Blacks provides a spur for greater achievement in this field and highlights still further in the minds of the African workers the iniquitous wage gap between them and the whites who previously carried out the same work. The new deceptive Labour Bill places more firmly on the agenda the urgent need to struggle for real trade union rights and the right to strike. Although it was never the regime's intention, the speeding up of the Bantustan programme has put on the agenda as never before the whole question of real political power and national liberation.

It is in this sense that some of the reforms which have been won and other adjustments which are being made by the regime in an attempt to overcome the insoluble contradictions of apartheid, are opening up new possibilities of mass mobilisation. Whether these opportunities are used depends upon the leadership efforts of our whole movement. Spontaneity is not enough. History teaches that, left to themselves without advanced revolutionary leadership, the masses can more easily be deceived and led into the traps of reformism and unprincipled compromises. And in no field is the danger so great as in the area of the Bantustans.

It is in the area of the Bantustans that the regime has pushed ahead in the recent period with a renewed vigour. It has done so to meet the untenable position which has been created by the developments we have described both in the urban areas and in the reserves. Above all, it is anxious to create ethnic administrations in which so-called 'traditional' Black leaders will help it to institutionalise the break-up of nation-wide African consciousness, to consolidate the White man's claim over the greater and richest parts of South Africa, and to make easier the transformation of the reserves into more manageable sources of cheap migrant Black labour with the Black administrations acting as more effective middle men.

We have previously analysed some of the contradictions which have emerged in this Government attempt to gain Black collaboration for its new attempts to hide the real mechanisms of white rule. There have been, furthermore, recent examples of verbal confrontations between some of the Bantustan chiefs and the Government on land questions, consolidation demands, demands for greater local powers, and so on. Although embarrassed by some of these disputes, it is clear that to meet its internal needs and to show a better face to the outside world, the racist regime is prepared to take some calculated risks, because it considers that, on balance, the outcome will help rather than obstruct white domination.

Already evidence is accumulating which has dangerous implications for our whole liberation movement. Amongst those who are involved in the workings of the Bantustan system there are men of different calibre and commitment. Some are out and out collaborators of the "Uncle Tom" variety. For others it means a better job and more possibilities of personal advancement. A few see their participation as giving them opportunities of squeezing a few concessions for their people within the limited Government framework. But, objectively speaking, what they share in common is that the logic of their position enables the Government to use them in order to further its more basic purposes. As we shall see later, even some of the more militant sounding demands are rooted in the Bantustan framework and, therefore, in the long run reinforce it.

In this sense the motives of each individual Bantustan leader have little relevance. However radical and sincere the Bantustan leaders might be, they are in fact (with whatever reservations) helping to work the system. At best their participation can only be justified if they make clear, by what they say and what they do, that their participation is designed to utterly destroy the Bantustans and to support the struggle for majority Black rule over the whole of our country.

It is true that some of them are forced from time to time to echo the basic aspirations of the people by paying tribute to the idea of a united South Africa on the basis of equality. Even Matanzima[114] said recently that the only eventual answer is "one man, one vote" with representation for all races in a central parliament. But he saw the homelands as being "a meaningful share of political power" which must precede the larger aim. This is a dangerous illusion. The white regime with its 300 years' experience of manipulating Black administrations will not so easily be outwitted in a Bantustan-type political game whose rules it controls. The package which it is offering is overwhelmingly to its advantage and the actual record of the Bantustan administrations shows this.

The Transkei Minister of Justice, George Matanzima, helps to spread the master-race ideological rubbish when he says: "I am a strong believer in racial purity," and promises to invoke the Immorality Act in the Transkei against Coloureds and whites.[115] Kaizer Matanzima claims that "the separation of the races is here to stay",[116] and states that "the only way to racial harmony was through a policy of separation of the races on equal and parallel lines"[117] - once again parroting the apartheid ideologists.

In the election manifesto of his Ciskei National Independence Party, Lennox Sebe, the new Chief Minister of the Ciskei, proclaimed his support for the broad principles of separate development and chieftainship as the corner-stone of the homeland's political system. He recently went on record as opposing the release of political prisoners and the return of political refugees who left the country because it "would only create a great deal of unrest."

In the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Kaizer Matanzima introduced a motion of sympathy (which was carried unanimously) with the relatives of the four African policemen who died in a guerrilla ambush in the Caprivi Strip and stated that "the men who died in the Caprivi had died for the highest ideal--the defence of their country".[118]

An acceptance of the reality that the Bantustans will be little more than labour pools is made clear in the conditions set out by Lucas Mangope, the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, for independence, These "conditions" included a "fixed" agreement on the sale of labour which he

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[114] Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Bantustan of Transkei

[115] *Rand Daily Mail*, January 9, 1973

[116] *Ibid*. April 14, 1973

[117] *Ibid*. April 4, 1973

[118] *Ibid*. April 28, 1973

said would be his homeland's "main export for the foreseeable future".[119]

In the financial journals and in the city pages of newspapers a campaign has been launched in the name of all the Bantustan chiefs for private investment in the homelands. The campaign does not hide the fact that it advises profit-hungry investors to grab the opportunities of making super-profits from the "problem-free labour resources". South Africa's existing riches (all of which are outside the homelands) are capable of providing a decent life for everybody. But almost all the Bantustan administrations implicitly accept responsibility for those dumped in their areas. The minimal and distorted development in the reserves will no doubt give the Government further justification for their use as receiving depots for stand-by Black labour.

Relatively sharp confrontations have been publicised between the Bantustans and the Government on questions of boundaries and land-consolidation. The Transkei, for example, is laying a claim to a portion of Lesotho as well as a small number of areas and towns in 'white' South Africa. The Gazankulu claim includes portions of two other homelands, Venda and Lebowa. The Government has made clear that "there is no question of a division of land between White and Black in South Africa, not now and not in the future",[120] and reiterated that no further land would be granted than had been agreed to by the 1936 legislation. At the same time, for land claims for Africans to be based on so-called "natural boundaries" for the Xhosas and Zulus, etc., amounts to an acceptance of the white man's invention that the Xhosas and Zulus have "natural areas" and have not the same rights to Johannesburg and Pretoria as they have to Richards Bay and Queenstown. Also, there can be nothing but pleasure in Vorster's ranks at the sight of the homelands already beginning to make claims on each other, and to argue about which ethnic group has a better claim to some of the crumbs.

Internationally, the white State not only stoops to using some of the points of friction between it and the Bantustan leaders to lend credibility to the Bantustans as "independent" entities, but in addition it is strengthened substantially by the approach of many of the Bantustan administrations on questions such as foreign investment, both in the Bantustans and in the rest of South Africa. South Africa's Minister of Finance claimed in the House of Assembly (April 17, 1972) that not only does South Africa need foreign investments for quicker growth "but also because of the contacts which such investments bring to South Africa." The recent advertising campaign in which Bantustan chiefs, amongst others, lent themselves to appeals for investment in South Africa, is an integral part of a concerted effort by South Africa to undermine the growing world lobby for its isolation. The justification that "I am forced to do something immediately for my starving, unemployed people" has no substance if what is being done is to help in the long run to rescue and entrench a system which survives and grows on the misery of the Black people, Whether designed or not, the external activities of some of the more respected leaders have had this effect.

Earlier this year, the Johannesburg *Star* (February 17, 1973) stated in connection with a visit by Chief Buthelezi to the United States: "The official custodians of President Nixon's policies on South Africa at the State Department could ask for no more. Chief Buthelezi[121] is the most effective weapon they have yet found against their critics on the left who are trying to steer the United States in the wake of the United Nations on South African questions.

The United States Director of the South African Foundation, Mr. John Chettle, recently paid a visit to South Africa and stated: "At no time since I have been in the United States has South Africa's position in this country been more powerful. There is no doubt that the Chief's (Buthelezi) articulate defence of peaceful change in South Africa has been most influential in

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[119] *Ibid*. August 1, 1973

[120] M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration, in *The Star*, weekly edition, Johannesburg, May 19, 1973

[121] Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu "homeland"

sabotaging the efforts of extremist American anti-apartheid groups."

It is of some importance to reflect on Chief Buthelezi's role because, of all the Bantustan leaders, he shows that opportunism, even if perhaps well-intentioned, plays into the hands of the enemy.

He has on more than one occasion condemned the basic policy of our liberation movement to prepare for armed struggle as an essential part of an all-round challenge to the racist State. Recently he criticised the World Council of Churches' decision to give aid to the guerrilla movements in Africa because it "has made things very difficult for the Church in my country" and also because he found it difficult "to embrace the Old Testament Law of an eye for an eye and at the same time embrace the Christian teachings of love and forgiveness". He went on to say that apart from his Christian beliefs, he could not "possibly support any line of action that can only result in my people being mowed down as cannon fodder."

A recent memorandum on the pass laws submitted by the KwaZulu leaders included the proposal for the setting up of an immigration department between KwaZulu and the rest of the country and a system of visitor's permits which would not give the holder the right to seek employment.[122] Here, too, there is a concession to one of apartheid's most important platforms: that a Zulu's right to live and work outside KwaZulu is a privilege and not a right.

To deal with an outbreak of faction fighting in the Msinga area, KwaZulu asked for (and was enthusiastically granted) the extension of the notorious 90-day detention law to be applied to this area.

Addressing the last TUCSA[123] Conference, Buthelezi stated that KwaZulu would "encourage the formation of Works Committees because trade union rights were not possible at present".[124]

To Vorster's statement that the homelands would be able to get foreign aid "under proper conditions", Buthelezi said "it proves his *bona fides* - he is obviously genuine about wanting to see us get off the ground economically".[125]

There is little reason to doubt that in the case of Buthelezi (as distinct from a few others) such approaches do not emerge because of an acceptance of white supremacy or a belief in the separation of the African people. He has often enough repeated in militant and strong language a loathing for apartheid and support for a united South Africa which belongs to all its people. But in practice his approach to some very vital questions is connected with an inability to see beyond the present correlation of forces; he lacks faith in the power of the African people properly mobilised and led. He sees social change as being brought about slowly by the manoeuvrings of elite groups using only the weapons the enemy provides, and not by activity which includes mass mobilisation, legal and illegal forms of struggle combined with the build-up of the armed potential of the people.

This is why KwaZulu makes proposals for the easing of pass laws incorporating acceptance "for the present" that a Zulu cannot seek employment in a "white" area as of right. This is why, instead of calling on the working class to reject the Works Committees and to struggle for trade union rights (at a time, by the way, when in the wake of the mighty workers' actions, the enemy is in a state of confusion on this question and is being forced to make gestures), KwaZulu encourages the formation of the Government Works Committees "because trade union rights are not possible at present." And this is why imperialist investors and white

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[122] *The World*, Johannesburg, August 6, 1973

[123] Trade Union Council of South Africa

[124] *The Star*, Johannesburg, August 18, 1973

[125] *Rand Daily Mail*, April 21, 1973

capital are urged to flood into the country and the homelands, without properly considering their long--term effect of strengthening white rule and the economic relationships which are at its foundation. It is a philosophy of despair; and it could not have been more crisply put than by Buthelezi himself when he said, in connection with the Works Committees, that "we are powerless and feel we should use what is available at present."

We have devoted some space to Buthelezi not because we overestimate the role of one individual, but because it helps to illustrate a number of fundamental points both for our movement as a whole and for the people.

Unity of the oppressed Black people is a fundamental pre-condition for liberation. There can be no compromise with a policy which serves to turn the clock back and divides the people once again along ethnic lines. Change in our country depends upon the mobilisation and action of our oppressed people with the Black working class as its most advanced instrument: it cannot be brought about by those who hold office at the pleasure of the white state. Their limited horizons lead them to confuse their own impotence with that of the people, and to spread despair, timidity and unprincipled compromise.

Our movement has never in principle refused to use "what is available at present" in order to fight for immediate improvements in the life of the people and as platforms to advance their long-term aims. But such activity must not be allowed to divert the people from the struggle for fundamental change. On the whole, especially in the context of the growing mood of militancy and resistance, the record of the Bantustans shows that to a greater or lesser degree each one of them is playing a harmful and diversionary role. They will continue to do so unless the people led by their movements take a hand - as they did in Namibia, where the Ovambos almost unanimously and contemptuously rejected the Bantustan proposals in the recent elections when only 1.6 per cent of the total electorate voted.

What, then, in practice, should our approach be to the Bantustans and to some of the other unrepresentative institutions?

1. We must reject totally the ideology which sees the Bantustans as enclaves of independence from which further advances can be made.

2. We must without fear or favour expose those actions of the Bantustan leaders which, wittingly or unwittingly, help the enemy, and we must stimulate mass opposition to such policies and to those who put then forward. At the same time, we must remember that the main perpetrator of this latest version of oppression is the white regime and not the Bantustan Chiefs. The emphasis of our attack must, therefore, be against the regime.

3. The people must be mobilised to completely reject the Bantustan solution. There are those who say that in all cases the answer is a complete boycott of elections. Boycott and "absolute non-collaboration" obviously has its place in the case of unrepresentative institutions such as the Bantustans, and the Namibian events have shown a magnificent application of this tactic. Its successful implementation depends, however, on the level of understanding and organisation which exists at the particular time in the particular area, not just amongst the militants but, more importantly, amongst the people as a whole. The fight to destroy the Bantustans calls for the use of flexible tactics.

4. Where the specific situation requires the participation of militants in Bantustan elections, it must be on the basis of a complete rejection of the institution and, with the support of the people, to use the platform and office to destroy the Bantustans. The defeatist approach that "we are forced to bow to unilateral decrees" is a cry of despair of those who negate the role of the people.

5. We consider that it is necessary to undertake legal activity and, in appropriate

conditions, to use every platform, even those provided by the enemy, if we can thereby advance the struggle. For obvious reasons it is not always wise for participants in legal activity to use their public voice to align themselves openly with the underground or its policy of preparing for physical resistance. Whilst, therefore, silence on these questions may be justified, open rejection and condemnation of the policy of the revolutionary movement is not.

6. The Bantustan leaders understandably lack a revolutionary ideology and at a certain level have become prisoners of the limited framework in which they exist. Many of them are, however, susceptible to their people's mood and pressures and could be influenced by them to resist Government attempts at complete manipulation. Already some of them are beginning to feel the almost complete impotence of their position and are sensing the hostility of their people. The Chief Executive of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswansisi, recently declared: "On the one hand, we are not taken seriously by the Government, and so, on the other, we are rejected by our own people because we are ineffective." Militants must, therefore, make use of the limited confrontations between the Bantustan leaders and the Government to inject into the debate the real answers and to mobilise people's action in support of them.

7. The Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the South African Indian Council are instruments specifically created for the effective implementation of apartheid in the control and management of the affairs of the Coloured and Indian communities. These dummy institutions, not unlike the Bantustans, are designed to give the semblance of gradual devolution of power into the hands of the people concerned, so that each community is given only the hope but not the substance of being directly involved in the direction of public affairs. The purpose of the Government in setting up these sham institutions is to ensure the cooperation of the Coloured and Indian members who serve on these bodies in the enforcement of the policy of separate development, and to put a stop to the growing unity of the Black people in their struggle against the apartheid system which deprives them of their dignity and rights as citizens.

It is the clear duty of the Coloured and Indian people to reject and destroy these fraudulent institutions. The Coloured Labour Party made correct use of the elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council by rallying the Coloured voters on the platform of total rejection of apartheid and for full and equal rights for all South Africans. It has recently called for the abolition of the CRC during the last session.

With regard to the Indian community, the Government is wooing it to accept the South African Indian Council which at the moment consists of 25 members, all appointed by the Government. There is now a move to enlarge it to 30 members, 15 of whom will be elected through a system of electoral colleges with a voters' list of 600 out of a total population of 650,000. It is clear that this, the most unrepresentative of all the sham institutions, does not provide any opportunity for the people to use the elections to express their opposition to apartheid. The only way they can do this is by the outright rejection of the South African Indian Council by non-participation and non-collaboration. The recent declaration of the Natal Indian Congress[126] that its members are free to join the South African Indian Council is in conflict with its avowed policy of total rejection of the Council, and can only help to nullify the purpose for which the Congress was revived as a fighting body in the struggle of the Black people against apartheid oppression and for freedom.

Revolutionary Nationalism and Black Consciousness

The main aim of the present stage of our struggle is the winning of majority rule over the whole of South Africa. This means nothing less than the total liberation of the African people and with them the other oppressed national groups.

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[126] The Natal Indian Congress, founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, was unable to function in the 1960`s because of repression. It was revived in the 1970`s.

Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party which uphold the principles of the unity of the working class throughout the world, without regard to race or colour. We reject the narrow ideology of bourgeois nationalism which divides the workers and can lead to harmful concepts of chauvinism and racialism.

There is no conflict between this, our outlook, and our unqualified support for the progressive elements present in the nationalism of an oppressed people struggling for its national freedom. We have consistently upheld the efforts of the ANC to build up and assert the rights of the African nation in our country; we have worked hard and long to achieve the fighting unity of the African, Coloured and Indian people against white domination.

From this point of view we warmly welcome the assertion of national identity, pride and confidence implicit in the overall concept of "Black Consciousness". It is a fully justified and healthy response to the insulting arrogance of the white supremacists. The current spread of Black Consciousness is a contribution to the "psychological liberation" of the African people. It is essentially a part of the prolonged struggle which was proclaimed by the African National Congress in 1912, and which has always received the fullest support of our Party.

To see the struggle in these terms is not to endorse the false formulation by Ranwedzi Nengwekulu, a student protagonist of Black Consciousness, that the struggle in South Africa is "not a political but a racial one."

It must be recognised that the term in itself does not express a coherent programme, still less an ideology. Within the ranks of those who express this slogan, in addition to determined and honest patriots there may be found those who would seek to achieve merely the advancement of privileged strata while leaving the masses where they were before: to displace the Black working class from the leading role which it has rightly assumed in generations of bitter struggle; or to submerge the emerging African nation with its own languages, culture and traditions, into an amorphous movement whose identity is based merely on skin colour.

We must especially be on our guard against those inside and outside our movement who jump on to the bandwagon of Black Consciousness for their own ulterior purposes, whether it be for their business advancement or as a cover for political careerism. We must reject the attempts by those who would use the emotional sounding content of Black Consciousness in order to isolate the different Black communities from one another and as a means of dividing the national liberation movement. And the ideology of Black Consciousness must not become the basis for the introduction of a crude form of anti-whitism which diverts the attack from the main target - the white State - and concentrates its energies and passions against white groups like NUSAS[127], some of which can at the very least be neutralised in the struggle against extreme reaction.

The Black People's Convention, which claims its inspiration from the Black Consciousness ideology, no doubt has attracted some genuinely patriotic elements. But it also contains elements particularly at the top level, who for example, when they had the choice between organisations like the ANC and the white Liberal Party, chose the latter and were amongst the white liberals' most committed supporters. Apart from its adherence to the vague formulations about Black Consciousness, the Black People's Convention has not yet made clear on what programme of action it hopes to gain the support of the people, nor how it sees its role in relation to the existing national liberation front.

The Black Workers' Alliance or the Black Allied Workers' Union, an offshoot of the Black People's Convention, projects itself as a substitute for the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which, in the trade union field, bore the brunt of the post-sixties

[127] National Union of South African Students

repressions, and which has in the recent period made special efforts to regroup itself.

In its short history, the Black Workers' Alliance has already shown two faces. On the one hand, it emphasises the truism (which SACTU has always stood for) that Black trade union organisation must assert itself as an independent force in the context of a situation in which the official trade union movement is dominated and controlled by the white workers who, at the moment, constitute one of the mainstays of reaction. On the other hand, unlike SACTU, its militant-sounding appeals to Black Consciousness are combined with a reformist approach to the role of Black trade unions. Soon after its formation, it declared in a statement that it intends to win the respect of the employers and the Government by increasing Black workers` productivity; and it attempted to set at rest Government fears by stating that it would not wish to "hold the economy of the country to ransom by organising illegal strikes, and making unreasonable demands for political reasons".[128] The same approach emerged from a recent appeal for financial help made by D. Koka, the leader of the Black Allied Workers' Union and previously associated with the white Liberal Party, to a West German organisation. In the appeal, Koka stated that Ford Motor Company was already helping his organisation with donations of transport, and went on to repeat the claim that his organisation "is still quite healthy - even from the Government point of view" which tolerates the organisation because "we do our own thing - and do not confront the Government."

Every African trade union comes into conflict with the white State and its laws at every stage of its work. No true trade union movement amongst the oppressed can, therefore, isolate itself from the struggle for political rights without betraying the interests of its members.

Paying lip service to Black nationalism is not the same as advancing the true national cause and can, in some cases, become a camouflage for harmful approaches in the actual struggle. No doubt many who have stated their adherence to Black Consciousness whether in the student movement or in these two new organisations, do so as a counter to the Government-inspired efforts to divide the Black people, as an honest reaction to the diluting influence of white liberal "do-gooders". and also as part of a search for additional organisational forms to advance the cause of the oppressed people. Such elements can and must be won over to the common programme of the liberation alliance. But at the same time where these organisations act against the policies and programmes of our liberation alliance, or project themselves as alternatives to bodies like the SACTU, they must be opposed and, if possible, diverted from such a path.

Conclusion

It is now ten years since Rivonia[129] when the regime succeeded in inflicting heavy blows against our liberation front. The weakening of the people's organisations understandably resulted in a period during which the initiative appeared to be with the enemy.

The consistent political activity of our movement in the years since Rivonia has played an important role in helping to create these more favourable conditions of struggle. Our refusal to lie down in the face of the post-60s repression has helped to inspire the spirit of growing resistance, which inevitably expresses itself in both spontaneous and planned acts of resistance and organisational initiatives, not all of which are linked directly with existing organisation. It was our national liberation front, headed by the ANC, which was the first to demonstrate its defiance of the enemy's repressive apparatus by engaging it in open battle, and by continuously spreading the message of resistance at a time when the mass resistance movement was at a low ebb.

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[128] *Rand Daily Mail*, December 9, 1972

[129] The "Rivonia trial" of Nelson Mandela and other leaders in 1963-64

The recent upsurge of mass activity and the initiatives which have been taken to re-establish organised platforms of opposition to white rule, open up new possibilities of raising the struggle to a higher level, at a time when the contradictions and stresses of the apartheid system are growing.

The struggle ahead will still be a protracted and a difficult one. Despite its growing difficulties the enemy is still very much in the saddle. To succeed in our task of dislodging it calls for the utmost effort and even more effective planning by the whole movement.

We remain more than ever convinced that the white minority will not surrender its control of the State without a violent struggle. In the forefront of our tasks, therefore, stands the urgent need to create conditions in which organised physical resistance will begin to play a bigger and bigger part. But this task requires more than just exhortation and more than just technical preparation and the activities of professional armed cadres. It calls for the simultaneous intensification of mass struggles in the course of which the people will feel their strength and gain more and more confidence in their capacity to meet and challenge the enemy on his own ground. In a general way, it is correct to say that our people have never and will never resign themselves to the violent subjugation which has been their lot. They will unquestionably be prepared to accept the sacrifices involved in a strategy which includes a revolutionary armed struggle. But this mood will only take root on a mass scale when the people become convinced from their own experience, and from the organised activity of the armed wing of our movement, that it is not only necessary but possible to defeat the enemy by a strategy which includes armed activity.

In this connection it is becoming more and more urgent for advanced cadres and groups to undertake organised actions which will demonstrate a capacity to answer the enemy in kind; actions which must be related to the issues most affecting the people, so that they increasingly experience the connection between their day-to-day mass struggles and the possibility of transforming it increasingly into mass resistance and ultimately into a nation-wide armed challenge.

Developments during 1973 clothe with greater urgency the need to implement more fully the tasks which were set out by our Central Committee in the report adopted by its last Plenary Session. This report provided guidelines for action to the different strata of our people which still remain valid.

Now more than at any other time, it is ripe for the workers to press ahead with the creation of nation-wide trade unions free of white patronage, to reject the Government-created Works Committees, to create their own factory committees free of employer and Government domination, and to use their collective strength to gain full trade union rights and better conditions. Of prime importance is the struggle for the right to strike which the workers must act on in defiance of the strangulating "no-strike" provisions of the new labour law. SACTU, as the most progressive, experienced and genuinely working class trade union centre, must be strengthened and must place itself at the head of the struggle in the factories for better conditions and trade union organisation. A renewed organisational drive is needed to organise the millions of Black workers on the white farms.

The SACTU has always upheld the unity of all workers, irrespective of race or colour. Its aim is to have all workers in an industry in one union. However, as is well known, industrial legislation in South Africa prohibits integrated trade unions. The choice for the African worker is either independent trade unions or none at all. An attempt is being made by the TUCSA to establish African unions under the tutelage of white unions. The workers must be put on their guard against these attempts to control and emasculate African trade unions. Already Black workers (mainly Indian and Coloured) make up 54 per cent of TUCSA's membership but full control remains in the hands of the politically privileged white trade unionists. Theoretically, the Coloured and Indian workers have had the same rights as whites under South Africa's industrial

legislation since 1924. But where their trade unions have been attached to white trade unions or co-ordinating bodies, they have always remained in a subordinate position. The campaign must be intensified to organise the masses of African workers into unions free of control by the Government, the employers or the white trade union establishment.

The successful workers' actions of the last year and the failure of some of the Government's previous labour policies have injected an element of confusion and division between the Government, certain sections of industry and the white working class. This division (although not fundamental), and even some of the limited concessions which the Government and the employers have been forced to make, provide a further basis for a breakthrough by the African workers on a broad front, relying on their own strength.

In the countryside, mass population shifting must be resisted and the enemy must be more and more prevented from implementing its resettlement and Bantustan policies. Majority rule over the whole of South Africa must be the uncompromising demand both in the towns and in the homelands.

The working and student youth must be further mobilised and organised in their restless urge for the complete liberation of the Black people; and the trend for closer collaboration between the youth and the workers and those on the land should be strengthened. The youth have a special role to play in helping to elaborate and to spread the policies and programmes of the liberation front.

The key to the successful advance in the struggle, and to the exploitation of the more favourable conditions which are developing, is in the hands of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress. The strengthening of its underground machinery at leadership and other levels remains a priority, as does the establishment of the effective clandestine links between the underground and all organised centres of opposition in town and country. It is necessary for the underground to sharpen its propaganda weapons and to ensure that the message and guideline of the liberation alliance reaches all sections of our people with increasing frequency. People at all levels should be encouraged to take their own initiatives to create clandestine groups, under proper conspiratorial conditions which will ensure their survival.

We must rebuff tendencies towards anti-Communism which make their appearance from time to time. The whole experience of South Africa has shown the destructive effect of such ideas, sedulously spread by the oppressors, within the ranks of the workers and the liberation movements. They wrecked the ICU in the twenties and gravely undermined the ANC in the early thirties.

Not only South African but also world history has shown that Marxism-Leninism is the only correct revolutionary theory for countries in all stages of historical development. Our Party as the party of the most advanced class, and the propagandist of Marxism, has proved its indispensable role, both as an independent organisation and as an integral part of the national liberation movement.

Our Party has done much under difficult conditions to defend its principles and maintain its organisation. Our considerable activities in the propaganda field include the regular publication of our illegal journal *Inkululeko-Freedom* and the regular distribution of an illegal edition of the *African Communist*, as well as a variety of Marxist classics suitably prepared for underground conditions and in some instances translated into African languages. An illegal edition of the history of our Party, *Fifty Fighting Years* has also reached the people in every part of our country. We salute in particular our comrades operating in the underground in South Africa who are making an immeasurable contribution to the struggle.

During the period ahead we must redouble our efforts to strengthen our units, to extend our educational and propaganda work and to build the strength and influence of our South

African Communist Party. Together with the national liberation front as a whole, let us move forward to intensified mass resistance and the stepping-up of preparation for armed struggle.

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL HARMEL: ORATION AT FUNERAL IN PRAGUE, JUNE 24, 1974[130]

We have come together to pay homage to Comrade Michael Harmel, an outstanding South African revolutionary whose whole life was unconditionally and totally dedicated to the struggle of the people and who devoted all his adult years to the cause which was dear to him above all others: the cause of liberation, socialism and internationalism.

Comrade Harmel was a man whom nature had endowed with considerable talents as a thinker, writer and publicist. He used these gifts unselfishly to enrich a movement and a struggle towards whose growth and development he made a lasting contribution.

Born in Johannesburg on the 15th February 1915, son of an Irish Socialist immigrant, he became attracted to Marxism in his student days. He joined our Party in 1939 and for the rest of his life the Party was his master. He served it with discipline and loyalty as a full-time revolutionary until his untimely death on the 18th June 1974.

Within a short time of joining our party his obvious talents and leadership calibre were recognised. He was soon elected to the Johannesburg District Committee which he served as its secretary until 1943 when he was transferred to Cape Town as a member of the National Executive of the Central Committee. On his return to Johannesburg an increasing measure of his time was taken up with journalism as correspondent for the *Guardian* and as a member of the editorial board of the Party's official newspaper, *Inkululeko*.

When our Party was driven underground in 1950, Comrade Harmel's courage and loyalty to our cause did not flinch. He found himself amongst the group of comrades who set about the task of rebuilding our Party in new conditions of illegality. It was during this decade of the 1950's that the mass struggle of our people reached stirring new peaks in the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, nation-wide general political strikes and many other mass actions. Our Party is proud of the leading role it played in the mass upsurge and those of us who worked with him will remember Comrade Harmel's participation as a member of the new underground Party collective.

During this period Comrade Harmel made a valuable contribution both as a publicist and as a participant in the process of internal policy formulation. He played an important and leading role in the sub-committee which prepared the original draft of our Party's new programme, "The Road to South African Freedom", which was finally adopted at our underground conference in 1962. This programme added a new dimension to our theoretical approach, particularly in its new elaboration of the concept of "colonialism of a special type" which characterises South African class and social structure.

To mark the 50th anniversary of our Party in 1971, Comrade Harmel was charged by the Central Committee with the task of preparing a short history of our Party, *Fifty Fighting Years*, which was published under one of the pseudonyms he used in illegal conditions - A. Lerumo.

The most lasting monument to Comrade Harmel's role as a Party writer and publicist is the *African Communist* which he helped to launch in 1959 and which he edited continuously until a year before his death when he was appointed the Central Committee's representative on *World Marxist Review* in Prague. Under his editorship the *African Communist* established itself as an internationally recognised organ of Marxist-Leninist thought in Africa. Its pages contain a rich storehouse of

[130] From: *African Communist*, No. 59, fourth quarter 1974

Marxist analysis of problems relating to the African revolution in general and the South African revolution in particular.

Comrade Harmel was a familiar figure at international gatherings of world communist movement where, representing our Party, he worked tirelessly for the implementation of our policy on the unity of the international communist movement as a fundamental element in the struggle against reaction, imperialism, colonialism, racialism and social injustice. He never wavered from his unbending conviction that the socialist world and its strongest and most experienced bastion - the Soviet Union led by the Party of Lenin - constituted the impregnable fortress of the world forces of peace, national independence, socialism and social progress. As a dedicated internationalist he saw anti-Sovietism as a deadly weapon of the most reactionary circles; a weapon which imperialism, and its ally Zionism, use in their frenzied efforts to undermine and disrupt the underlying unity of national liberation movements and the Socialist countries -- a unity which in Comrade Harmel's most recent words at the Baghdad conference "is a historical necessity for our common victory over imperialism".

Since he is being laid to rest in the soil of the Czechoslovak Socialist State, it is also fitting to record that Comrade Harmel was steadfast in his support of the Czechoslovak Party and people during the difficult 1968 events.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, we dip our red banner in honour of a life well spent in the service of freedom and socialism. Comrade Harmel was on duty when he left us. Those of us who remain on duty have gained immeasurably by having worked with a comrade whose contribution to our struggle will forever be inscribed in the history of our country, South Africa. In the difficult and arduous days which lie ahead, we will find added inspiration, Comrade Mick, by your example of total dedication to the cause of Communism and freedom of all peoples.

HAMBA KAHLE, COMRADE HARMEL! *MAYIBUYE AFRICA*!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT!

TRIBUTE TO J. B. MARKS: SPEECH AT UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL, MOSCOW, DECEMBER 16, 1974[131]

(A memorial to the former Chairman of the South African Communist Party, Comrade J. B. Marks, who died on August 1, 1972, was unveiled at the Novodevichye cemetery in Moscow on December 16, 1974. The ceremony was attended by leaders of the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress, members of South African community in the Soviet Union, and leading representatives of the Soviet Government and people. The following is Dr. Dadoo's address to the gathering.)

It is but fitting that we are unveiling the memorial to J. B. Marks, affectionately known to us all as "Uncle J. B.", today December 16 - Heroes` Day - a date of special significance for the African National Congress of South Africa and the entire national liberation movement - for on this day

[131] From: *African Communist*, No. 61, second quarter 1975

annually oppressed peoples of our country pay their homage and tribute to all martyrs and heroes who laid down their lives and offered supreme sacrifice in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and in the cause of freedom and the rights and liberties of the common people.

On this day we pay respect to the memory of, and derive inspiration from, the brave deeds of our dedicated men and women who fought and struggled with admirable gallantry against colonial conquest of our land ever since the white coloniser set his foot on our soil in the middle of the 17th century.

It is fitting indeed that we honour Uncle J. B. on this day for he was without a shadow of doubt one of the great heroes or our struggle.

He was a hero of the African people. As a dynamic leader of the African National Congress he commanded the respect of, and earned the love and affection of the African people throughout the land. His contribution in the cause of national liberation is a part of our history.

He was a hero of the South African working class. As a dedicated Communist and working class leader he devoted his energy and efforts to the most formidable task of organising the most exploited section of workers, the African gold miners, into the African Mine Workers` Union and under his inspiring leadership the miners came out in the historic strike of 1946 which struck a mighty blow against whole of cheap labour system. He exercised a tremendous influence on the development of trade union movement among African workers.

He was the hero of the fighting men of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the military wing of the ANC and the national liberation movement. In the camps his presence was a source of inspiration to our men and his fatherly guidance and advice gave them encouragement and steeled their fighting spirit.

He was a hero of the international communist movement. Uncle J. B. was a staunch internationalist and consistently upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism, tirelessly fought for the unity and consolidation of world communist and workers movement. He has earned the love and respect of all fighters for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. J. B. Marks was a loyal and steadfast friend of the Soviet Union and came to love the great Soviet land very dearly which was to become his resting place as well as that of outstanding South African revolutionaries, David Ivon Jones and Albert Nzula, Joseph Motsepe and a militant, Jara.

As we unveil this memorial today, 1 shall be failing in my duty if I were not to express the grateful thanks of the South African Communist Party and the national liberation movement of our country to the Central Committee of the CPSU for erecting this memorial at the graveside of J. B. Marks which will for ever remain a monument to the love and respect of the Soviet people for him, and an everlasting mark of solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet land with the just struggle of the oppressed South African people for national and social emancipation. We say to our Soviet comrades, *bolshoi spaceeba*.

Like our revolutionary brothers and sisters in South Africa, we South Africans who have gathered here in Novodevichye cemetery in Moscow on this Heroes Day, 16th December 1974, rededicate ourselves to liberate our country, South Africa, and rid our beautiful land of the hideous system of white supremacy.

We make a renewed call on this day for the release of our heroes who today are languishing in fascist prisons of the Vorster regime. We demand immediate freeing of Bram Fischer who is dangerously ill, of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and all the political prisoners - we shall not rest until every one of them is freed.

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE MARTYRS OF FREEDOM! *AMANDLA NGAWETHU!*

MAATLA KE RONA! MAYIBUYE I AFRIKA!

Long live the unity of the Socialist community, the national liberation and working class forces of the world against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for peace, freedom and social progress!

INTERVIEW A CORRESPONDENT OF THE NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, 1975[132]

Important changes have been taking place in the world of late. The correlation of forces is changing steadily to the disadvantage of imperialism and the advantage of socialism and progress.

This does not mean of course, that imperialism is ready to lay down arms of its own free will but the times of its unchallenged domination are over. Evidence of this is the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal the process of decolonisation in Africa which has received a fresh impulse, and the fall of the military dictatorship in Greece.

These changes are to be expected. Because of the activity of the USSR and other socialist countries in the international arenas and the implementation of the Soviet Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the cold war is giving way to détente. This is an important achievement for the forces of socialism, peace and progress and the working-class and national liberation movements.

Regarding the situation in South Africa, it should be noted in the first place that the Vorster regime, the last bulwark of racialism and colonialism on the African continent, has found itself in a rather difficult situation. With the overthrow of the colonialist-fascist regime in Portugal, the unholy alliance spearheaded against the peoples of Africa has disintegrated.

The international isolation of the racialist regime is increasing. The Republic of South Africa was almost expelled from the United Nations and was saved only by the veto of the Western Powers, which continue to reconcile themselves with apartheid, a system enabling the imperialist monopolies to wax rich by exploiting the Africans.

The movement in the Republic of South Africa against the infamous system of apartheid is growing stronger.

The strike movement is gaining strength. Workers from Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho employed in South African mines and enterprises are coming out on strike together with the South African workers demanding an end to the system of super-exploitation. Neither police brutality nor the shootings of strikers and demonstrators can suppress the growing strike movement.

The South African Communist Party is fighting together with the African National Congress which has united round itself all the freedom-loving, anti-racialist forces of the country. The South African Communist Party is working tirelessly to strengthen the growing freedom movement and to give leadership to all revolutionary forces irrespective of their ethnic or racial affiliation - Africans, Coloureds, Indians, progressive whites - thus building up a broad united front.

The South African Communist Party is fighting for the realisation of the main points of the

[132] From: *Bulletin of the Novosti Press Agency*, Moscow, May 1975 (APN Special Issue)

Freedom Charter, elimination of apartheid, introduction of majority rule, transfer of power to the people, establishment of a society in South Africa in which there will be no place for discrimination and racial barriers, and equality for all.

The SACP, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of the working class, works with all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the country. It fights not only for national liberation, but also for social liberation and social progress.

Clearly, an extensive programme of social changes can be implemented only by adopting the path of socialist development. This is true not only for South Africa but for all the African countries. Socialism alone can put an end to economic backwardness, to monopoly oppression and imperialist exploitation, and destroy the yoke of dependence inherited from colonial days. This path of development will make it possible to eliminate, within a short space of time, hunger, misery and disease, and to create an advanced economy.

Alliance with the forces of socialism is the most reliable guarantee of victory in the national-democratic revolution and of success for the policy of social transformation in the young independent States.

TRIBUTE TO COMRADE MOSES KOTANE ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY, JUNE 1975[133]

[Introduction to biography of Moses Kotane by Brian Bunting]

Moses Kotane was elected General Secretary of our Party in 1939, a post which he still occupies. There is perhaps no man who symbolises as much as he does all that is best in the glorious traditions of the South African working class and national movements.

Comrade Kotane's contribution has been a monumental one. Coming from peasant and labourer background, he joined the Communist Party at a time when it was still groping for an indigenous application of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. Almost completely self-educated, his profound insights into the basic needs of the oppressed and exploited people of our country won him immediate recognition and, within a short time, a place on the Central Committee. Comrade Kotane was soon to equip himself for his future leading role by a devotion to the study of the Marxist teachers which was to become the lodestar for all his subsequent approaches to our revolutionary struggles.

But for him books were not magic formulae; they had to be read and applied in the context of our own revolution and not abstract dogma. He immediately grasped the need to indigenise Marxism so as to give it meaning for millions of our workers and peasants. Comrade Kotane saw clearly that there could be no working class victory without Black liberation and no Black liberation without the destruction of capitalism in all its forms.

Comrade Kotane's whole political life was dedicated to a translation of the truths of Marxism-Leninism into the realm of practical politics. He threw himself body and soul into building and strengthening not only the Party but the organisation which represents the most oppressed section of the Black majority - the African National Congress.

His life is a true example of the consistency between proletarian internationalism and healthy

[133] Introduction to *Moses Kotane, South African Revolutionary* by Brian Bunting

nationalism. He spurned racialism in all its forms whether expressed in white arrogance or black chauvinism. Never hiding his dedication to the cause of communism, he also became a respected leader of the African National Congress because of his great contribution to the work of that organisation over many decades. His principled nationalism not only won him respect as an individual, but helped immeasurably to open the way for a growing collaboration between the Party he led and the national liberation movement.

The Communist Party's programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*, which was adopted at the sixth underground conference of the Party in 1962, bears the stamp of his contribution as a revolutionary activist.

Comrade Brian Bunting has written a biography of a man whose personal and political existence cannot be separated and whose life meaning cannot be grasped outside the context of the class and national movement he helped to mould. This book not only throws light on Comrade Kotane's own development as a revolutionary, but is also a valuable and richly documented contribution to the history of our Party and the liberation movement. Its publication in the year of Comrade Kotane's 70th birthday is a fitting tribute to his immense contribution as a Communist and as a fighter for national liberation.

June 1975

TRIBUTE TO M. P. NAICKER, MAY 8, 1977[134]

(M. P. Naicker passed away while on his way from London to Berlin on April 29, 1977. The following tribute to his memory was delivered at his funeral in London on May 8, 1977.)

We are gathered here to bid our last farewell to our dear Comrade M. P. - a great freedom-fighter, a dedicated revolutionary, a staunch internationalist, and a truly outstanding leader and organiser of the people of our country, South Africa.

The loss of M. P. will be sorely felt throughout the movement. There is no campaign in the South African struggle since the 1940's which does not bear the imprint of his valuable contribution.

Born into an Indian working class family in the harsh economic conditions of the 1920's, he was forced to leave school at an early age with a limited formal education. He worked in a factory, he drove a baker's van, he quickly learned the nature of national and class oppression. He joined the Communist Party at the age of 18, and from then on, his entire life - for the next 40 years - was to be spent in the service of the people, without regard to personal sacrifice or cost.

M. P. was responsible, together with his comrades, particularly George Ponen and the late H. A. Naidoo, for organising the Indian workers into trade unions and leading them into militant strikes. At the same time he worked assiduously to bring about cooperation and unity among all the Black workers. He was elected Secretary of Natal Sugar Workers' Union and energetically plunged into the difficult task of contacting workers in the sugar-fields.

M. P. was a key figure in the Anti-Segregation Council of the Natal Indian Congress which helped to transform the Congress into a mass organisation with a militant policy of struggle and of unity in action of all Black people.

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[134] From: *African Communist*, No. 70, third quarter 1977

In the 1946 Indian Passive Resistance Campaign, M. P. distinguished himself as an able and first class organiser and was appointed Secretary of the Passive Resistance Council - and subsequently became secretary of the Natal Indian Congress.

M. P.'s immense contributions and leading role in all the major campaigns and trials, such as the National Day of Protest, 1950, the Defiance Campaign, 1952, Congress of the People, 1955, the Treason Trial, 1956, the May 1961 Strike, are too numerous to enumerate here.

During his long political career he was arrested countless times and during the 1960's he was detained under the 90- and 180-day Acts.

In exile since 1966 he threw himself unflinchingly into the work of the External Mission of the African National Congress. As Director of Publicity and Editor of *Sechaba*, he fulfilled his duties with distinction and served the cause nobly to the end.

We remember, and history will record, his total commitment to the struggle for national liberation and socialism in South Africa. As a son of the working class, he remained loyal throughout his life to his class and its Party, the Communist Party, an uncompromising enemy of apartheid, capitalist exploitation and oppression - a South African patriot and revolutionary whose life's work was to consolidate the unity of the Black people and all revolutionaries in the freedom struggle. By his overpowering energy, clarity of thought and magnetic personality, he endeared himself to the people as a leader, guide and friend.

As an internationalist, friend of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, he well understood that the unity of the Socialist world, the working class of the capitalist countries and the liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America was the decisive revolutionary force of our times against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and for peace, national independence and socialism.

Allow me, on behalf of all of us, to extend to Ayah, Saro and the family our deepest condolences in their and our great loss. We assure you that you are not alone and never will be - the South African people and progressive peoples of the world are with you. We know that you will bear the loss with courage, confident in the knowledge that M. P. lives with us in the struggle at this crucial hour when the courageous youth and working people of our country, under the leadership of the liberation forces headed by the African National Congress, are storming the citadel of racist fascist tyranny.

Hamba Kahle M. P. - the struggle continues. We mourn not, we mobilise - we fight. Your life work continues - Victory is certain!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KE A RONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

"THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, 1971-1977": POSTSCRIPT TO THE INDIAN EDITION OF *FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS*, 1977[135]

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135 Postscript to the Indian edition of *History of the Communist Party of South Africa: Fifty Fighting Years, 1921-1971* by A. Lerumo. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1978.

Since the volume *Fifty Fighting Years* was published in 1971 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of South Africa, much water has flowed under the political bridges of South and southern Africa -- and indeed of the world.

In the year 1970 we faced a most difficult and grim situation. The enemy had in the mid-sixties severely disrupted the internal underground apparatus of both the Party and the African National Congress, and many of our outstanding leaders, as well as thousands of active militants, were on Robben Island, in Pretoria Central or other prisons throughout the country, serving life or long-term imprisonment. Others were banned from participation in public activities, house arrested, detained or driven into exile. The borders of our country were turned into a *cordon sanitaire* by the unholy alliance of Vorster, Caetano and Smith.

Nevertheless the Party maintained its presence in South Africa.

Whilst the continuing fascist terror of the racist regime was taking a heavy toll, the Party was called upon to undertake the hard and arduous task of rebuilding the Party's internal organisational structure, of mobilising the working class, the rural masses and all sections of the oppressed people; helping in the work of the consolidation of the national liberation movement headed by the African National Congress and preparing the material conditions for the unfolding of the armed struggle. These then were some of the major tasks decided upon by an augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held in the middle of 1970.

The intervening period has been marked by a revolutionary transformation of the situation on an international scale. Vietnam, the focal point of anti-imperialist struggle, had emerged victorious - reunited, independent and engaged in the construction of a socialist society. United States imperialism suffered its most severe defeat at the hands of the brave Vietnamese people supported by international solidarity action of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world.

Portuguese colonialism and fascism collapsed under the weight of the brilliant victories of the liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and the determined struggle of the people of Portugal under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Armed Forces Movement and democratic forces.

The unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano lay in ruins -- the *cordon sanitaire* was a shambles. The newly-independent countries of southern Africa were set on a socialist-oriented path determined to liquidate the evil legacy of colonialism, backwardness, illiteracy, poverty and exploitation of man by man, to eliminate the stranglehold of imperialism in the region.

Sensing the emergence of progressive States in a region vital to monopoly imperialist interests, United States imperialism made a desperate bid in collusion with its puppets -- the FNLA and UNITA and the racist regime of South Africa -- to strangulate and destroy the newly-founded People's Republic of Angola led by the MPLA.

The imperialist plot was foiled, the invading armed forces of racist South Africa were heavily defeated and the People's Republic of Angola emerged victorious. An important significant feature of this victory, like that of the Vietnamese people, had been the all-round support rendered by the USSR, Cuba and the socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Vietnam and Angola demonstrate in practice the vital necessity of the interaction and mutual support at all levels of the three main revolutionary streams of our time - the world socialist system, national liberation movements and working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Southern Africa is today one of the main battlegrounds in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. In the recent period the heightened political and military

actions of the national liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa have created new and more favourable conditions for the further deepening of the revolutionary process in southern Africa.

In Zimbabwe the United States and British Governments are desperately seeking a "negotiated" settlement in order to forestall the growing strength of the revolutionary forces. However, in spite of the machinations of the imperialists, the struggle continues to make headway under the leadership of the Patriotic Front.

In Namibia, the people's forces under the leadership of SWAPO have stepped up their armed activities for national liberation from the racist-colonialist occupying power - South Africa.

The future of southern Africa and of the continent as a whole is intimately linked to the liberation of South Africa from the yoke of racism, fascism, capitalism and imperialism. Racist South Africa is the bulwark of imperialism and neo-colonialism in our continent. Consequently imperialism is desperately manoeuvring to impede the revolutionary advance in our country so as to retain South Africa within the orbit of the world capitalist system. We are confident that they will not succeed.

The unprecedented upsurge of revolutionary militant actions since June 1976 has irrefutably demonstrated the willingness of very large sections of the oppressed people - especially the youth - to make, if necessary, the supreme sacrifice for the overthrow of the vile and inhuman system of apartheid. The cold-blooded killings of innocent people, including children, the brutal torture and murder of political detainees and the repressive administrative measures against all forms of opposition have reached unheard of proportions. But this naked fascist terror has not dampened the people's revolutionary ardour. Indeed it has intensified the militant spirit of the masses in their continued search for different and innovative ways to hit back at the enemy. There is no doubt that the Soweto and connected events have raised to a new and qualitatively higher level the political consciousness and readiness of our people and thereby greatly increased the capacity of the liberation forces to strike back even harder.

In the rapidly developing revolutionary struggle the African working class is the leading force for both national and social liberation. During the three months immediately following the Soweto events three general strikes in Johannesburg and Cape Town involved over a quarter of a million workers. The Black working class, increasingly confident about its organised strength, is, in alliance with the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the most unyielding enemy of racial oppression and class exploitation. As a recent statement of the Central Committee of the SACP points out:

> "The working class gains nothing but misery from the Bantustans which are used as an excuse to deprive it of all rights and to hound it in the cities built by its labour. It has nothing to gain from the kind of liberation which gives a few Blacks the opportunity to share in the people's exploitation. For the Black working class, the biggest and most exploited section of the oppressed majority, there is only one way out - the complete defeat of racist supremacy and the creation of a people's government which will put South Africa on the road to socialism".[136]

Throughout the period under review, the ANC and SACP courageously pursued their revolutionary duties and tasks. The heroism and sacrifice of our militants in the face of vicious terror has led to the strengthening of our underground machinery, increased political mobilisation of the masses and stepping up of direct action against the enemy. There is no doubt that the proven capacity of the ANC and SACP not only to survive the fascist terror but to grow from strength to strength, greatly contributed to the recent ferment of resistance in South Africa. Ii is,

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136 *African Communist*, No. 70, third quarter, 1977, page 42

therefore, not surprising that Vorster and his allies, world imperialism, single out for ferocious attack the ANC and the SACP.

The recent upsurge of mass militant actions, and in some areas virtual uprisings, have opened a new and glorious chapter in our revolutionary struggle. Soweto and the connected events have their roots in the socio-economic structure of the country. Racist South Africa, like its counterparts in the capitalist world, is undergoing a deep general crisis - economic, political, ideological and moral. Inflation is spiralling and affects primarily the Black majority. Unemployment is reaching tidal proportions with over two million Black people unemployed. Industrial and manufacturing production has suffered owing to racist policies which preclude most Black workers from entering skilled trades. The rapidly increasing militarisation of the country which is aimed at the liberation movement and the neighbouring countries, especially Angola and Mozambique, has demanded the channelling of economic resources into unproductive military expenditure.

The deteriorating economic situation means that the oppressed Black majority is getting poorer and poorer. It is the very condition of their impoverished lives amidst the ugly opulence of the whites which has propelled the people into mass militant action. From their own bitter and bloody experiences ever greater numbers of the oppressed people are realising that only revolutionary overthrow of the entire socio-economic system which sustains and nourishes racism can put an effective end to the racist, colonialist and class oppression afflicting the Black majority in our country.

To achieve this, however, is an exceptionally difficult and complex task. It requires the utilisation of all appropriate methods of struggle, armed and unarmed, illegal and legal, and planned, purposive mass actions, economic and political.

A people's armed revolutionary struggle is a protracted process. The enemy backed to the hilt by world imperialism still has tremendous reserves of resources and strength. The ruling class still possesses the capacity to act coherently and to control the escalation of mass militancy. Nevertheless the possibility of initiating and sustaining armed revolutionary actions inside the country has greatly increased. Indeed in the recent period units of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* - the armed wing of the ANC -- have taken action against the enemy. Thus the stage is set for the final and decisive confrontation between the forces for revolutionary change on the one hand, and the forces of obscurantism and reaction on the other.

Commensurate with the development of the internal struggle, the international solidarity movement is gathering even greater momentum. The international communist movement, in particular the socialist world led by the Soviet Union, have been in the forefront of providing us with the necessary wherewithal to wage armed revolutionary struggle. All over the world, in many lands, ever greater numbers of democrats, progressives and anti-racists are identifying themselves in one way or another with our struggle.

We wish to pay special tribute to the people of India for their long and sustained support of our struggle which began from the time of Mahatma Gandhi. Independent India can be justifiably proud that it was one of the first countries in the world to boycott racist South Africa economically and politically. The People's Publishing House is to be warmly congratulated on taking the initiative to publish an Indian edition of *Fifty Fighting Years*. We have no doubt that its publication will lead to even greater understanding in India of the character and nature of our struggle in South Africa and to a further deepening of material and moral support.

We are convinced that neither Vorster nor world imperialism can stop the march of history in our country and in southern Africa as a whole. The initiative is inexorably passing into the hands of the revolutionary forces. In the concluding words of tie statement of the CC of the SACP:

> "We embark on all these tasks in the knowledge that the road from Soweto to Pretoria

is still an arduous one, demanding great dedication, heroism and sacrifice. But we are confident that our whole liberation movement can rise to the historic challenge which the new situation presents, and lead our revolutionary masses towards a united people's South Africa in which all forms of racism will be utterly destroyed and which will create a society free of all forces of exploitation of man by man."

December 1977

INTERVIEW TO THE UNITED NATIONS RADIO, 1979

[Dr. Dadoo was interviewed in London by Michael Kallenbach of the United Nations Radio's anti-apartheid unit.]

MK: With me is Yusuf Dadoo, who is Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC.

First of all, Mr. Dadoo, perhaps you could start this interview by telling me a little bit about yourself, where you lived in South Africa, and why and when you left the country.

DADOO: Well, to say a few words about myself. I was born and bred in South Africa. My parents are of Indian origin, from India, but I was born in South Africa in 1909, just 70 years ago. And I have been brought up in South Africa. I studied there for a time - and because at that stage in the 30s there were no possibilities for higher education for black children in South Africa, I had to come all the way to this country, to Britain - and I studied at Edinburgh and qualified there in 1935 as a medical doctor.

Well, from my young days at school when I had to travel because of apartheid - segregation at the time - now it is called apartheid - because of the segregation policies I couldn't go to a school in my own place, Krugersdorp, which is twenty miles away from Johannesburg. I used to go to a Coloured school. But then they laid down that if it is Coloured, then it is only for Coloured children, if it is Indian it is Indians and so on. So I had to travel, every day - I was about 8 or 9 - I had to travel every day in the train to Johannesburg and the experiences have really been such that it made one full of anger and wrath. For instance, first of all in the trains separate compartment for black people; on the station, there are separate benches for the black people - and in this way that itself was frustration every day … and then going to school from my place which took about 15 minutes walk to the station and then in Johannesburg from the station to the school was also about 15 minutes walk.

And we used to come across white children going to school and they used to taunt us, insult us and call us "coolies" - because you know the derogatory term for Indians is "coolies," for the Africans in those days it was "*kaffirs*" and for the Coloured people "hotnots" - and they used to sing ditties like "coolie, coolie, Sammy, Sammy, ring a bell, coolie, coolie, go to hell," and of course we used to have fights. If we were two or three or four, we used to put up a fight with them. Sometimes they had the better of us and other times we had the better of them.

But that is the kind of experience one had from one's very childhood, and that, of course, had a great deal to do with my feelings and made me realise that it is absolutely impossible to put up with this kind of things.

I was a very young boy in those days, school days, but that remained in my mind so that when I came out to this country, even in this country I was first afraid, because of my experiences at home in South Africa, coming out here in Britain where there is no obvious, apparent discrimination in the trains, or in public places, or in restaurants. At first my reaction was of fear - whether I would be accepted there, because of the experience at home, because there the blacks can't go anywhere.

MK: How old were you when you left South Africa for the first time?

DADOO: When I came to this country I was 17 years old.[137]

MK: And you've never returned home?

DADOO: No, no, I qualified in 1935 and since then I have stayed in South Africa until 1960. I practised medicine as a private practitioner and there too I came across the poverty, the misery, the malnutrition, the sickness of the black people every day. And when the people can't pay - and in those days in the 30s that was a very severe period for the people because of the economic crisis- that made one's blood boil. I mean, what can one do to help these people? Medicine is one thing - you give a few tablets or a mixture or something - but it doesn't go to the basis of the whole thing and that also had a great deal to do with my thinking.

So I got into the political struggle of the people from those days, from 1935/36. As an Indian we had the Indian movement, the Indian Congress, the African people had the African Congress, the Coloured people had their organisation, but these organisations were separate and different precisely because of the old policy of segregation. We were kept apart, all black, but kept apart. The Indian in a slightly different position from the Coloured, and the Coloured and Indian in a slightly better position than the Africans who are the most exploited people. So…

MK: The situation hasn't changed as far as medical treatment is concerned for blacks in South Africa today, has it?

DADOO: By no means whatsoever. The position is just as bad if not worse today than it had been in those days. The medical treatment of the people is terrible, absolutely.

MK: Which party were you affiliated with, when you decided to join this one?

DADOO: Well, then I joined the Indian Congress which was the national organisation of the Indian people. At that stage the leadership was in the hands of what we call moderates, or conservatives, who looked after not even the whole interests of the Indian people as such but of a section of the community - the merchant class, the merchant section, the merchant strata, the traders. And so, they used to go cap in hand to the government in order to barter away some of their rights in order for them to maintain some of their little privileges as a trading class. As far as the majority of the Indian people were concerned, and of course the majority of the Indian people are concentrated in Natal where the… came in the 1860s to work on sugar plantations. There were terrible conditions under which they had to work in those days. And the working class was in Natal. But the Indian Congresses were in the hands of the handful of small traders who looked after their own interests. And they did not realise also the whole important question of the struggle in South Africa. We had the tradition of struggle for our rights, when Gandhi came to South Africa and the Gandhi struggle of passive resistance against segregation, against discriminatory laws - it had left a tradition of resistance among the Indian people.

So when we came on to the scene- by we, I mean the younger people, like Dr. Naicker who also qualified in Edinburgh, but who was stationed in Natal - we embarked upon a policy of bringing about political consciousness among the Indian people. Make them realise that it is no use kowtowing to the authorities on all these questions, that it is absolutely necessary, as was done in

[137] Dr. Dadoo had studied earlier in Aligarh, India.

the days of Gandhiji that we should resist any attacks made on us by the regime, by the authorities. And in that way we created a strong feeling of resistance among the Indian people. And also got to the notice of the Indian people that the struggle in South Africa against segregation, against racial discrimination, cannot be fought by the different sections of the people separately - that is, by the Indian people and the African people and the Coloured people - that what was essential was unity in action of all the oppressed, discriminated people in South Africa. And it is on that basis that we, by our work, brought about trust and confidence in the masses of the Indian people and eventually we succeeded into assuming leadership or place into leadership by the people of the Indian Congress.

And from then on, as the leaders of the Indian Congresses, we worked assiduously to bring about unity with the African people and as a result, in 1946 we succeeded in bringing about co-operation with the African National Congress. At that time Dr. Xuma was the President-General of the African National Congress and a pact was signed, which is known as the Three Doctors' Pact - that is Dr. Naicker, myself and Dr. Xuma - and that laid the basis for unity in action between the African and the Indian people. And out of that, when the Nationalist Government came into power in 1948 on the whole policy of apartheid, which was taking further the whole question of segregation and segregating the black people in a most ruthless manner, bringing about group areas, displacement of people who had been settled for long periods, creating separate areas of residence for the Indians, for the Coloureds - of course, the Africans were already in locations - it laid the basis. Out of that arose the big political strike in 1950. At that time the Nationalist Government had brought in the Suppression of Communism Bill before Parliament and we realised, everybody realised, that the Suppression of Communism Act was not only intended against the Communists but because of the wide implications involved in the Act it meant that anybody who opposed apartheid, anybody who opposed the discriminatory policies of the regime would fall under the Act. And therefore a united group of not only the Indian and the Coloured and the African people, but also white democrats because we all realised that it was now a common struggle against the fascist inroads of the Nationalist Party Government.

MK: I want to just briefly go back to your personal beliefs. Were you a follower of Gandhi? Did you agree with what he was thinking and which direction he was moving at the time?

DADOO: That is a very important question. Of course, I hold in very high respect and love and affection Gandhiji. He, as a matter of fact, had a great deal in moulding my thinking and subsequently my political activities. But at the same time when Gandhi went back to India and involved himself in the struggle there arose another great revolutionary fighter and that was Pandit Nehru and with his views, broad views on politics, Pandit Nehru attracted the younger people more than Gandhi did at that time. So I believed in Gandhiji to the extent that there must be resistance, there must be struggle for justice and for righteousness. But on the question of the principles laid down by Gandhi … that is, of absolute non-violence, I did not agree with Gandhi. I at that stage believed in the policy of Nehru, who also did not believe completely, implicitly, in the whole principle of non-violence.

MK: You talked earlier about the Communist Act and I wanted to ask you to develop that theme a little… you talk about being enforced in 1950… it is 19 years later, it is still even stronger as you know. I wonder whether you could talk about how easy it is for the police, for the authorities to lock people up and detain them for whatever reasons they might think fit.

DADOO: Well, that is, you know, known to everybody in the outside world, what is being done in South Africa at the present moment… Today, you know, people, first of all, all the outstanding leaders of the struggle, Nelson Mandela… Goldberg and others, they are at the moment incarcerated on Robben Island serving life imprisonment. And there are many, many others, hundreds of them, who are serving varying terms of imprisonment. Any little activity against the viciousness, the violence of the regime - if you just stand up and say anything against apartheid - you come under surveillance and sooner or later you are detained or brought before courts, under the various Acts now, the Terrorism Act, besides the Suppression of Communism Act. So there

are various trials, hundreds of trials, going on all the time, even at the present moment, there are so many trials going on in South Africa. So there is no one who is safe who wants to speak against the...

MK: Which year did you leave and were you personally detained? What was your circumstances affecting your ultimate decision to pack up and go as it were?

DADOO: Well, there was a state of emergency declared in 1960 when hundreds of our people were arrested and taken into prison, detained. Now at that stage, some of us managed to escape the net because it happened that we were through various means able to find out that the raid was going to take place and it was taking place early in the morning - I mean, before four(?). A very wide net was spread all over the country. Some of us were in a position to escape and so we escaped the net and we went underground.

MK: You were part of that movement that escaped?

DADOO: We were and then we were working underground in the country, underground whilst the others were detained and kept in prison. We started a movement underground of those who managed to escape the net and we were working there but then a decision was taken by the Indian Congress and African National Congress and by the party as well, the Communist Party, that I should go out of the country, get out of the country somehow, and I would be able to maintain contact with the outside world. Well, at that stage, Oliver Tambo who is now the President-General of the African National Congress, he also was directed by the African National Congress to get out of the country. So he left a few months before me. We joined up in Botswana, and from there we flew together. Of course the question of getting out was not easy. We had to find ways and means of getting out of the country but we did manage.

MK: So you in fact at that time were Chairman of the South African Communist Party.

DADOO: No, No.

MK: You weren't.. you were a member?

DADOO: I was President of the South African Indian Congress at the time and a member of the Communist Party.

MK: And now you are Chairman of the South African Communist Party in London?

DADOO: No, I am Chairman of the Party as such. Of course the party is illegal and underground. We function inside the country and we also have a few people outside, but most of the members of the party are inside. Of course, because of being an illegal party and underground, the membership is not known to the outside world. Or to the people generally.

MK: But you are based in London?

DADOO: Well, I am based in London to the extent that it is the headquarters. But by virtue of my being not only the Chairman of the Party, but also the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress, I have spent quite a lot of time in Africa, outside of South Africa of course.

MK: What can you say about the work, in your capacity as Chairman of the Communist Party, that one can, without giving too much away? Is there anything you can say about the sort of work you…

DADOO: The position of my party is that we are at this stage in the struggle against the racist regime, against the fascist tyranny of the racist regime in our country. We have analysed the

situation as being one where there must be national liberation. The party works for the working class as such, for the social and national emancipation of the working class or the working people. But we realise that the situation in South Africa is such that we have a type of colonialism in South Africa, as far as the black people are concerned, and therefore the immediate, the urgent, the vital task before the people of South Africa is national liberation - the question of completely eradicating the whole evil system of apartheid, or the overthrow of the racist regime, and the establishment of a democratic South Africa for all. It is on this basis, on this principle, that we come in. Let us work very closely together with the African National Congress. We don't see any difference in the immediate objective in South Africa, as between the Communists and non-Communists.

MK: I want to go briefly to India's stand at the UN. You know it was India that first introduced the question of apartheid, way back at the UN. What would you personally like to be seen done, possibly by the UN and other world organisations, to eradicate apartheid or to bring equality of the people in South Africa?…

DADOO: Yes, that is a very important question. You refer to India bringing the question. We at that stage, in the South African Indian Congress in 1946, when we embarked on passive resistance struggle against what we called the "Ghetto Act" introduced by Smuts, not by the Nationalists but before, we called upon India to take measures to see that the matter is brought before the United Nations. Happily at that stage there was the interim government with Nehru, and Gandhiji was still there. That was a great help to us. Well, it was touch and go. We didn't know whether the question would be accepted by the United Nations but of course it was and since then it is not only the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin. It became the question of the treatment of all black people. It was very encouraging for our people who have to struggle day in and day out in the country, facing a life and death struggle, that the United Nations has declared apartheid a crime against humanity and that is exactly what it is. And I must say that the United Nations, as far as has been possible for it to act, has done a great deal. Of course, it is not always so easy.

What we would like is the complete isolation of South Africa in every field. The Security Council has its mandatory sanction against the supply of arms to South Africa. But unfortunately, the western powers, the imperialist countries, who have such vast interest in South Africa and southern Africa - tremendous investment in South Africa from which they derive big profits - they would not like to see any radical, revolutionary changes taking place in the country, because they want to primarily act… in order to preserve their own economic and financial interests in that part of the world. So it is an uphill fight. In spite of the mandatory sanctions against the supply of arms, every now and then it has been uncovered that some western powers by various devious ways supply those arms to South Africa, so that today South Africa possesses all the most modern weapons and the technology in the production of weapons and nuclear arms, so that it is an uphill fight to carry on this struggle. Also to completely isolate South Africa in every sphere of human activity.

MK: You refer to sports…

DADOO: Of course, sports, culture, what have you. Everything. There should be no truck with South Africa at all.

MK: One final question. You know these programs are beamed to some of the suffering people in South Africa. I wonder whether you might have a message… to the people who might be listening to the broadcasts.

DADOO: Well, to our people in South Africa, though they know from time to time, it is very difficult to know what is happening in the outside world, the action taken by the United Nations and their various agencies against South Africa, of the world outcry of condemnation of the apartheid policies of South Africa, and of the actions which countries on their own and through United Nations are taking in order to help the struggle of our people at home. I say to our people

that in so far as world public opinion is concerned, they are on our side, and that it is a great and tremendous help to us. But so far as we are concerned, bearing in mind the help that we get from the outside world, the main brunt of the struggle is upon us, on our shoulders. If we carry on as we have been doing - and at the present moment there is a tremendous upsurge in the country - you are fighting a valiant battle. The resistance of the people is such that the racist regime has not been able to bring it under control. It is still a powerful enemy but at the same time, your struggle has done a great deal to bring about a weakening of the whole apartheid structure. And so if we carry on unitedly by mass political mobilisations and with the help of the… that if we carry on the struggle then there must be no doubt that in the end, however much the suffering may be, victory will be ours.

MK: Dr. Dadoo, thank you very much.

"OUR GREATEST INDIAN LEADER SINCE GANDHIJI": TRIBUTE TO DR. GANGATHURA MOHAMBRY NAICKER, 1978[138]

As one who has had the privilege, honour and, indeed, the pleasure of being a close associate and comrade-in-arms of Dr. Naicker - MONTY to all of us - in the political arena for the last forty years, it can be said without exaggeration that he was the greatest leader that the Indian community has produced since the time of Gandhiji.

Monty was a man of the people who believed in collective leadership and made an invaluable contribution in transforming the Natal Indian Congress once again into a mass organisation, unifying and mobilising all sections of the community - the working class, small traders, professionals and intellectuals, youth, students and women - for mass political action.

He strongly advocated and assiduously worked for the unity of the people, irrespective of their religious beliefs or political affiliations, in the common struggle against racial discrimination and for full democratic rights and equal opportunities for all.

Monty was an ardent revolutionary nationalist and one of the main architects in laying the foundation of building the "Unity in Action" of all the oppressed Black people in their common struggle for national liberation.

The Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947, the National Day of Protest of 1950, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955 bear ample testimony to his fruitful labour in this direction.

Monty was born in Durban in 1910, the year in which the ruling capitalist class consolidated their economic hegemony over the whole country with political power to maintain and perpetuate it. The new constitution legalised racism, national oppression and class exploitation of the Black majority: African, Coloured and Indian found themselves voiceless and voteless in the land of their birth.

Earlier, Monty's grandparents were brought from India to work the huge sugar cane plantations

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138 From: *Sechaba*, second quarter, 1978

owned by the growing class of white capitalist landowners. There were promises of a better life from that obtaining in a poverty-stricken India dominated by British imperialism. There were also promises of full citizenship. Reality was different. Whilst the labour-power of the Indian masses, harnessed under near slave conditions, built the economy of Natal and the country and created wealth for the white capitalist landowners, their own economic condition was dogged by want, poverty, unemployment and deprivation. The racism and racial arrogance of the white colonists found ready expression in laws denying them any semblance of civil liberties and democratic rights.

White tyranny and the harsh material conditions of life were answered by fierce campaigns of resistance, defiance and confrontation against white supremacy rule. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was formed in 1894 under the leadership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, later to become the architect of India's liberation struggle. Struggle by way of mass petitions of grievances and demands, and deputations, were soon succeeded by the mass-based passive resistance campaigns of 1907 and 1913. Although these campaigns are known as "passive" resistance campaigns, they were in fact active campaigns of protest and defiance.

It was against this background that Monty grew up. At the age of 17 he was sent to Edinburgh in Scotland to complete his secondary education and study medicine. In 1934 he returned to South Africa, having successfully qualified as a doctor, and set up practice in Durban, where he inevitably became involved with the social and economic problems of the many poor who daily filled his practice. Political consciousness grew out of these conditions and the desire to find solutions to them. During the course of the next ten years Monty became involved in a number of organisations created to give organised expression to their struggle and drew nearer to the trade union struggle. Together with a group of radical activists, he formed the Anti-Segregation League to mobilise the Indian masses against the Smuts regime's Pegging Act, designed to restrict Indian landownership rights and introduce residential segregation. The League also saw as its other main task the ousting of the reactionary "leadership" dominating the once-powerful NIC in the interest of the tiny merchant class so ready to compromise in its own narrow interests.

In October 1945 the radicals seized control of the NIC with mass support. Monty was acclaimed by a crowd of 12,000 enthusiastic supporters as the new President, and the new executive, drawn from all walks of life - workers and trade unionists, doctors, nurses, teachers and progressive small traders - proceeded to transform Congress once more into a people' organisation. In December 1945 the militant section of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) gained power in an attempt to unite all anti-racist and democratic forces in our country.

The new pledge by a united leadership of the Indian Congress reflected the force of ideas towards unity in purpose and action of all the oppressed and exploited: "to make common cause with all sections of the Non-European peoples in economic and political issues." The year 1946 saw the ideas of united struggle advance by leaps in the three great mass-based campaigns launched by the black people: the great African Mineworkers` Strike, the Anti-Pass Campaign and the Passive Resistance Campaign against Smuts' Ghetto Act for the Indian people.

Monty Naicker, together with the new leadership, threw himself unsparingly into mobilising the people to defy the Ghetto Act. Thousands defied by occupying plots of land and areas from which the Act excluded them. More than 2,000 courted arrest and imprisonment; among them Monty. But not before he and myself left for India and gained support for the people's cause. The following year, an independent India cut off all diplomatic and trade relations with the racist regime of South Africa and raised and condemned the policy and practice of white minority rule at the United Nations. The cause of the Black people's struggles was internationalised and has remained a burning issue for freedom-loving people the world over. More important was the way in which these three great campaigns interacted on each other, drew pledges of support and solidarity from each other and drew the forces of national and class liberation closer.

On 9th March 1947 the high degree of unity in action and perspective during the historic

campaigns of 1946 found organisational expression in the Joint Declaration of Cooperation issued by Dr. A. B. Xuma of the ANC and Doctors Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo of the Indian Congresses. The Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo pact laid the foundation for the formation of the Congress Alliance in 1955. For Monty, who at his inaugural speech as President of the NIC called for a united front of all anti-racist and democratic forces against white supremacy rule, an ideal was being given substance. It was an ideal which he lived for and practised in real life right to the end. During his lifetime he worked closely with all genuine patriots - Africans, Coloureds, Indians and democratic whites. He never built nor encouraged ideological barriers around him, being equally at home with Christian, Hindu, Moslem and non-believer; with communist and revolutionary nationalist. What mattered was the common struggle of the oppressed and exploited against the common oppressor.

Soon after the Declaration of Cooperation, the ANC and the Indian Congress with the full backing of the SACP (South African Communist Party) and the APO (Coloured People's Organisation) jointly launched the great Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign in 1952 as the practical testing ground of unity in action of the toiling masses. The Campaign became the most forceful reminder of the Power of the People when properly organised. Thousands defied selected unjust laws all over the country. More than 8,000 Africans, Indians, Coloureds and white democrats were arrested and imprisoned. The regime of white supremacy, conscious of the danger posed by the massive defiance, confidently and skilfully organised and with such united backing, introduced new draconian laws. But the new strategy of mass-based action in which the freedom of the people became the primary responsibility of the people themselves, could not be denied the entire decade of the 1950's. Nelson Mandela, then National Organiser of the Campaign, was to declare, when it became known that the Presidents of the ANC and NIC, Chief Lutuli and Monty Naicker had volunteered to defy jointly: "We can now say that the unity of the Non-European people in this country has become a reality."

Monty emerged from his period of imprisonment after the Defiance Campaign with a renewed and undaunted vigour setting about organising and mobilising the people in the campaign of seeking out from the people their deepest aspirations and demands for a future South Africa and consolidating the unity thus far forged.

In March 1954 the alliance between the ANC and the Indian Congress was strengthened by the CPC (Coloured People's Congress), the COD (Congress of Democrats, the organisation of white democrats) and the SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial trade union council in South Africa). From the Congress Alliance, headed by the premier liberation organisation, the ANC, organisational unity was crowned on 26 June 1955 - South Africa Freedom Day - with political unity with the adoption of the Movement's basic programme of principles - the Freedom Charter.

In December 1956, Monty together with 155 of the people's leaders was arrested for High Treason.

The trial dragged on for five long years and in the end all the accused, once facing the possibility of the death sentence, were released. Monty himself like so many other Treason Trialists was already serving a 5-year banning order when charged.

But the people were not deterred. New forms of struggle to cope with the new situation were being forged and prepared. The massacre of the African people at Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC closed the doors to the possibility of non-violent change in our country. On 16 December 1961, with simultaneous acts of sabotage in the major provinces of our country, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of the national liberation movement, led by the ANC, announced to all South Africans: "There comes a time in the life of a nation when there remains only one choice: Submit or Fight. That time has now come to South Africa."

Indian militants joined their African and Coloured compatriots within the ranks of MK and a

new chapter in the history of our national liberation opened.

For Monty Naicker the years from 1960 to 1974 were years of continuous banning orders, restricting his life and effectively cutting him off from any political activity. Failing in health, he nevertheless became from 1977 the head of the anti-South African Indian Council Campaign to mobilise the Indian people once more to reject the dummy Indian Council and the fraudulent three-tier Parliament for whites, Coloureds and Indians.

Almost his last sentiments and act in hospital, according to a close friend, as reported in *The Leader*, were:

> "Monty," I called.
>
> "Hello", he replied.
>
> "How are you?"
>
> "Well," he said, "getting on - but things in this country - they are moving too slow - too slow for change."
>
> His hand went up in the clenched fist salute and stayed there.
>
> "*Amandla*!", I said. The clenched fist grew firmer...
>
> I had to return it to bed.

Monty Naicker died as he lived: Defiantly, heroically. The greatest tribute we can pay to this great son of the people is to intensify the Freedom Struggle.

HAMBA KAHLE MONTY NAICKER!

TRIBUTE TO PAUL ROBESON: TELEGRAM, APRIL 8, 1978

[Telegram addressed to E.S. Reddy, Director of the Centre against Apartheid in the United Nations, for a special meeting of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid to observe the 80th anniversary of the birth of Paul Robeson, April 8, 1978]

MEETING ORGANISED BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID OBSERVE 80TH ANNIVERSARY BIRTH OF PAUL ROBESON. OUR PEOPLE FIGHTING AGAINST APARTHEID TYRANNY RECALL WITH DEEP GRATITUDE INVALUABLE ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY HIM TO OUR LIBERATION STRUGGLE. HIS ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS WHICH SPONSORED XUMA'S FIRST VISIT FROM THE ANC TO UNITED NATIONS HIS ETERNAL MONUMENT TO THIS OUTSTANDING WORLD FIGURE FOR HIS PIONEERING WORK IN MOBILISING WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST RACISM AND COLONIALISM AND FOR PEACE WHICH FINDS WORTHY REFLECTIONS IN THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ADMIRABLE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE. BEST TRIBUTE WE CAN PAY HIM IS TO MAKE THIS UNITED NATIONS YEAR AGAINST APARTHEID TREMENDOUS SUCCESS.

Y. M. DADOO

TRIBUTE TO MOSES KOTANE: SPEECH DELIVERED AT NOVODEVICHYE CEMETERY, MOSCOW, MAY 26, 1978[139]

In the life of every nation, there arise men who leave an indelible and eternal stamp on the history of their peoples; men who are both products and makers of history. And when they pass they leave a vision of a new and better life and the tools with which to win and build it.

Moses Kotane was such a man. The South African liberation movement has had no better or more original pioneer. He, above all, symbolised the all-round revolutionary whose passion for liberation is combined with a scientific grasp of the true nature of the ruling class and the social energies which have to be mobilised in order to destroy it and to build a worthy social order in its place.

Comrade Kotane hated white domination and aggression, yet he spurned racialism in all its forms, whether expressed in white arrogance or black chauvinism. He was one of the foremost champions of the working class and a future socialist South Africa, yet he worked unceasingly to create a unity of all classes and groups, including revolutionary whites, to confront racist tyranny. He was a foremost patriot who had his feet firmly planted in the national culture and aspirations of his people. Yet he remained a shining example of true internationalism and believed passionately in the world-wide bonds of progressive humanity everywhere. He stood at the head of our working-class party for most of its life and was, at the same time, amongst the most respected front-line leaders of the African National Congress. More than any other individual, he helped lay the foundations for the life-giving unity between the working class and national movements which expresses itself in today's firm alliance of liberation forces.

In short, Comrade Kotane was one of South Africa's greatest Communist revolutionaries. He gave an indigenous meaning to the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and through his life won a place as one of the most outstanding working class and national leaders of our country,

Life story

Let us recall, in brief, the life of our departed leader. Moses Kotane was born on August 9, 1905, in the little town of Tamposstad in the Western Transvaal. His early years as a young boy he spent as a cattleherd, afterwards going out to work for a white farmer. It was only at the age of 15, that he was able to go to school for the first time and learn to read and write. But he only remained at the school for two years, leaving in 1922 at the age of 17 to seek work on the Witwatersrand.

Among the jobs he took were those of photographer's assistant, kitchen boy, miner and bakery worker - jobs which gave him little work satisfaction and little pay. All these years he was slaving for the white man boss, Kotane was reading and studying, asking questions, dissatisfied with the life he was leading and with himself. He read whatever books he could lay hands on, and it was his search for knowledge, his rejection of discrimination and oppression, his thirst for a more

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[139] From: *African Communist*, fourth quarter 1978.

Moses Kotane, born August 9, 1905, passed away on Moscow on May 19, 1978.

meaningful way of life that eventually drove him to the ranks of the bakers` union, the African National Congress and the Communist Party.

The year in which he joined the Communist Party was 1928 - the year of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern which adopted the resolution on the national question in South Africa, the so-called "Native republic resolution" which called for "an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full and equal rights for all races, Black, Coloured and white". This slogan was to form the basis of the policy on the national question developed over the years by the Communist Party and eventually incorporated in the 1962 programme of the Party which is still our guideline today. And no man did more to bring that slogan to life in the South African context than Moses Kotane.

It was Moses Kotane, together with comrades like J. B. Marks, Johannes Nkosi, Edwin Mofutsanyana, Albert Nzula, Johnny Goma, and Jimmy La Guma, to mention only a few, who in the 1920s and 1930s followed in the footsteps of the early Communist pioneers - Andrews, Bunting and Ivon Jones and carried the message of communism to the black masses. Kotane had by this time become a Party functionary, living, working and sleeping in the Party office in Johannesburg and active in all the African areas.

He studied at the Party's night school and rapidly absorbed the fundamentals of Marxism.

Visit to Moscow

He progressed so rapidly in his studies that the Party leadership decided to send him for further study at the Lenin School in Moscow, where his teachers included the great Ivan Potekhin, Zusmanowich and the Hungarian Marxist Endre Sik. Kotane wrote many years later: "It was at the Lenin School that I learnt how to think politically. They taught me the logical method of argument, political analysis. From that time onwards I was never at a loss when it came to summing up a situation. I knew what to look for and what had to be done from the point of view of the working class."

Kotane's experiences in Moscow made a lifelong impression on him. Not only did they deepen his understanding of Marxism. They also brought to life in his heart a love and comradeship for the Soviet people and the CPSU which was a constant source of strength and encouragement to him throughout his life. His loyalty and faith in the Soviet people, his confidence in the CPSU as a guardian of proletarian internationalism never wavered. After he was struck down by his illness in 1968 and became hospitalised in the Soviet Union, he was the recipient not only of the very best medical attention, but also of every fraternal service which the CPSU and its functionaries could lavish on him. I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my party and the South African people, of expressing to our Soviet comrades our heartfelt gratitude for everything they did to make the last years of our comrade General Secretary comfortable.

With the masses

Time does not allow me to chronicle all the achievements of Kotane after his return from Moscow to South Africa in 1933. His main and abiding achievement was to root the party in the masses. In a letter from Cradock in the Cape to the Party leadership, he wrote in 1934:

> "My first suggestion is that the party becomes Africanised, that the CPSA[140] must pay special attention to South Africa and study the conditions in this country and concretise the demands of the masses from first-hand information, that we must speak the language of the native masses and must know their demands, that while it must not lose its international allegiance, the Party must be Bolshevised and become South African not

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only theoretically but in reality."

He himself showed the way. His whole political life was dedicated to a translation of the truths of Marxism-Leninism into the realm of practical politics. As the General Secretary of our Party since 1939 until his death he threw himself body and soul into building and strengthening the Party. He also played a vital role in building the organisation which represents the most oppressed section of the Black majority - the African National Congress of which he was an elected member of the National Executive.

Moses Kotane was in the thick of every struggle in South Africa - the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the treason trial of 1956-61, underground in the 1960 emergency, one of the main organisers of the liberation movement's army. In the 1950s and 1960s he went on many diplomatic missions for the liberation movement and won the respect of all the world statesmen with whom he came in contact.

But if there is one quality in Moses Kotane which I would single out before all others, it was that he was incorruptible. He was incorruptible not only in his politics but also in his personal life. Moses Kotane was a man you knew could never let you down, never do something behind your back, never deceive you. You always knew where you were with Moses Kotane. Sometimes his words were harsh and hurtful, but they were never dishonest. He was a hard taskmaster, but only because he put the movement above himself and because he never demanded from others more than he was prepared to do himself. He drove himself to the limit of his endurance, and it is no exaggeration to say that the illness which struck him down was the result of overwork, his refusal to spare himself, his constant and meticulous attention to detail, his willing acceptance of the burden and responsibility of leadership in the great fight for freedom.

Moses Kotane set a high standard for all freedom fighters. We who say "farewell" to him pledge, in the name of our organisations and our peoples, that we will never forget his contribution, that we will endeavour to live up to his example, that we will never waver in our determination to complete the task to which he devoted his life - the total elimination of the scourge of apartheid and racialism, the translation into reality of the Freedom Charter for national emancipation and social progress and to carry forward the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

Hamba Kahle, Comrade Kotane!

Amandla Ngawethu, Maatla Ke Rona!

Power to the People!

"SOUTH AFRICA: REVOLUTION ON AN UPGRADE": ARTICLE, 1978[141]

The month of June marked two significant events in the history of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa against racism and apartheid tyranny and for national and social emancipation. June 16 was the second anniversary of the heroic revolt of Soweto which lifted the revolutionary struggle in racist South Africa to new and higher levels. June 26 is observed throughout the country as South Africa's Freedom Day every year since 1950, when it was

[141] From: *World Marxist Review*, Prague, July 1978

observed by the African National Congress in alliance with the Communist Party and other national organisations. On this day our people, in spite of the reign of terror of the racist regime, find ways and means of paying homage to the fallen heroes and those languishing in Vorster's dungeons and they reaffirm their unyielding commitment to pursue the struggle relentlessly until final victory has been won.

Since the first shootings in Soweto thousands of our people have been murdered, maimed, arrested, and tortured. Every day offers evidence of the racist rulers' seemingly inexhaustible capacity to commit the most barbarous crimes of oppression and enslavement. But the blood that has flowed in the streets of Soweto and other ghetto areas has increased the determination of our people to intensify the resistance on all fronts. In the heat of the battle the people demonstrated great inventiveness and ingenuity. They ambushed police vehicles, erected different types of barricades, produced home-made bombs and carried out well planned actions against the institutional symbols of apartheid. It is clear that the enemy has failed to cow the people into submission. The initiative has inexorably passed into the hands of the people and their liberation organisations.

National liberation revolutions are dialectically interconnected and determined, on the one hand by the nature and content of the historic epoch in which they occur, the epoch of the world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism. In contrast to the deep socio-economic crisis afflicting the capitalist world we witness the ever-growing economic, political and moral strength and influence on these revolutions by the socialist world and in particular by that great bastion of freedom and democracy, the Soviet Union.

The process of détente and peaceful coexistence is becoming increasingly far-reaching in its impact. In these conditions, the peoples of our continent have been scoring fresh successes in bringing pressure to bear on the positions of imperialism. The advances in Angola and Mozambique have altered the geopolitical situation in Southern Africa and given an incalculable boost to the fighting morale and militant spirit of the oppressed toiling masses in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The revolutionary forces of Angola and Mozambique have brought into sharp focus the difference between people's power and that exercised by a privileged minority, the pawns of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Their example will undoubtedly be an inspiration to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. who have been rebuffing the attempts to impose on them the notorious "internal settlement", which is actually a neo-colonialist deal with the racist authorities that would leave the white minority retaining control of these countries.

It is imperative that the world-wide revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces rally around SWAPO and the Patriotic Front who are the true spokesmen of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. We must do all we can to defeat the intrigues of world imperialism which seeks above all to prevent genuine people's power in Namibia, Zimbabwe and, of course, South Africa, that bulwark of racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism on the African continent.

In an attempt to prevent such a revolutionary transformation from occurring in our country the imperialists are feverishly active in proposing all kinds of reformist prescriptions. Both U.S. imperialism and the racist regime in South Africa share a fundamental aim - to safeguard capitalism in South Africa - but they differ on how best to achieve it. Vorster has an unwarranted belief - based more on wishful thinking than concrete reality - that he can contain the revolutionary upsurge in South Africa by making limited cosmetic changes at a very slow pace. The imperialist Powers, on the other hand, want the racist regime to move more rapidly in dismantling some of the racist structures, preserving, of course, South Africa's socio-economic system, but to give some sections of the Black middle strata a stake in this system.

They recognise that open support for the racist regime imperils imperialist and monopoly

interests in Africa. Thus during his mini "African Safari" Carter[142] demagogically claimed in Nigeria that he was determined to eliminate South Africa's "evil and oppressive system of apartheid". It is of course impossible for U.S. imperialism to work for a shift of meaningful political and economic power from the white minority to the oppressed Black majority as this would contradict the very basis of neo-colonialism. Nor will the demagogy, political manoeuvring and tactical adjustments deceive the oppressed masses of South Africa.

To disguise their real intentions, the imperialist Powers are stepping up their anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaigns, and will do their utmost to divide the national liberation movement as also the world-wide progressive and democratic forces which support the struggle. The imperialists will intensify their efforts to isolate the revolutionary movements in South Africa and other African countries from their natural and genuine allies, the socialist world. We can expect their wrath to be directed at the socialist community, especially at the Soviet Union and Cuba, since with the help of these comrades-in-arms Angola was able to defeat the racist-imperialist aggression, and Ethiopia, to expel the Somali aggressors. The imperialists and their hired scribes may froth at the mouth but more and more people of Africa are realising that their real friends and allies are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and that without their support, national and social liberation in the conditions of unceasing imperialist aggression is merely an illusion. We South African Communists reject outright any attempt at spreading anti-Sovietism, whatever its source, for it can only add grist to the mill of our avowed and secret class enemies.

Historical practice has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of revolution as "the locomotive of history" in which the socio-political basis of oppression has to be fundamentally altered. It is not only racial and national oppression but also the class character of the given society which determines the very content and depth of the revolution. Any and every revolution is conditioned by the laws and regularities of the class struggle and consequently the real driving forces of revolution are progressive social classes. Lenin put it most succinctly when he said: "The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and practical meaning of the term." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, page 41).

Applying the Marxist-Leninist method in studying the character of the revolution in South Africa we concentrate on the exceptionally complex interplay of national and class factors. A clear scientific understanding and a consistently correct political position on this question are necessary preconditions for the overthrow of the inhuman system of apartheid. Thus the key methodological and socio-political principle of a Marxist-Leninist approach lies in the indivisible connection between the national question and the solution of the antagonistic class contradictions between the exploiters and exploited.

Nowhere else in the world is the ideology of racism so blatantly proclaimed by those in power and so systematically coded in the most obscurantist, anti-human and anti-democratic laws. Such laws deny the oppressed Blacks (Africans, Indians and Coloureds), that is, the African majority, even the very basic human rights of bourgeois democracy. From the cradle the African people are daily humiliated, their skin colour ridiculed and their cultures and traditions destroyed. Daily, thousands of African people are imprisoned or banished to remote areas under one or other of the vast battery of obnoxious racist laws which litter the South African statute books. Racist legislation is a key element of the system of national oppression in our country.

In the conditions operating in South Africa, national oppression constitutes an exceptionally significant factor in the super-exploitation of the African people. The national income gap between whites and Africans is 14:1. African workers are denied even the elementary rights of collective bargaining, prevented by law - except when it suits the racist regime and monopolists - from doing skilled jobs, and have no social security and unemployment benefits. They are regarded as mere

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142 President Jimmy Carter of the United States of America

"labour units" to be dispensed with once they have served the "needs" of the white minority. Africans in the rural areas are compelled to work on white farms for starvation wages - some are "paid" in kind and not cash - and are not allowed to own even a small plot of land in 87 per cent of the territory of the country. In the other 13 percent - the so-called Bantustans - the poverty of the land and the destitution of their lives compel the Africans to become migrant labourers. The African middle strata, such as they are, have very limited scope for development since they are as much the victim of racist laws and racial discrimination as all other sections of the Black population.

Thus we see that in racist South Africa, since the national aspect is not "secondary" or mere form, the chief mobilising factor for the African people is their response to national and racist oppression. Proceeding from this the ANC and SACP are deeply involved in stimulating and injecting a greater depth and content to the national confidence, assertiveness and pride of the African people.

As Lenin taught us, we should never underestimate the psychological factor in the national question. From its founding in 1921 the SACP has grappled with this problem. In the formative years there had been a tendency to over-estimate the role of the white workers in the class struggle due to the fact that the white workers at the time constituted the bulk of the industrial working force, that it was well organised and engaged in militant strike actions, whereas the African working class was an emerging social force and the ANC was still in the process of becoming the leading and dynamic spokesman of the African people as a whole.

Following the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which was attended also by a delegation of our party, the correct general line was first formulated in detail. The 1928 resolution of the Comintern's Executive Committee unequivocally called for the national liberation of the African people, which was clearly reflected in the native republic slogan. Some time later this line became clearer as the Communist Party of South Africa adapted it to meet the specific situation which confronted it at different historical periods, overcame the dangers of sectarianism and reached its fullest expression in the party programme adopted in 1962. In our search we were greatly assisted by the Communist International and the accumulated experience of the world revolutionary forces, in particular of the Great October Revolution.

On the basis of national and international experience, the programme of the SACP characterises South Africa as "colonialism of a special type". That is, that within one single geographical entity we have "two South Africas". One is "white South Africa" which has all the main features of state-monopoly capitalism, and the other "non-white South Africa" in which we have some of the main features of a colonial type of life, administration and rule. Proceeding from this the SACP came to the following conclusion: "As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national-democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of this revolution will be the national liberation of the African people... The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society."[143]

In South Africa the victory of the national-liberation revolution is inextricably linked with the destruction of that socio-economic system which nourishes and sustains racism and apartheid. To skip the objective, historically determined stage of the national-democratic revolution is a recipe for disaster. On the other hand, due to the objective level of economic development and the long militant record of struggle of the SACP and ANC, South Africa also has the well-organised, disci-

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143 *The Road to South African Freedom: The Programme of the South African Communist Party*, London, page 7

plined "grave diggers" of capitalism. This is above all the Black working class, concentrated mostly in the mines, industries, factories and docks, which has consistently shown in practice that it is the most powerful adversary of racism and the main social force for change. Its revolutionary potentialities tend objectively to grow in a period in which racist South Africa is increasingly bogged down in the deepest socio-economic crisis in its history. It is marked by a drop in industrial production, raging inflation, and widespread unemployment among the Black population (2 million). Even if the condition of some sectors of the economy does improve, there is every indication that in 1976 the economy will not be able to cope with the upheavals. As the crisis intensifies, the international isolation of the racists increases, and the political and armed struggle against the regime mounts, there is a gradual maturing of the revolutionary situation.

The South African Communist Party and the African National Congress have always been clearly aware that the revolutionary struggle to smash the evil and barbarous regime in South Africa is a complex, exceptionally difficult and contradictory process. Having exhausted the potential of non-violent struggle, during which the enemy never scrupled to use brute force, the SACP and ANC decided in 1961 to launch armed revolutionary struggle. The correctness of this decision was confirmed by the events in Soweto and more recently, in October i977, by the banning of 18 organisations, all of which had advocated a peaceful road. The latter action demonstrated even to the most blinkered that the racist regime is not prepared to tolerate even moderate criticisms and actions. Armed struggle has become the most significant factor in the revolutionary struggle, but we have to become even more professional in acquiring the necessary skills to combine different forms of struggle, armed and unarmed, legal and illegal, and mass militant actions.

Even though the South African ruling class was badly shaken by the Soweto and other events connected with it, the enemy and its repressive State apparatus have not reached the point of disruption and dislocation. The enemy still retains great reserves of power and resources, and is able, albeit with ferocious brutality, to act in a cohesive manner and so limit the spread of militant actions. It is also important to recognise that the ferment of revolt was not nation-wide, as the rural areas were not as deeply affected.

Furthermore it is a fact that the Soweto events could not be transformed into an all-embracing armed uprising. These events were not an end in themselves but form a crucial part of the process to heighten the political consciousness of the masses and the preparedness of well-organised, mobile underground structures and units for offensive and defensive political and armed actions.

It is not, as some people argue, a question which can be reduced only to logistics and organisation, crucial as these factors are. As one of the latest Central Committee statements points out: "Peoples' armed conflict is a protracted process. Even though conditions now exist for the struggle to be extended enormously, we must not be tempted by the passion and excitement of the moment to spread a dangerous and damaging illusion that it will be short and swift... There is no doubt, however, that the new situation has brought closer than ever before the possibility of an effective beginning to the armed struggle. And there is already public evidence that units of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (military wing of the ANC) have begun to act against the enemy."[144]

It is up to the revolutionary forces to grasp the nettle so as to respond in the most effective way. Failure to do this could lead to a demoralisation within the ranks of the oppressed and thereby give Vorster and his imperialist allies the possibility of relieving the revolutionary pressures which have grown with such intensity.

To ensure that armed activities have a firm basis in every part of the country and to give direction and leadership to the mass discontent and militant actions of the people we need to strengthen our underground structures. It is only the presence of an experienced and dedicated

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144 *African Communist*, No. 70, 1977, page 34

leadership of the ANC and SACP, with deep roots among the people that can ensure the correct tactical and political responses to a rapidly-developing, fluid situation. This has added significance when we take into account the fact that large numbers of youth and students have learned from their own experience that to defeat the enemy they have to acquire the necessary political and military skills which can only be imparted by the well-organised underground structures of the ANC and SACP.

Our party is now working with redoubled energy within the various classes and sections of the population, including democratic and progressive elements among the white population.

The SACP has undertaken with renewed vigour the necessary steps to organise the working class, especially at the factory level, and to disseminate even more widely the science of Marxism-Leninism. We fully support the South African Congress of Trade Unions - which is an integral part of the national-liberation movement - in its fight to improve the working conditions and wages of the Black workers, to extend the meagre rights of the African trade unions, to organise the Black workers into militant trade unions, to mobilise them for nation-wide unity of purpose and action and to develop viable illegal structures in the production area.

The fighting youth and students have demonstrated their willingness to make the supreme sacrifice for national and social liberation. The mass organisations through which so many of the youth and students articulated their grievances and aspirations need to be injected with a clearer revolutionary and political content. One of the most heartening features of the recent period is the ever-growing search by these young militants for a deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism. It is of vital importance for the future of the revolution to give a greater social content to the elementary rejection of capitalism so forcefully expressed by the fighting youth and students.

There is no doubt that for guerilla warfare to expand, our movement's capacity to mobilise and organise the rural working people is of great significance. A nation-wide revolutionary upsurge is intimately connected with the galvanising of the rural masses into even more effective political actions. This has become even more urgent following Vorster's feverish haste to implement his racist Bantustan policies.

Increasingly the ruling circles egged on by world imperialism, are seeking ways other than brute force and naked terror to keep intact the basic structures of racism and monopoly capitalism. This requires the support of Black collaborationists. Through the policy of Bantustans the racists also seek to create an administrative elite and small capitalists who will identify their interests with those of their white masters. We shall spare no effort to destroy the monstrous scheme of Bantustans. The very possibility of international recognition of the "independence" of the Transkei and Bophuthatswana must not be allowed.

In the cities too there is an effort to wean the Black middle strata away from the national-liberation movement and to get them to oppose the social goals of our struggle. The aims of the national-liberation movement represent also the aspirations of the Black middle strata which suffer the same form of national oppression as others and whose creativity and initiative have been stifled by apartheid. It should be recalled that during the Soweto events numerous trades and professional groups stood side by side with the youth and workers.

A crucial aspect of our work is to forge greater unity between the oppressed Blacks - Africans, Coloured and Indians. The racist regime, utilising the divide-and-rule policy, has offered a few concessions mainly to the Indian and Coloured petty-bourgeoisie. Opposition to this policy and to the government-created South African Indian Council and the Coloured People's Representative Council is growing and has to be further intensified. The interests of the Indians and Coloureds are inextricably bound up with those of the African people. A united front in action of all the oppressed peoples is of great significance as we enter the decisive stage to eliminate the bulwark of racism and colonialism.

To accomplish these tasks, the bonds of comradely relations forged between the ANC and SACP in the heat of battle will be strengthened. The party has no immediate interests different from those of the ANC. Both organisations are committed to the overthrow of the racist regime and the installing of a revolutionary government which would take effective measures against monopoly capital and revolutionise the economic, political, social and military structures and institutions.

The present wide-ranging international campaign to isolate racist South Africa in every sphere evokes a sense of deep gratitude among all the revolutionaries and patriots of our country. Even the friends of the apartheid regime find it difficult to defend it in public. We welcome the United Nations decision to designate 1978 as International Anti-Apartheid Year and call upon all peace-loving anti-racist forces to make it a success. In addition to the effort to boycott racist South Africa, the campaigns during this year should be used among other objectives, to ensure the maximum support for the ANC and SACP, to expose the growing racist Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis, the Bonn-Paris-Pretoria nuclear conspiracy and the attempts to settle whites from Rhodesia and South Africa in Bolivia, and to demand the release of all political prisoners languishing in Vorster's dungeons and torture chambers.

We South African communists express our warm appreciation to our comrades-in-arms in the international communist movement, in the socialist community, the non-aligned countries, large democratic circles and the various anti-apartheid groups in capitalist countries which have done sterling work to publicise and support our struggle.

It is becoming more evident that the blood shed by our people, the inhuman tortures undergone by our patriots, the imprisonment suffered by our heroes have not been in vain. The victory of the national-liberation revolution will follow as inevitably as spring follows winter.

"PRISONERS OF APARTHEID": STATEMENT, OCTOBER 1979[145]

[Statement submitted to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners, October 11, 1979]

It is a singular honour to have been invited by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid to mark the occasion of United Nations Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners. In welcoming the opportunity to address you I am deeply conscious that this honour is not mine personally, but one that rightly belongs to the millions of toilers and their leaders, my comrades-in-arms, who are sacrificing life and liberty in the struggle for freedom, democracy and peace in our country.

My task is therefore the more onerous since I am entrusted to speak in their voice, with their feelings and their desires, in regard to those scores of gallant heroes of our people with whom the world community stands in solidarity today. Namely the men, women, and yes, children who are incarcerated in apartheid's prisons; who are facing its tortures in interrogation centres and who are standing before its so-called law courts in so many parts of our country.

In a very real sense all black South Africans are political prisoners - prisoners of the system of

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145 Dr. Dadoo was invited to the special meeting of the Special Committee on the Day of Solidarity. He was unable to travel to New York and sent a written statement.

apartheid which denies them freedom in the land of their birth. And yet, at another level, it is equally true that those, for whose security and interests black South Africa is imprisoned, are themselves prisoners. For, as Karl Marx once remarked: no nation that enslaves another can be truly free.

But it is not to South Africa, the imprisoned society, that we are addressing ourselves today, but to those who have sacrificed their freedom for the creation of a just and non-racial society in which democracy shall be the rule rather than the exception; a right of all South Africans rather than the privilege of the few.

The General Assembly of the United Nations first demanded the release of South African political prisoners in October 1963, in response to the Rivonia trial which commenced in October of that year. This Committee will undoubtedly remember this as the trial of Nelson Mandela and other great leaders of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Communist Party. Today, despite the appeals and demands for their release the world over, Nelson, together with his comrades Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Denis Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni face the prospect of imprisonment for life on Robben Island and in Pretoria prison. And life imprisonment means just that. The policy of the apartheid regime allows no remission of sentence for those sentenced under its security laws.

Ever since then the Special Committee against Apartheid has given unstinting support to the efforts of the African National Congress and the international solidarity movement for the release of political prisoners, and, pending their release, for the improvement of their conditions. Moreover, each year, evidence of ill-treatment and torture of prisoners and detainees has been heard by your Committee and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. This information has been disseminated world-wide to solidarity movements and Governments, as well as non-governmental organisations.

The work of the Special Committee, and of specialised agencies of the United Nations, has won the respect of our entire fighting people as surely as it has earned the manifest anger of the apartheid regime. Allow me to place on record my personal thanks, those of the prisoners and their families, as well as that of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. Your actions have been crucial in helping save the lives of many of my compatriots on trial for their lives, and also in securing the amelioration of their conditions in the prisons of apartheid. Perhaps none can express this more eloquently and sincerely than an ANC activist recently released after 12 years on Robben Island:

"International pressure has helped to maintain morale and spirit because man can adapt to the worst conditions if he feels he is not alone, if he feels he has support in what he is doing, and that why he is there is for a just cause and a cause that will triumph."

With the intensification of our liberation struggle and the consequent increasing repression by the racist State, the need for strengthening the international campaign has never been greater. The number of political prisoners has grown and at present there are at least 550 in jails throughout the country, including more than 50 SWAPO leaders and militants. Earlier this year the Minister of Justice disclosed that 447 of these prisoners were held on Robben Island, including nine children under 18 years of age. I don't need to remind this Committee of the brutal conditions to which political prisoners are subjected.

And still the number of victims grows. From July 1978 to 31 May 1979, 46 people are known to have been sentenced to a total of 377 1/2 years' imprisonment. All black male prisoners are incarcerated on Robben Island, while black women are kept in Kroonstad prison. In Pretoria a special maximum security section has been built to house the white male security prisoners.

Since the Soweto revolt, the authorities have been especially severe in their crackdown on the

youth. In the last three years, almost 9,000 people under the age of 18 have been arrested for offences linked to "public violence" and "sabotage", and nearly 6,000 prosecutions were brought before the apartheid courts. Asked in Parliament earlier this year how many people under 18 were detained in terms of the security laws during 1979, under what law and for what period, the then Minister of Justice, Kruger, replied:

"Except to confirm that 227 males and 25 females under the age of 18 were detained in terms of the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts during 1978, I consider it not to be in the public interest to disclose all the information required."

Some of the pupils in detention were found to be as young as 13 years of age, and in Port Elizabeth one child detainee was found to be only seven years old, while a large number were between 12 and 14.

Young people are not exempt from torture while in detention. They too are beaten, given electric shocks, made to sit on imaginary chairs, half drowned in buckets of water and so on. Hundreds of school children have been sentenced to floggings for taking part in peaceful demonstrations, and in June 1978 six children under the age of 16 were known to be on Robben Island serving five-year sentences for sabotage. Being political prisoners, they will serve their full sentence, without remission. This year alone the Security Police have acknowledged that they have detained 317 people, and that 168 trials involving so-called national security have come before the apartheid courts in the last seven months.

Evidence has repeatedly been presented to this Committee detailing the widespread inhuman torture, mental and physical, and the appalling prison conditions that prevail. Over 50 political prisoners, including Joseph Mdluli, Elijah Loza, the Imam Haron, have died while in detention. The murder of Steve Biko, which was widely reported in the international press, indicates the treatment meted out to the political prisoners of our country. Discrimination towards political prisoners in terms of diet, clothing, visits, letters, even nationality, is institutionalised within the prison system. When detained, prisoners are held *incommunicado* without access to lawyers, family or friends for indefinite periods, during which time they are not allowed reading or writing materials. A further serious deprivation now being instituted by the regime is that prisoners who have been sentenced will no longer be allowed to study beyond matriculation level. The objective of the withdrawal of study rights is not to preserve security, as the regime claims, but to break the morale and solidarity of the prisoners. As Nelson Mandela declared in 1969, the regime regards its prisons as institutions with which "to cripple us, so that we should never again have the strength and courage to pursue our ideals."

The prisoners themselves have refused to be subdued, and both on Robben island and in Pretoria prison they have fought unyieldingly to defend their rights and protect themselves against the physical and spiritual aggression of the racist authorities. Robben Island prisoners have time and again gone on hunger strike and fought legal battles to support their demands. Last year, too, nine political prisoners in Pretoria brought an action before the courts asking for an order that they be allowed the right to receive books, newspapers and periodicals of their choice, and that their letters and visits should not be subject to censorship - at present only family matters may be discussed. The decision of the Appeals Court was that under the Prisons Act prisoners have no rights, but only privileges subject to the discretion of the Commissioner of Prisons, and that the conduct of the Commissioner is not subject to review by any court unless inconsistent with the provisions of the Act. Furthermore, under the Prisons Act it is an offence to publish any "false" news about prisons or prisoners, with the onus on the publisher to prove that he has taken reasonable steps to ascertain the truth of his story. The effect of this Act has been to discourage the press from exposing jail atrocities.

During the last session of Parliament earlier this year, two further restrictive laws were added to the statute books. One extended the above provisions of the Prisons Act to cover the police, so that in future police atrocities will also be immune from investigation by the press. The second makes

it an offence to publish anything about unnatural deaths until the inquest is complete - a provision aimed at preventing future exposures of killings as in the case of Steve Biko.

All these provisions place South African political prisoners at the mercy of a merciless Government. One of the most important questions facing the international community with regard to support for and defence of South African political prisoners is the question of granting prisoner-of-war status to the gallant freedom fighters of our country.

This year, on April 6, in spite of world-wide protest and campaigns to save his life, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* combatant Solomon Mahlangu was sent to the gallows.

Today in Pietermaritzburg, 12 young militants of the ANC are facing charges of treason and terrorism, with every possibility of the death sentence again being imposed. These men are considered so dangerous that a 24-hour riot police patrol has been mounted around the courthouse, and a special bullet-proof glass cage has been erected in the court in which the accused are to be confined for the duration of the trial. Despite severe torture and constant intimidation, our cadres stand firm; they have dismissed their defence and refused to participate in the trial as the judge has ruled that evidence against them will be heard *in camera* and that the names of State witnesses are to be kept secret. Their call is for the people of South Africa to know that their "crime" was attempting to overthrow the South African Government by any means possible... The judge has already sentenced two of them to six months' imprisonment for so-called "contempt of court".

Indicative of the morale and dedication of our cadres is the statement of ANC militant Petrus Mothlane, who, after being sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, told the court: "The most important thing to me is not how long I live but how I live. Those of us who love life as much as we love this country shall never cease to make efforts for the attainment of liberty regardless of creed, race or colour. I am not the first nor shall I be the last to be convicted for this just cause."

It is our demand that patriots and freedom fighters like these should be treated as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Convention. Both in the courts and in the prisons our comrades have displayed a spirit of heroism and determination which is the expression of an inflexible will for freedom.

Allow me to remind the audience of another category of political prisoner. About 20 men, members of the African National Congress, are serving sentences in Rhodesia's maximum security prison. These militants were captured in the Wankie and Kariba areas of north-western Rhodesia in 1967 and 1968 during the joint ANC/Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) operations. We demand their immediate release and not their repatriation to South Africa, as is planned by the puppet Muzorewa.

Forty years ago the nations of the world united to defeat Nazism and the rule of fascist tyranny. Though defeated, fascism has not been destroyed. It has regrouped and reconstituted itself in many parts of the world since the conclusion of the Second World War. What I have attempted to indicate to you, and through you to the world community, is that racist South Africa is one such corner of the world where the jackboot continues to hold sway.

Forty years ago those nations who could do most turned a blind eye and deaf ear to the witnesses of democracy and peace from inside Germany. Nothing, we were told, should be done to upset the voracious appetite of the fascist beast. A nation's life and hopes were sacrificed for the sake of a piece of paper bearing the false promise of peace.

My plea to you today, on behalf of the millions of oppressed and exploited black peoples, the real witnesses of peace and democracy in our country, is to heed their voices, their call, for those who cannot themselves bear witness today - South Africa's political prisoners. If history has taught us anything at all, it is that we can never appease the oppressor and exploiter through our silence

and inactivity.

In conclusion, we place before you and the world community once more the demands of our people and of the national liberation movement led by the African National Congress of South Africa:

(1) To intensify the campaigns internationally for the release of all political prisoners and, pending their release;

(2) To demand all-round improvement of prison conditions, including the right of all prisoners to opportunities for furthering their education together with the facilities necessary for this;

(3) To demand the end of torture of detainees and to highlight in every international forum the deliberate policy of torture and murder pursued by the regime of terror with regard to political detainees;

(4) To intensify the demand for the granting of prisoner-of-war status to all captured combatants of the liberation movement in accordance with the relevant accords of the Geneva Convention.

Right now twelve freedom fighters are facing the so-called courts of the regime on charges of high treason. Their lives are at stake. Let us act now to save them and demand their release!

Your actions, in unity with those of the liberation movement, progressive governments and the international solidarity movement, can do much to secure the well-being, safety and release of our gallant freedom fighters. Fundamental to the release of political prisoners in our country is the total eradication of the apartheid regime, which the United Nations has declared a crime against humanity. It is more imperative now than ever before that all United Nations decisions with regard to the imposition of economic, military, political, cultural and sporting sanctions be fully implemented. The total isolation of the racist regime in every sphere of human endeavour is a prerequisite for the destruction of racist tyranny and the achievement of human rights, justice and true liberation. All our support, moral and material, should be given to the liberation movement led by the African National Congress for the achievement of these goals.

"SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK": INTRODUCTION TO BOOK, 1981[146]

This volume of documents has been produced to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party on July 30, 1921. Our Party, the oldest Communist Party on the African continent, has a long and proud history of struggle to its credit - struggle against the inhumanity and injustice of race and class oppression flowing from the pursuit of private profit, struggle for the achievement of a saner and juster non-racial and non-exploitative society in which all South Africans will enjoy equal rights and opportunities based on the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

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146 Introduction to *South African Communists Speak: Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party, 1915-1980*. London: Inkululeko Publications, 1981.

Officially the Communist Party of South Africa (as it was called during its legal period) was formed on July 30, 1921, with the merging at a conference in Cape Town of a number of like-minded organisations based in the main centres of the country and proclaiming the philosophy of Marxism. The most important of these founding bodies, the International Socialist League, was formed in Johannesburg in September 1915, and it was this date that was often referred to by the early leaders of the Party as its birthday. In fact, the separate existence of what we may regard as a Communist nucleus came about even earlier, in September 1914, when the true socialists within the Labour Party formed the "War on War League" inside the Party to give expression to their opposition to capitalism and war and their determination to uphold the international solidarity of labour in the fight for socialism.

"Socialism and internationalism" - these have been the watchwords of the South African Communists from that day to the present. Above all, the socialism for which the Communists strove was not utopian but based on the scientific principles of Marxism. It was because of their adherence to Marxism that the South African Communists, who started their crusade as a minority of whites among the white minority, were able to weld together in their ranks representatives of all the various sections of the population opposed to racism, white domination and capitalist exploitation. It was because of their Marxism that the South African Communists have remained one of the staunchest components of the international Communist movement aiming at the elimination of imperialism and the achievement of a world socialist order.

It has often been argued by our opponents that Communism was brought to our country by whites and foreigners, that it is an alien importation unacceptable to the indigenous majority. Our reply to this is that the concept of the brotherhood of man, of the sharing of the fruits of the earth, is common to all humanity, black and white, east and west, and has been formulated in one form or another throughout history. As Marx and Engels put it in *The Communist Manifesto*:

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

The composition of the South African proletariat was something dictated by history, by white conquest and settlement, the importation of capital following the discovery of gold and diamonds, the immigration of skilled white labour from abroad, the press-ganging of unskilled labour from the ranks of the dispossessed blacks. The *Communist Manifesto* also pointed out:

"The Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

The immediate aim of the Communists, said *The Manifesto*, is the formation of the proletariat into a class, the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, and the conquest of political power by the proletariat who constitute the immense majority of the population. Under the circumstances prevailing in South Africa at the time, it was inevitable that it was whites who would take the lead in the formation of a Communist Party. But it is a matter of record that the whites who pioneered our movement, men like W. H. Andrews, D. Ivon Jones, S. P. Bunting and their colleagues, realised from the outset that, if it was true, as they proclaimed, that "socialism, to be effective, must be international", it was equally true that "an internationalism which does not concede the

fullest rights which the Native working class is capable of claiming will be a sham".

From the outset the Communists sought to bring the black workers into their movement, held aloft the banner of equal rights for all. They helped form some of the first black trade unions, sought cooperation with the various black organisations like the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the African People's Organisation (APO) and the Indian Congress, involved themselves in the day-to-day struggle of the people against oppression. As blacks consolidated their position in the ranks of the proletariat, so the composition of the Communist Party was altered. Whereas in 1915 the International Socialist League had been composed only of whites, 15 years later the overwhelming majority of Communist Party members were Africans, and men like J. B. Marks, Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, Edwin Mofutsanyana, John Gomas, James La Guma, Johannes Nkosi and others were to be counted among the leaders, responsible for framing policies and implementing decisions. Today our party faithfully reflects at all levels the composition of the working class and liberation movement of our country.

Our Communist Party was always a party of militants and activists and we never had room for passengers. Our Party members have been in the thick of every people's struggle since the First World War - in the ceaseless campaigns against the pass laws, the fight for higher wages and better working conditions, the fight against fascism and war, the mineworkers` strikes of 1920, 1922 and 1946, the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the campaign for the Congress of the People and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the bus boycotts, the resistance to apartheid, segregation and dispossession. The mass movement against white domination headed by the African National Congress which has assumed such vast proportions today, striking ever more effective blows against the racist enemy, extends far beyond our ranks, but we are an essential part of it, and the unique value of our contribution is recognised by friends and enemies alike. Our Party members have been tried and tested in battle. Thousands of them have been arrested and jailed, many have died at the hands of the police. We have proved ourselves in action as the party of the working class.

Decade after decade we have campaigned and fought, organised and mobilised, taught and propagandised, carrying our message into every corner of the land, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism at the head of the people's army. The course we have followed has not always been smooth. We have had our setbacks and reverses; we have endured the disasters of repression and dissolution, the self-inflicted torments of sectarianism, but we have succeeded in reforming our ranks and revitalising ourselves. Rooted in the working class of South Africa whose mission will not be completed until capitalism is overthrown and replaced by people's democracy leading to a socialist society, the Party has proved itself to be a vanguard organisation in the best tradition, constantly seeking the way forward to the new South Africa outlined in its programme, steadfastly testing in action the theories formulated at our conferences. Our members have shown themselves resourceful, courageous and adaptable, winning for the Party the confidence of its allies in the liberation struggle. And we have had our victories, steadily advancing the cause of the workers and the forward positions of our freedom fighters.

The principle which has guided all our efforts has been the need to build up the broadest united front of patriotic and anti-racist forces in the struggle against white domination. It was in pursuit of this aim that our Party explored the relationship between the national and class struggles in South Africa, and formulated in its 1962 programme the concept of "colonialism of a special type" which provided the theoretical basis for yoking together the forces of national liberation and working class revolution. At this, the stage of the national democratic revolution, the main component of which in the South African context is the national liberation of the African people, the main thrust of the revolutionary forces is to forge the broadest possible unity of the masses and of all strata of the people for the overthrow of the hated racist regime. In pursuance of this objective the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955 has become the immediate programme of the national liberation alliance and the short-term programme of our Party. At its augmented Central Committee meeting in 1979 the Party declared:

"Our Party is a vital component of the revolutionary alliance for national liberation headed by the African National Congress. As such it has no interests separate from any contingent of that alliance which we have always worked to strengthen. This approach does not stand in conflict with our belief that our Party has an independent role to play as a constituent part of the alliance, but also as the political vanguard of the proletariat whose special historical role as the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of socialism we have always safeguarded."

In the formulation of our policies, and in their implementation, we have benefited immeasurably from the guidance and assistance of the international communist movement, and are confident that in turn, through our own work and experience, we have contributed our share to the storehouse of international revolutionary theory and strengthened the cause of proletarian internationalism. At a time when the desperation of the imperialists and the adventurism of the Chinese hegemonists threaten the world with war and nuclear destruction, it is our unshakeable belief that it is the duty of every communist party to strengthen its ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to consolidate the ranks of the international communist movement. In the words of our 1979 Central Committee resolution:

> "There is no room for neutrals in the struggle to eliminate from the world the last vestiges of colonialism and racism, to win for all peoples the right to real freedom and independence, the right to live in peace and security from the cradle to the grave."

This book is not a history of the Communist Party in South Africa. Our publishing house, Inkululeko Publications, has already issued a number of works interpreting our past and present roles, and new contributions appear regularly in our journal *The African Communist*. What we present here is the raw material of our history - the statements, articles and speeches of leaders and members of our Party, the relevant sections of our past constitutions and programmes, the reports and resolutions of our conferences and Central Committee meetings, so that the present-day reader can see events, not with the sometimes biased or patronising wisdom of hindsight, but in the context in which our predecessors (and some of us at the time) viewed them. We do this, not with a view to passing judgement or making excuses, but to enable the reader to understand the reasoning and motives of our Party leaders and members in reaching the conclusions they did, what led them to formulate this policy or pass that resolution. Historians often err in assessing the past according to the standards and perspectives of today, without asking themselves whether the options which are open today were available at the time. We hope this collection of evidence will help to explain our history. To be able to listen to our Party spokesmen stating their case at the various crisis points of the past will, we hope, deepen appreciation of their efforts and achievements, their persistence and determination.

We Communists, being human, are fallible and often make mistakes, but one thing which can never be held against us is that we have failed to act in the spirit of the words of Marx inscribed on his grave:

> "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it."

We nave never ceased striving to change South Africa from the hell that it is today for the majority of our people groaning under the vicious burdens of apartheid, into a free society in which class and colour discrimination and exploitation will be abolished once and for all. At all times when our people have been faced with a challenge from the enemy backed by his brutal, trigger-happy armed forces, our Party responded to the challenge with the appropriate course of action decided upon after careful analysis of the objective conditions at the time. This is what led our Party in 1961 to allocate some of our members to join with their counterparts in the African National Congress in the formation of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, now grown into an effective liberation force striking ever more effective blows against the enemy's *laager*.

Looking back on our history, perhaps this can be reckoned the hallmark of our achievement -

that, guided by the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, we have never ceased to organise the South African working class and lead them in the struggle for liberation. Confident in the justice of our cause, that we speak and act in the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people, we have always looked to the future with optimism. We are convinced that the record of our work contained in this book will justify the confidence placed in us by the South African working class and inspire greater efforts from all freedom fighters in the struggle for liberation.

ADDRESS AT MEETING ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, LONDON, JULY 30, 1981[147]

It is with a deep sense of pride and honour that I speak today on behalf of the South African Communist Party, which celebrates the 60th year of its birth, on 30th July 1981. On this historic occasion our message goes to all in our country, who stand for the complete destruction of the brutal racist tyranny. We speak to all who are working in search for the ending of all forms of exploitation of man by man, and for the building of a society in which none shall be master, and none servant.

We speak today to all who in their daily lives suffer the humiliating evils of the barbaric white supremacy. We speak to all embattled working and student youth who refuse to bow down to the bullet and the baton, and who are forever finding new ways to keep the fighting spirit of Soweto alive. We speak to the oppressed black women whose children have been murdered in thousands by the racist thugs, and who cry out for retribution. We speak to those on the land, the rural labourers, the land-starved peasants, those who have been herded into the Bantustans and those who in their hundreds of thousands are still being uprooted and forced into resettlement camps. We speak to the millions who are being forced to live in urban black slums overlooking the luxury laden white cities. We speak also to those among the whites who are beginning to understand that their future and the future of their children can only be secured by a society of absolute equality, which in the words of the Freedom Charter "belongs to all who live in it; black and white."

Above all we speak to the black working people, our great proletariat which through its sweat and toil has created our country's riches and which stands in the forefront of the struggle to overthrow all forms of race oppression and the system of capitalist exploitation. We speak for the working class which owns nothing except its power to labour and which in the words of the Communist Manifesto has "nothing to lose but its chains." On this great occasion we remember with pride our Communist heroes and martyrs who are no longer with us. Their names have come to symbolise the spirit of resistance and defiance to all forms of oppression and exploitation. They have won an honoured place in the history of our people's struggle in the past 60 years.

We dip our flag to the... of revolutionaries who have made supreme sacrifice in the people's cause. Some of them face the hangman's noose. Others, veterans of MK, fought and died with the comrades in the 1967 Zimbabwe battles. We salute the Communists who are among martyrs massacred at Matola and those among the new generation of militant youth facing the enemy and shedding their blood as part of the armed wing of the liberation movement.

We greet those Communists and non-communists who are daily continuing to give their all in the party and liberation underground. Our message also goes out to those Communists and liberation leaders who are languishing in Robben Island and other racist jails.

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147 *ANC (SA) Report*, No. 6, Summer 1982

On this day we South African Communists warmly extend our hand of friendship and solidarity to the world. We regard every blow against capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as a blow against our own exploiters who form part of the reactionary world alliance of imperialist forces. As part of the great international communist and workers' movement we on this day greet all our brother parties in the struggle to create a world of peace and friendship among all nations, a world in which man will never be robbed of the fruits of his labour - a world of socialism. On this day we embrace the working masses of the socialist community of nations and their Marxist-Leninist parties who are building a new socialist way of life, and inspired by the principles of proletarian-internationalism, continue to make sacrifices in the interests of struggling and oppressed people everywhere, for peace and against the continuing threats of imperialist warmongering. We greet specially the Great Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union - the CPSU - whose victory in the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, and whose success in socialist construction, have transformed their land into an unconquerable fortress of workers' power.

We South African Communists have a proud record of struggle, both as a party and as part of the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. It is no accident that our party has been chosen by the enemy as a key target in its attempt to discredit the liberation movement and to hold back the forward march of the revolution. The enemy unceasingly hurls abuse at our party and its members. We are called foreign agitators and are accused of trying to introduce foreign ideology into South African politics. These are slanders which have become the stock in trade of every capitalist ruling class trying to hold back the sweep of revolution by the downtrodden people everywhere. Our answer is clear and our record speaks for itself. Our ideology of Marxism-Leninism is shared by thousands of millions of workers and peasants in every part of the world. Armed with this ideology some have already won for themselves new societies which have crushed all forms of national oppression and which have put an end to exploitation of man by man. Others like our people are still locked in the battles to achieve these objectives. Marxism-Leninism is not the property of a single country or single people. It is a property of workers in every continent of our globe.

In Europe it has been a tool for the creation of the first contingent of the socialist world and in the Americas it has enabled Cuban revolutionaries to build their outpost of socialist civilisation on the very doorstep of the head of imperialist reaction - United States imperialism.

In Africa it has been proclaimed as a fundamental guiding ideology by countries such as Ethiopia, Benin and the Congo. In our own subcontinent, Marxism-Leninism has become the inspiration of the newly independent States of Angola and Mozambique who have transformed their liberation movements into workers' vanguards dedicated to the task of creating conditions for the construction of socialism right on South Africa's borders.

And who is it that accuses us South African Communists of injecting foreign ideology into South African politics? It is the very racists who came from foreign parts with the Bible in the one hand and the gun in the other, in the name of the so-called European civilisation to deprive our people of the land, transformed us into reserves of cheap labour and imposed an alien-settler-ruling class which maintains its grip with the support of foreign imperialist powers. This ruling class fears us South African Communists precisely because we are and have always been of the people and of the very soil of our land; they fear us because we represent the future South Africa of one united people in which there will be no masters and servants whether they be white or black. They fear us South African Communists because we represent the best interests of our working class, the dominant force in the struggle against racism, against its very foundation, the system of capitalist exploitation. They fear and hate us Communists because from the very beginning our party has worked unceasingly to break down racism, tribalism and regionalism; because in our ranks are to be found some of the best sons and daughters of every section of our people, African, Coloured, Indian, and those white revolutionaries who have broken with the evils of racism and stand for socialism.

On this anniversary we recall with pride that 60 years ago our party was the first on our continent to plant the flag of Marxism-Leninism and to place on the agenda of the struggle the objectives of workers' power in a socialist South Africa. This objective is inextricably bound up with the overall struggle for national liberation - a struggle for which our party has made and continues to make a vital contribution. It is a matter of history that in the 1930s our party pioneered the slogan for a black Republic, and was the first to demand unconditional majority rule in South Africa. In our people's struggle in the last 60 years we Communists have been there in the frontline together with other revolutionaries, working and sacrificing for the common goal of national liberation. In this struggle, whether it be in the trade union, the anti-pass campaign, the Congress of the People, the historic Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, in the general political strikes, in the squatters' movements, in the great miners' strike, in the creation of MK - *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of our liberation movement - our party and its members played an important and vital role. Today in the words of our Central Committee's 60th anniversary statement, "The South African Communist Party is a vital part of the liberation forces headed by the African National Congress."

This alliance aims to unite all sections and classes among the oppressed and other truly democratic forces of our revolution to destroy white domination. This revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African and other oppressed groups, must put an end to racist discrimination in all its forms, restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom, and equality of rights and opportunities to all. We believe that the immediate struggle to destroy racist colonialism and to win national freedom is an essential part of the struggle for a future Socialist South Africa. In this struggle the key force has always been and will continue to be the black working class in alliance with the mass of landless rural people.

The celebration of the 60th anniversary of our South African Communist Party takes place at a time when our people have entered the most decisive phase in a long history of the struggle for national liberation. Faced with mounting class and national struggles, the ruling class tries to cling to its reign of power in two ways. On the one hand, it has its strategy of terror and brute force against the people and open aggression, economic and political blackmail against the newly independent States in our sub-continent. On the other hand, it is pretending to reform apartheid by making so-called concessions which have little meaning for the overwhelming mass of our people who are aware that the enemy is entrenching and deepening as never before the real essence of race rule.

Every African in the so-called "White South Africa" is made a foreigner in the land of his birth. The black oppressed are still excluded from the right to possess and own land in 87 per cent of our country; they are still denied political rights and the Bantustans are made into permanent neo-colonies administered by puppet regimes to provide an endless flow of cheap black labour. Our people and, above all, our working class and the new militant generation of the fighting youth, have not bowed down to the enemy's terror nor have they fallen for the tricks of the enemy's reform manoeuvres.

Throughout our land and amongst all sections of our people, a ruling class policy of blood and smiles has been met with growing resistance. The cry for people's power and for the complete destruction of the white republic to end black misery is growing louder by the day. And this cry is accompanied by the rising sounds of the armed blows being dealt out to the enemy by the military wing of the liberation movement, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.

In this the 60th anniversary of our party, we Communists pledge to continue to water the tree of freedom in our land, if necessary with our own blood. We pledge to continue the liberation alliance and to cement even further the unity of the liberation forces headed by the ANC. We pledge to spare nothing to fulfil the glorious vision which has inspired our party from the moment of its birth - the vision to help create a united country, a united people, a South Africa in which every strand of racist domination will be torn asunder, a South Africa which will end the

exploitation of man by man, and which will be at the service of the overwhelming majority of the South African people, the working masses, a Socialist South Africa.

Forward to people's power!
Forward to a Socialist South Africa!
Long live the SACP! Long live the ANC.!
Long live Proletarian Internationalism!

"TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU: THE VOICE OF REASON, PEACE AND SOCIALISM": REPORT, 1981

[Report by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, National Chairman, and Moses Mabhida, General Secretary, of the South African Communist Party]

Note: This report is not reproduced here. It was published in *African Communist*, No. 86, third quarter 1981

FAREWELL TO HIS COMRADES: MESSAGE, SEPTEMBER 19, 1983

[Message to a meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, written and signed hours before his death, September 19, 1983]

Dearest Comrades and Colleagues,

It is with deep sorrow and great personal regret that I inform you of my inability to attend this most important meeting. It will be the first time since the reconstitution of our Party that I have been absent from ordinary or plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Furthermore, since my election as Chairman in 1972, this will be the first time I am deprived of the honour and privilege of presiding over the deliberations of the Central Committee. I am sure you will all understand that my absence is due entirely to my present poor state of health.

It is now, reflecting on events from my hospital bed, that I fully realise the faith, confidence, loyalty and dedication that comrades of the Party, at all levels, have shown to me, particularly over the last difficult months. The high standing our Party enjoys has also been demonstrated by the fact that messages of support during my illness have come from many fraternal parties, governments, liberation movements, cadres in the front-line at home, and not the least, from individuals throughout the world. This depth of concern and love, so freely expressed, has touched me deeply. I would like to say to all of you whom I have come to know and love over the many difficult years we have worked together, that your support and caring is what has sustained me. I am humbled to be the recipient of such devotion.

Our Party, whatever its weaknesses over the years, has also consistently been a great source of strength and power. This strength is rooted in the firm foundations laid, from the very beginning, the emphasis placed on a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by all cadres; on the emphasis of education classes and the correct teaching of Marxism-Leninism to cadres; on the unqualified discipline and high level of commitment

demanded from cadres; and on the unswerving loyalty and respect our Party has for the CPSU.

At this juncture in history, when the Reagan Administration is threatening the world with nuclear destruction, it is the fundamental task of communist parties and the international communist movement as a whole to awaken world public opinion and bring all their force to bear in the struggle to ensure that people understand that the defence of peace lies in support for the Soviet Union and the world socialist movement. The unity of communist parties is vital to counteract the propaganda efforts and disinformation of world imperialism, which is attempting to brand the Soviet Union as the enemy of humankind.

The years of painstaking work by the Party and the ANC are showing results. There is the continued tremendous growth of internal, organised opposition exemplified by, among other events, the momentous gathering in Cape Town during the last month which launched the United Democratic Front. At the same time this growth of resistance imposes its own exacting demands on our Party. The gains achieved must be consolidated. The mass of our people are united as never before to engage in all-out battle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime. It is our task and our revolutionary duty to ensure that our proud history of struggle bears fruit; that guidance and direction is clearly given; that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are correctly understood in the context of our struggle.

Our strength in the past has been built upon the depth of our Party's and cadres` ideological knowledge and understanding. The fierce ideological battle being waged on many fronts must not find our Party wanting. It is in this context that we need to assess here today, and in our forthcoming deliberations, our weaknesses and strengths, our successes and failures. We must frankly, honestly and realistically provide direction for enhancing our work in the testing time that lies ahead.

Of prime importance is the ideological work at every level. We need to critically assess our effectiveness in this key area. To what extent has it become understood by the people as their own policy? Have we made sufficient efforts to ensure our own cadres understand the Party's policy in present-day conditions, and, with such an understanding, do our cadres have a clear idea as to his or her duty in carrying out allocated tasks?

Today, almost as never before, the South African workers are on the march. In this field a great responsibility rests on our Party. We are the revolutionary Party of the working class, whose clear role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The working class, in essence the black working class in our country, is the pivotal force in the struggle for a revolutionary overthrow of the entire apartheid system. As such our Party must place its main focus and emphasis in organising, uniting and giving clear guidance to this class, which forms the backbone of our struggle. Included in this task is assessing our strength and weakness in the trade union movement as a whole, assessing (re-defining if necessary) the role of SACTU, and ensuring that our future work in this vital field meets the demands of the time.

The Botha regime, fighting for the very survival of Nationalist rule, has launched an offensive spearheaded by the creation of a President's Council, backed up by the constitutional proposals, the Koornhof Bills, and all-out effort at the creation of a black middle class. It is our urgent task to ensure all-out mobilisation to defeat this new enemy manoeuvre.

In his "Analysis of the Existing Situation and Landmarks for the Future", given in an address to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 15th, 1983, Comrade Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU, said: "In politics one pays for one's errors. When the guiding role of a Communist Party weakens, there arises the danger of sliding back to a bourgeois-reformist way of development. If a Party loses touch with the people, self-proclaimed aspirants to the role of those who express the interests of the working people emerge in the ensuing vacuum." We have witnessed the consequences of such developments in Poland. We, working in underground conditions of the harshest nature, must ensure that we leave no stone unturned in our

efforts to create the conditions whereby our Party, the working class and the liberation struggle are one and the same thing.

I have every confidence that this meeting will correctly analyse the present developments in our country and will establish guidelines and directives for our future effective working; will accurately assess the workings of our Party in keeping with the strengthening of our deep-rooted alliance with the African National Congress and the armed wing of the liberation movement, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*; will look at the role of the Party in the present-day heightened imperialist offensive and ensure that we continue to play our part in defending and strengthening the world socialist community, and, above all, will produce a programme of action that will enable our Party, our cadres and our people to be more than equal to the challenge that lies ahead.

I would like to say that throughout my life I have tried to serve my people, my country and the cause for which I have lived. There are many individuals who have greatly influenced me. Many incidents have contributed to my development as a Communist and freedom fighter. Figures such as Malume J. B.[148] and Mick[149] stand out as beacons, while over the years my thoughts never strayed far from those entombed, tragically for so long, on Robben Island and Pretoria Central, now Pollsmoor[150] or even "whereabouts unknown". Our duty, in paying tribute to their selfless courage, is to go forward with renewed vigour, rededication and self-sacrifice, characteristics which have consistently been our hallmarks.

Finally, to all of you I hold so dear, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for the years of true comradeship and love we have shared. I have indeed been privileged to know you.

I wish this meeting every success in its deliberation.

Long Live the South African Communist Party!

Long Live the African National Congress!

Forward to Freedom!

(sd.) Yusuf Dadoo
19th September 1983

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148 J. B. Marks

149 Michael Harmel

150 Prisons where political prisoners were held in South Africa

APPENDIX I

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

MAHATMA GANDHI AND DR. YUSUF M. DADOO

[Note: Most of this correspondence is from
the Pyarelal papers at the National Archives of India, New Delhi - a large part of which are also in the ANC Collection at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London. Sources are indicated for items which have been published.]

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LETTER FROM DR. Y. M. DADOO AND S. B. MEHD TO GANDHIJI, MARCH 15, 1939

15th March 1939

Mahatma Gandhi,
Satyagraha Ashram
Wardha

My dear *Bapu*,

We beg to seek your advice and guidance in the present difficulties facing the Indians in this country.

We presume that you are keenly following the moves of the Government and the Legislatures affecting our community, particularly on the question of segregation. Therefore without going into the details we beg to recapitulate the position since 1932. The first was the Act of 1932[1] making both business and residential occupations of any land by Indians illegal in the whole of the proclaimed area i.e., Johannesburg and the Reef. Then the appointment of Feetham Commission to demarcate certain areas predominantly occupied by the Indians for exemption from the operation of the Act of 1932. The Feetham Report was out in 1936. Last year this report was brought before the Parliament to be passed but the Government being afraid of a strong opposition to it, adjourned it to the next session, extending the period for the operation of the Act of 1932 upto April of this year. This report affects only the proclaimed areas, mostly of Johannesburg and the Reef. The rural districts of Transvaal are not affected thereby. Now Mr. Stuttaford, the Minister of the Interior, has brought forward a scheme of servitude affecting the whole of the Union. The details of this scheme are not out yet, but the main substance of it is that in any area, if 75 percent of the European property owners desire that area totally Europeanised, the title deeds of all the properties in that area shall have servitude clause inserted therein, prohibiting occupation of property in that area by any Non-European. This is segregation in fact though not in name. Besides this the Government Party Whip, Mr. Friend, has brought another bill of segregation for the whole of the Union.

Now we beg to recapitulate the actions taken by the Indian community since 1932. The Transvaal Indian Congress did not accept the Land Tenure Act of 1932 and resolved not to cooperate with the work of the Feetham Commission appointed under that Act. But the property owners and the trading licence holders formed a separate body called the Indian Commercial Association and cooperated with the Commission. During the whole period of the Commission's work, the Transvaal Indian Congress remained completely passive and inactive, while the Agent-General, Sir Kunvar Maharaj Singh, actively worked to induce the people to cooperate with the work of the Commission. Ultimately the Transvaal Indian Congress accepted the report of the Commission. Since this report was out the property owners commenced raising rents and this now creates a conflict of interest in the community. The Congress officials had gone to Cape Town last month to persuade the Government to get the Feetham Report through the Parliament during the current session. There had also gone the officials of the Natal Indian Congress to lay their protest against segregation. Regarding the Feetham Report, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Stuttaford, told them that whether they accept the servitude scheme or not he is going to bring it in the Parliament. The principle of this scheme is since then accepted by the Cabinet but the details are still to be discussed in the Government Party Caucus.

On the 1st of March the Transvaal Indian Congress called a mass meeting of the Transvaal Indians to make protest against the scheme of segregation. A resolution to that effect was moved

[1] Asiatic Land Tenure Act

by the Secretary of the Congress.

Dr. Dadoo moved an amendment declaring a definite policy of Passive Resistance in the event of the segregation bill being introduced in the Parliament. A copy of the amendment accompanies herewith.

Now we ask your advice, guidance and inspiration at this critical juncture.

For you to come to a right decision we beg to give you the idea of the feeling of the community here.

The leading officials of the Congress, Mr. Valod, the Chairman, and Mr. Nana, the Secretary,[2] are strongly against any decision at the present moment as to the definite step of Passive Resistance to be adopted by the community in the event of the segregation bill going before the Parliament. Their argument is that the Government and Opposition may take it as a threat and that may enrage them. Therefore the question of the final move to be made by the community should be left to the South African Indian Conference which comprises all the three provinces, viz., Transvaal, Natal and Cape. The property owners and the licence holders in the Gold Area, those who founded the Transvaal Indian Commercial Association for cooperation with the Feetham Commission, are strongly supporting them. They are so much against it that they are prepared to go to any length to nullify this decision about the Passive Resistance and to expose it to ridicule. I do not wish to impute any particular motive to them at this stage. Of the rest of the community, in the rural districts and in the suburbs of Transvaal, the property owners and the licence holders are wavering in their decision. Leaving these two sections, the rest of the community is by a vast majority wholeheartedly in favour of the decision and seem determined to follow the path of *Satyagraha* to stop the segregation measure from passing on to the Statute Book.

Yours faithfully

Y. M. Dadoo

S. B. Mehd

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO AND MANILAL GANDHI TO GANDHIJI, APRIL 22, 1939

MAHATMAJI
WARDHA

CABLED TODAY INDIAN GOVERNMENT THAT ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE OR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE IF BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS SEGREGATION AND IF FULL REPRESENTATION NOT ALLOWED TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS. ALSO INDIAN GOVERNMENTS ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTION TO AVOID NECESSITY INTERIM LEGISLATION BY UNION GOVERNMENT BY ACCEPTING ANY LEGISLATION OUT OF CONFERENCE TO HAVE RETROSPECTIVE EFFECT UNTHINKABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE STOP FEETHAM RECOMMENDATIONS AND ACT 1932 TANTAMOUNT SEGREGATION AND HARMFUL VITAL INTERESTS COMMUNITY REPEAL OF ACT ESSENTIAL STOP SATYAGRAHA SCHEME FORMULATED COMMUNITY READY FOR BATTLE SHALL LAUNCH OUT IF SEGREGATION INTRODUCED LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY STOP SUGGEST ADVISE CONGRESS AND LEADERS ASSEMBLY NONPARTICIPATION CONFERENCE EXPECT SUPREME GUIDANCE AND BLESSINGS PLEASE COMMUNICATE CABLE TO SUBHASBABOO AND JAWAHARLAL DOCTOR DADOO MANILAL LEADERS

[2] M. E. Valod and S. M. Nana, both businessmen

NATIONAL GROUP INDIAN CONGRESS 47 END STREET JOHANNESBURG

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO AND MANILAL GANDHI TO GANDHIJI, APRIL 30, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
CALCUTTA

UNION GOVERNMENT INTRODUCING INTERIM BILL TOMORROW. COMMUNITY RESOLVED OFFER SATYAGRAHA EXPECTING YOUR BLESSINGS AND GUIDANCE.

DOCTOR DADOO AND MANILAL 47 ENDSTREET JOHANNESBURG

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, MAY 4, 1939

DOCTOR DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG

YOU HAVE TO SUFFER NOT I THEREFORE LET GOD ALONE BE YOUR GUIDE

GANDHI

BRINDABAN
4 MAY 1939

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, May 10(?), 1939[3]

MAHATMA GANDHI
CARE HINDUSTAN TIMES
DELHI

MASS MEETING AUSPICES NATIONALIST GROUP TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS HELD JOHANNESBURG SUNDAY NINTH. ASWAT OLD PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNER UNDER MAHATMA GANDHI PRESIDED OVER SIX THOUSAND INDIANS. CHAIRMAN DECLARED ASIATICS TRANSVAAL LAND AND TRADING ACT WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE AS SAME VIOLATES SMUTS-GANDHI SETTLEMENT AND CAPETOWN AGREEMENT. WILL RESORT PASSIVE RESISTANCE COMBAT ACT. RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY. MASS MEETING TRANSVAAL INDIAN COMMUNITY HELD AUSPICES NATIONALIST GROUP TRANSVAAL INDIAN

[3] This telegram was sent after a mass public meeting organised by the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress on May 9, 1939. At that meeting, chaired by E.I. Aswat (Asvat), Dr. Dadoo was elected leader of passive resistance.

CONGRESS RECORDS DISAPPROVAL AGAINST ASIATICS LAND AND TRADING ACT PASSED BY UNION GOVERNMENT TEETH OF OPPOSITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDIA. ACT WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE TRANSVAAL INDIANS IN THAT (A) VIOLATES LETTER AND SPIRIT BOTH SMUTS GANDHI SETTLEMENT AND CAPETOWN AGREEMENT WHICH WERE BELIEVED TO HAVE PUT END TO ANTI-ASIATIC LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (B) RESTRICTS ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF RESIDENCE CURBS TRADING ACTIVITIES WHICH ONLY MEANS OF EXISTENCE AND DEPRIVES THEIR LAST VESTIGE SELF-RESPECT THEY POSSESSED IN TRANSVAAL THUS AIMING ULTIMATE ANNIHILATION (C) IS GRATUITOUS INSULT INDIAN NATION WHOSE OPPOSITION TO THE LAW BEING PASSED WAS DISREGARDED BY UNION GOVERNMENT. TRANSVAAL INDIAN COMMUNITY HAVING EXHAUSTED ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS PREVENT PASSING OF ACT MEETING THEREFORE DECLARES ONLY MEANS LEFT TO THEM COMBAT ACT IS PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND PROVE TO WORLD THAT TRANSVAAL INDIAN COMMUNITY PREPARED SUFFER UTTERMOST RATHER THAN CARRY BADGE OF INFERIORITY. MEETING REITERATES PLEDGE RESORT TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND DECLARES IT BE LAUNCHED IN TRANSVAAL ON FIRST AUGUST 1939. RESOLUTION TWO STATES MASS MEETING FEELS THAT CONTINUANCE OF AGENCY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER PASSING ASIATIC TRANSVAAL LAND AND TRADING ACT WHICH IS VIOLATION OF CAPETOWN AGREEMENT OF 1927 IS DEROGATORY TO THE HONOUR AND PRESTIGE OF THE INDIAN NATION. MEETING RESPECTFULLY REQUESTS GOVT OF INDIA TO WITHDRAW INDIAN AGENCY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA BRING PRESSURE UPON GOVT OF INDIA IN THAT RESPECT. TRANSVAAL INDIANS URGE YOU AND THROUGH YOU PEOPLE OF INDIA TO STAND BEHIND THEM IN THEIR HOUR OF TRIAL - DOCTOR DADOO LEADER

INTERVIEW BY GANDHIJI TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA, MAY 12, 1939[4]

Gandhiji said that he was deeply grieved that the Union Government seemed to have no finality about their policy in respect of Asiatics. Their past declarations were being disregarded and some of the recommendations made by their own Commissions were also being set at naught.

There was no wonder, he said, that a section of the British Indian settlers in South Africa resented this policy, and in despair were thinking of resorting to civil disobedience. He could only hope that wiser counsels would prevail and that the Union Government would retrace their steps and respect the rights acquired by British Indian settlers.

"THE LATEST MENACE": ARTICLE BY GANDHIJI IN *HARIJAN*, MAY 27, 1939[5]

May 23, 1939

It has been a matter of grief to me that the Union Government have not respected their own agreement regarding their treatment of British Indians. There has been a policy of progressive

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[4] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 69, page 259

[5] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 69, pages 292-293

stringency in their anti- Asiatic drive. One had hoped that what is known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 was the last word in this matter. It was also hoped that with virtual restriction of Indian immigration, there would be progressive amelioration in the condition of domiciled Indians. But that hope was dashed to pieces. Much deterioration has taken place since. There have been Round Table and other conferences, agreements have been reached, but never has any finality been felt by the Indians. Evidently the Union Government would not be happy till they have either driven away Indians whom they have given legislative protection or reduced their status to such an extent that no self-respecting Indian would care to remain in South Africa. I have therefore not discountenanced their reported decision to fight this latest menace of segregation through civil resistance if necessary. There must be perfect cohesion and union among the Indians who are divided into groups. And their resistance will be vain if they are not resolute in self-suffering. Public opinion in India including that of Europeans will, I hope, back the Indians in their unequal fight and call upon the Indian Government to exert its influence with the Union Government. Lastly, I appeal to the best mind of South Africa[6] to see that simple justice is not denied to the Indian settlers who have done no wrong to the country of their adoption.

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO GENERAL J. C. SMUTS, JULY 16, 1939

PREMIER
CAPE TOWN

IMPLORE YOU PREVENT INDIAN TRAGEDY BY REFRAINING FROM NEEDLESS WOUNDING OF THEIR SELF-RESPECT. IT TAKES VERY LITTLE TO PLACATE THEM, YOU HAVE GREAT POWER. MUST YOU USE IT AGAINST A HANDFUL WHO HAVE DONE UNION NO INJURY

GANDHI ABBOTTABAD

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO GENERAL J. C. SMUTS, JULY 17, 1939

ABBOTTABAD
17 JULY 1939

GENERAL SMUTS
CAPE TOWN

WHY IS AGREEMENT OF 1914 BEING VIOLATED WITH YOU AS WITNESS IS THERE NO HELP FOR INDIANS EXCEPT TO PASS THROUGH FIRE

GANDHI ABBOTTABAD

TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL J. C. SMUTS TO GANDHIJI, JULY 19, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI

[6] Presumably General Jan Christiaan Smuts

ABBOTTABAD

THANKS FOR WIRE SITUATION IS BEING CAREFULLY EXAMINED AND THERE IS NO INTENTION TO VIOLATE 1914 AGREEMENT KIND REMEMBRANCES AND GOOD WISHES

SMUTS

TELEGRAMS FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO AND MANILAL GANDHI, JULY 19,1939

ABBOTTABAD
19 JULY 1939

DR. DADOO

POSTPONE PASSIVE RESISTANCE TILL FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

GANDHI

GANDHI
INDIAN OPINION
PHOENIX (NATAL)

POSTPONE PASSIVE RESISTANCE TILL FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS CABLED DADOO

BAPU

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO AND MANILAL GANDHI TO GANDHIJI, JULY 22,1939

DEVADAS GANDHI
CARE HINDUSTAN TIMES
DELHI

INFORM *BAPU* URGENTLY RECD HIS CABLE. ALL PLANS ARRANGED FOR CAMPAIGN. UNLESS SOUND REASONS FOR POSTPONEMENT OUR POSITION WITH PEOPLE WILL BE PRECARIOUS. WITH EXCEPTION OF FEW SELF-INTERESTED WHOLE OF TRANSVAAL INDIANS BEHIND US. OPPOSITIONISTS AVERSE TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE ALTOGETHER THEY CONTEND POSTPONEMENT ADVISE (ADVISABLE?) PENDING FORTHCOMING NEW LEGISLATION NEXT YEAR. PRESENT MEASURE AFFORDS MORE THAN ENOUGH

REASON FOR ACTION WITHOUT LEAST DELAY. WE HAVE DOUBTS MISREPRESENTATIONS MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE TO YOU. HUMBLY REQUEST YOU CABLE FULL DETAILS YOUR REASONS FOR POSTPONEMENT. SEND CABLE 47 ENDSTREET JOHANNESBURG OR PHOENIX - DADOO MANILAL

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, JULY 25,1939

DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG (SOUTH AFRICA)

POSTPONEMENT ADVISED BECAUSE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEEDING RESULT EXPECTED SOON ANNOUNCE POSTPONEMENT DUE MY ADVICE IF PEOPLE IN EARNEST NOTHING LOST BY SHORT POSTPONEMENT TREAT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

BAPU

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, JULY 27,1939[7]

MAHATMA GANDHI
ABBOTABAD

RECEIVED CABLE ADVISING US POSTPONEMENT PASSIVE RESISTANCE FIRST AUGUST UNTIL FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS STOP ADVISABLE YOU MAKE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BOTH IN INDIA AND IN SOUTH AFRICA RE POSTPONEMENT STOP UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN INDIAN COMMUNITY DETERMINED AND RESOLUTE TO LAUNCH PASSIVE RESISTANCE NEWS WILL BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD AND OUR CAUSE STRENGTHENED IF IT COMES FROM YOU STOP WE PREPARED TO FOLLOW YOUR ADVICE

DADOO 47 ENDSTREET

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS, JULY 29, 1939[8]

I have been in telegraphic correspondence with Dr. Dadoo, leader of the Passive Resistance Committee in South Africa. I have no hesitation in asking the Passive Resistance Committee to postpone for a time, the proposed launching of the struggle on 1st August. I do so

[7] A copy of this telegram was sent to Wardha.

[8] *Hindustan Times*, July 30, 1939; *Harijan*, August 5, 1939; *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 70, page 44.

because I have some hope of an honourable settlement. I know that the Government of India as well as the British Government are trying to obtain relief. I have put myself in touch with the Ministers. In the circumstances I think a brief postponement of the struggle to be necessary. I am fully aware of the enthusiasm of the resisters. They have proved their mettle before, and they will do so again if it becomes necessary. But it is a code with passive resisters to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance, if it can be done honourably. Every cessation in search of peace adds strength to real fighters. Let them remember that the Cape Town Settlement of 1914 was the outcome of a cessation of struggle for the sake of peace. I hope that the proposed cessation will lead to a similar result. Should it unfortunately prove otherwise and should the struggle begin, let Dr. Dadoo and his fellow-resisters know that the whole of India will be at their back.

[The Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress then decided to follow Gandhiji's advice. Dr. Dadoo issued a statement to the press announcing postponement of passive resistance and said:

> "Mahatma Gandhi has been our guide and mentor in all that the Passive Resistance Council has been doing in this matter, and we shall wholeheartedly await his advice; for we realise that his interest in the cause of the Indians of South Africa has not abated one whit, even though many years have elapsed since he left South Africa.
>
> "I desire, however, to stress the fact that the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Act of 1939 aims at the virtual economic extinction of the Indian community of the Transvaal, and casts a slur of inferiority on the whole Indian nation.
>
> "The Passive Resistance Council sincerely hopes that the negotiations that are now proceeding will result in an honourable settlement."]

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, AUGUST 1, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
WARDHAGANJ

FOLLOWING YOUR ADVICE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED BRIEF POSTPONEMENT LAUNCHING PASSIVE RESISTANCE FIRST AUGUST STOP COMMUNITY GRATEFUL YOUR DIRECT INTEREST AND GUIDANCE IN OUR DIFFICULT STRUGGLE STOP ACT 1939[9] IN OPERATION REPEAL ESSENTIAL SETTLEMENT STOP LAND TENURE ACT 1932 ROOT PRESENT EVIL PRAY BEAR IN MIND ALL OUR DISABILITIES AND RESTRICTIONS RIGHTS SINCE 1885 RE IMMIGRATION TRADE OWNERSHIP AND TRADING LICENCES WHILE NEGOTIATING STOP COMMUNITY PREPARED FOR STRUGGLE REQUEST KEEP US INFORMED PROGRESS NEGOTIATIONS

DADOO

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO MAHATMA GANDHI, AUGUST 9, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI

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[9] Asiatic (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939

WARDHAGANJ

MINISTER STUTTAFORD PRESS INTERVIEW SATURDAY STATED NO CONFERENCE AND UNWILLING TO OPEN INDIAN QUESTION. FURTHER STRESSED PRESENT ACT FOR TWO YEARS BUT BEFORE SUCH EXPIRATION HE HOPES TO PASS PERMANENT LEGISLATION. OUR PRESENT FIGHT IS AGAINST 1939 ACT. MINISTERS INTERVIEW MAKES PROSPECTS FOR HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT GLOOMY AND DOUBTFUL. ANTI-ASIATIC PROPAGANDA INDICATES IMMINENT SEGREGATION. HANDFUL INDIAN ANTI-PASSIVE RESISTERS MISCONSTRUING OBJECT POSTPONEMENT STRUGGLE OTHER OPINION EARLIEST LAUNCHING STRUGGLE DESIRABLE PRAY CABLE IN DETAIL PRECISE NATURE AND BASIS NEGOTIATIONS AND FIX TIME LIMIT FOR POSTPONEMENT WE ARE NOT INFORMED WHAT NEGOTIATIONS TRANSPIRING

DADOO

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, AUGUST 11, 1939

DR. DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG

PENDING FINAL DIRECTION RATHER DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS STILL GOING PLEAD FOR PATIENCE WE MUST LOSE NO CHANCE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT WASTE TIME

GANDHI

"INDIAN STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA": ARTICLE BY GANDHIJI IN *HARIJAN*, AUGUST 19, 1939[10]

Whether our countrymen in South Africa have to take up passive resistance or not, there is no doubt that they will not be able to vindicate their position if they cannot close their ranks and act as one man and act unselfishly. Their corporate existence cannot be maintained with honour, if individuals in order to serve their selfish ends compromise the community's interest and honour. There is, at the time of writing these lines, a cleavage between the local Congress and the passive resisters. The resisters seem to have the bulk of the Indian population with them. But the name and prestige of the South African Indian Congress is with the non-resisters. Now there is a prospect of a lawsuit over the possession of the Congress books, funds and offices. I would warn the resisters against falling into the legal trap. Let them follow my example. The equivalent to the Congress in my days was the British Indian Association. From the very commencement of passive resistance, I recognised that all Indians would not and could not join the struggle although all might, as they actually were, in sympathy with it. Although it was open to me, being secretary, to utilise the name and prestige of the Association, I founded a separate organisation,[11] leaving the British Indian Association free to act as it might within constitutional limits. It was possible by

[10] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 70, pages 91-92

[11] Passive Resistance Association

this arrangement to protect the non- resisters from embarrassment that would undoubtedly be caused by non-resisters if they were members of the same body. Let the present passive resisters work along their own lines and rely upon getting more than prestige by their strength, sacrifice and capacity for suffering. A passive resister should have a generous heart and represent not only his own companions but even his opponents. Whatever rights he secures, he will secure for all. He is a friend of all and enemy of none. That is the first condition of successful passive or civil resistance.

LETTER FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, AUGUST 19, 1939

Segaon, Wardha
19 August 1939

My dear Dadoo,

It has stirred me to find you leading the Satyagraha band. Manilal and Medh have together given me a good account of you. It makes me glad to know that you are son of a valued client of mine.

You know that I am watching your movement as closely as I can. You have done well in sending me the relevant literature. There is just a ray of hope that we shall reach a settlement. But you will not expect anything heroic nor will you promise great things. If you have to fight it will be a fight for honour. You won't get anything very substantial. Too much has already been surrendered during these years. You are engaged in a very hard struggle. And if as a result of the present effort a handful of you make it the mission of your life to serve the cause there you will gradually build up a prestige that will stand you in good stead.

Yours sincerely

M.K. Gandhi

TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL J. C. SMUTS TO GANDHIJI, AUGUST 19, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
ABBOTTABAD

YOUR WIRE OF THE 16TH OF JULY GOVERNMENT HAS WHOLE QUESTION UNDER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AND WILL COMMUNICATE IN DUE COURSE WITH INDIAN GOVT. I HOPE OUR PROPOSAL WILL REMOVE CAUSES OF EXISTING FRICTION

PRIME MINISTER

LETTER FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, AUGUST 23, 1939

47 End Street
Johannesburg
23rd August 1939

My dear *Bapu*,

Uptil now I have studiously avoided writing you as I did not desire to encroach upon your most valuable time. But lately some new developments have taken place which I consider it advisable to place before you.

The Agent-General has taken the officials of the South African Indian Congress into his confidence over the reply sent by the Union Government to the Indian Government. We, the members of the Passive Resistance Council, have been deliberately kept in the dark. I have learnt from a reliable source that the reply of the Union Government rejects the Indian Government offer for a Round Table Conference and signifies its intention of carrying on with the contemplated legislation.

From this it appears that these negotiations are carried on in regards to the contemplated legislation rather than on the Act of 1939 which was recently enacted.

Our fight is based on the repeal or the suspension of the operation of the offensive clauses and cognisance of this fact must be taken in negotiating any settlement.

Messrs. Kajee and Nana suggested to the Agent that they should press for a judicial commission to investigate the allegation of the penetration of European areas by Asiatics. The Agent rejected this suggestion on the grounds that such a plea has already been rejected by the Ministers of the Union Government. To my mind the attitude of asking for commission betrays our weaknesses and eventually leads to the conclusion of a *dishonourable* settlement.

At present I am in Durban with Mehd *Kaka*[12] and we have been discussing the whole question fully with *Bhai*[13] Manilal. We are here on the invitation of the Agent- General who invited us to come down to Durban to discuss the question of the constitution of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Mr. S. M. Nana, one of the present secretaries of the T.I.C., who is still carrying on despite the majority verdict of `no confidence` in him, also came down with three of his friends. We together with the officials of the S.A.I.C. met at the Agent's place and after prolonged discussion failed to reach a decision on the vexed question of whether the T.I.C. had a constitution or not. A tentative agreement was reached by which the S.A.I.C. officials are given the task of drafting a constitution after consulting both the parties in the Transvaal and then placing a draft before the masses of the Transvaal for adoption.

I am confident that a vast majority of the people are as one in their determination to support the Passive Resistance movement and a mass meting will sweep aside the handful of officials who have harmed the cause of the community.

So much for the present. I shall keep you informed of our progress.

Praying for Kasturba's and your good health

Yours

Yusuf Dadoo

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[12] "*Kaka*" (uncle) is an expression of respect and affection.

[13] Brother

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, AUGUST 24, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
WARDHAGANJ

RELIABLE INFORMATION THAT UNION GOVERNMENT REJECTED INDIAN GOVERNMENT OFFER FOR ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE UNION GOVERNMENT INTIMATED THAT ADVANCE COPY CONTEMPLATED LEGISLATION SHALL BE FORWARDED TO INDIAN GOVERNMENT STOP APPEAR NEGOTIATIONS PROCEEDING ON FUTURE LEGISLATION STOP CONCERNED NO MENTION ACT 1939 ON WHICH WE PLEDGED STRUGGLE PRAY INFORM PROGRESS

DADOO

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, AUGUST 28, 1939

MAKING EFFORT. HAVE INFORMATION SAYING UNION GOVERNMENT WILL CONCILIATE INDIAN OPINION NOTHING RELIABLE WILL SOON GIVE DEFINITE NEWS

GANDHI

LETTER FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, SEPTEMBER 2, 1939

47, End Street
Johannesburg
2nd September 1939

My dear *Bapu*,

Your letter reached me on Thursday. It is encouraging to know and feel that despite the heavy responsibilities that rest on you, you have interested yourself so keenly in our arduous struggle.

The main points at issue and the `knotty` problems in regard to the question of European support, the proposed visit of Rev. Andrews, legal advice etc., that confront us are dealt with at length by Mehd *Kaka* in an accompanying letter to you and therefore I do not propose to enlarge upon them.

The European crisis which has taken a very serious turn in the last day or two should not deter us from going ahead with our struggle as the onus for all consequences must rest on the Union Government if it deems fit to push us in an awkward and intolerable position.

In regard to European support I have approached many prominent Europeans including

the Very Rev. Palmer, Mr. McLeod, the editor of *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. Long, the manager of Mosenthal Bros. and an influential member of European society, who have all assured me of their tacit support but appear to be apprehensive to lend their active support at the moment. Besides, one could not put much reliance on the word of a European these days anyhow!

Please convey my best wishes to *Ba*.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours

Yusuf Dadoo

LETTER FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, SEPTEMBER 19, 1939[14]

My dear Dadoo,

I was glad to have your reply. Of course there is no absolute reason why passive resistance should be stopped because war has broken out in Europe. But wisdom may dictate that course. Of this you should be the best judges. I am trying my best to have the enforcement of the obnoxious law postponed. As the letters are delayed, you will use the cable when necessary.

Yours

BAPU

[On the same day, Gandhiji sent the following letter[15] to Surendra B. Medh[16]:

Chi. Medh,

I have your letter. You will see (for yourself) from the letter to *Bhai* Dadoo that I understand what you say. I am doing all that I can. Manilal must be getting these letters, so I won't be particular in writing to him. What is this about somebody in Boksberg having been killed? There seems to have been some report to that effect in *The Rand Daily Mail*. It seems there too a terrorist gang has come into existence.

Blessings from

BAPU

LETTER FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, SEPTEMBER 27, 1939[17]

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[14] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 70, page 187

[15] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 70, page 188

[16] Also spelt "Mehd"

My dear Dadoo,

Haji Ismail Bhabha writes complaining that *satyagrahis* are acting violently, that they had gone to the June meeting taking lethal weapons with them, that they were exploiting Muslim women, etc. I have written to him saying that I am writing to you. I suggest you seeing him. Our duty is to see even the opponent's viewpoint and meet him wherever we can.

I hope things are shaping and proceeding well there.

Yours,

BAPU

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, OCTOBER 21, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
WARDHA

ACT OF 1939 INFLICTING INTOLERABLE HARDSHIPS ON GROWING NUMBER OF OUR PEOPLE PATIENCE STRETCHED TO STRAINING POINT PRAY CABLE DEFINITE ADVICE

DADOO

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, OCTOBER 23, 1939

DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG

ADVICE PATIENCE SEND DETAILS WHAT GOES ON

BAPU

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO GENERAL J. C. SMUTS, OCTOBER 23, 1939

GENERAL SMUTS
PRETORIA

DISTURBING NEWS FROM INDIAN FRIENDS JOHANNESBURG. TRUST YOU ARE

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[17] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Volume 70, page 211*

NOT ENFORCING NEW LEGISLATION SUGGEST YOUR INVITING DR. DADOO SEE YOU

GANDHI

TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL SMUTS TO MAHATMA GANDHI, NOVEMBER 2, 1939

MAHATMA GANDHI
WARDHAGANJ
INDIA

NO JUSTIFICATION FOR ALARM DR DADOO EVIDENTLY MISINFORMED AND IS BEING GRANTED INTERVIEW BY MINISTER OF INTERIOR
PRIME MINISTER

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO GENERAL J. C. SMUTS, NOVEMBER 8, 1939

PRIME MINISTER
PRETORIA

YOUR KIND CABLE GREATLY RELIEVED

GANDHI

LETTER FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, NOVEMBER 4, 1939

47 End Street
Johannesburg
4th November 1939

My dear *Bapu*,

I was very glad to receive your two letters as well as a cable reply advising us to have patience.

The position of Indians in the Transvaal just now is very delicate indeed.

No step has been taken by the governmental offices to deal with the large number of applications for licences (new ones, transfers and renewals) made by Indians since the enactment of the obnoxious law onto the Statute Book.

Mehd *Kaka* saw the Chief Immigration Officer whose department has been empowered to deal with applications made under the terms of the new law, a few days ago. He stated that the policy of his department in dealing with applications for licences shall be as follows:

(a) The number of licences held by Indians shall, as far as possible, be reduced to one licence per Indian.

(b) The number of new licences that *may* be granted shall depend on the number of licences reduced under (a).

The Agent-General informed me that the Minister of Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, has assured him that the new law will be operated in a sympathetic manner.

If the Chief Immigration Officer's policy is a foretaste of the "sympathetic manner" in which the Government desires to deal with the whole matter then the Indians may well look ahead to a period laden with considerable hardships.

Moreover, in a few cases, Indians have been convicted for trading without licences whilst their applications, mostly for transfers, have not even been considered by the department.

My feeling in the matter is that if no substantial relief is given to the Indians then there is no alternative left to us but to resort to P. R.[18]

On the question of the penetration of European areas by Asiatics, the Minister of Interior intends to have a departmental inquiry into the matter. The inquiry might reveal `penetration` in not a few cases. The question here is not whether Asiatics have actually penetrated into White Areas but one of the innumerable restrictions imposed upon the Indians as such.

Since the P. R. Council has postponed the movement on your advice, we look to you for future guidance. A few of us have taken oath in public that we shall start P. R. if the harmful operation of the new Act is not stayed. Therefore, I appeal to you in the event of the Union Government remaining adamant on this issue, to give us the necessary leave to carry on our struggle. Either an honourable settlement or P. R. can solve our problems.

There is no truth whatsoever in the allegation of Haji Ismail Bhabha. I can assure you that the Satyagrahis remained ever loyal to the principles of non-violence and never for a single moment did they countenance violent methods. Some Muslim women out of sheer enthusiasm and in complete accord with the desires and wishes of the chief members of their households, did attend our meeting. In my opinion, it was an event of tremendous value to the progress of our community. I shall most certainly see him but might I proffer a medical opinion, without malice affecting it, that his mental stability is open to question. As you rightly say, our duty is to win our opponents by love and understanding.

The Attorney-General has declined to prosecute the accused in June the 4th case. They were committed for trial by the presiding magistrate in a preparatory examination held recently. Legal opinion declares that a *prima facie* case was made out. It seems obvious that the Attorney-General was influenced purely by extra-legal considerations.[19] Such are the ways of corrupt

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[18] Passive Resistance

[19] At a public meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress on June 4, 1939, gangsters attacked members of the Nationalist Group, led by Dr. Dadoo, who pressed for a decision to launch passive resistance against the anti-Indian legislation. Dr. Dadoo escaped narrowly, but Mr. Dayabhai Govindji was killed and several others

society!

With love to *Ba* and you,

Yours

Yusuf Dadoo

LETTER FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, DECEMBER 13, 1939

My dear Dadoo,

I have your clear and firm letter. Gen. Smuts sent me a cable in reply to mine that the minister was seeing you. He said too that I need have no anxiety. My opinion therefore is based on this assurance. The brunt has to be borne by you. Therefore my advice must always be in favour of caution. But you must be the final judges. Only you should know that just now you should entertain no hope of much work being done here. You will have to fight single handed. If therefore you can tide over the war period, it will be good. But I can imagine a situation when submission would be unmanly. This is a matter of feeling. Of this you must be the sole judges. You will now act as you think best. You will keep me informed of the doings there. Please show this to Medh and Manilal. I am not writing separately to them.

Love

Bapu

Segaon
3.12.39

"DISTURBING NEWS": ARTICLE BY GANDHIJI IN *HARIJAN*, FEBRUARY 3, 1940[20]

The news from South Africa is disturbing. Dr. Malan[21] is on the war-path. He will enforce segregation by law. He will prohibit legal unions between the Whites and Asiatics. He will tolerate the Indians` presence only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, never as human beings, having equal opportunities and rights with the Whites. Here in India, which is daily growing in

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injured.

Police arrested five persons - relatives of S. M. Nana and A. I. Kajee, secretaries of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses - but they were not prosecuted.

[20] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 71, pages 144-14

[21] Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party in the South African Union Assembly

consciousness of her self-respect and her right to be regarded as a free nation, this racial bar is resented. India's independence is coming sooner than many people think. So far as I can see nothing can stop her march to her natural destiny. I myself envisage an alliance with Great Britain and the Dominions, if the freedom is to come as a result of an honourable understanding between the two countries. But if the statesmen of South Africa continue the attitude of race superiority, alliance between unequals would become an impossibility. I look upon this war as a divine judgement. The whole world is directly or indirectly affected by it. Every nation subordinate or free has to make its choice. Personal wishes of the present actors are likely to be confounded. I would urge Dr. Malan and those South Africans who think with him to take a long view of things. He is of course on the right track if he thinks, as many Africans[22] do, that God has created the White man to be lord and master of the Coloured man. I hope that Dr. Malan is not one of them. Anyway I hope General Smuts will resist the pressure that is being put upon him to adopt the reactionary legislations suggested by Dr. Malan.

Segaon, January 27, 1940

LETTER FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, MAY 22, 1940

47 End Street
Johannesburg
22/5/40

My dear *Bapu*,

I hope that by now Mehd *Kaka* must have paid his respects to you and that you may have learnt from him of the state of affairs in South Africa.

The Union Government has seen fit to appoint a Commission to inquire into alleged penetration. We have written to the Minister protesting against its appointment and have outlined our case in a letter written to the Foreign Affairs Dept. of the Congress, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your information.

We are planning to boycott the Commission. The Act of 1939 is hitting us severely. The officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress are still holding on to office. We desire unity but the prospect is not hopeful in view of the fact that the officials of the T.I.C. have no scruples and are only concerned with the preservation of their and their friends` selfish interests. We, on the other hand, stand for the principles of justice and truth and under no duress can we sacrifice them for a sham and unreal unity.

You may rest assured, my dear *Bapu*, that our stand shall always be for truth.

Ismail Cachalia sends his kind regards to you and *Ba*. Also my kindest regards and respect to *Ba* and yourself.

Yours

Yusuf Dadoo

[The letter addressed by Dr. Dadoo, as leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress to "The Secretary, Indian Foreign Affairs, Indian National Congress, India" reads

[22] Presumably "Afrikaners"

as follows:

Dear friend,

The South African Government has appointed a Commission to inquire into the alleged penetration of predominantly European areas by Asiatics, the terms of reference of which are as follows:

"To inquire into and report whether, and if so to what extent, Indians have, since January 1, 1927, commenced occupation of, or acquired, sites for trading or for residential purposes in predominantly European areas in the Provinces of Natal and the Transvaal and the reason for such occupation or acquisition."

The Nationalist Group is definitely against the appointment of such a Commission as its appointment presupposes a guilt on the part of the Indian community. Though the Commission is called a "fact- finding commission" the motive of it all is to systematically drive the Indians in ghettos and place a further barrier on the means of livelihood.

The Asiatic (Transvaal Land & Trading) Act of 1939 is taking its toll in the economic existence of the community. Permits for new licences are not granted, and even transfers are rejected, and as a result the number of unemployed is increasing.

Since the Cape Town agreement of 1926, despite the conciliatory attitude and chauvinistic role of the Indian leaders, the succeeding Union Government has piled legislation upon legislation to deprive the Indian people of their meagre and limited rights.

The time has now come when the Indian community should put up a bold front against the oppressive measures of the Government, as otherwise they will be faced with the real danger of extinction. Therefore, the Nationalist Group believing as it does in the power and the efficacy of a militant struggle by the people, shall always be prepared to oppose and if needs be, launch out on a struggle against any attack that may be made to harass, humiliate or oppress the Indian people.

The Group has sent the following letter to the Minister of the Interior, protesting against the Commission.

21/5/40

The Secretary
Minister of the Interior
Pretoria

Sir,

The Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress lodges its strongest protest against the appointment by the Government of the Penetration Commission to investigate alleged occupational and residential penetration by Asiatics into predominantly European areas in the provinces of Natal and the Transvaal.

The aim of appointing the commission is to clear the way for imposing further

unjust and unwarranted restrictions on the already meagre and highly unsatisfactory rights of movement, trade and residence possessed by the Indian people in the provinces of Natal and the Transvaal.

It is a gratuitous insult to the honour of the Indian community. It exposes in no uncertain manner that the intention of the present Government is to systematically carry through to its inevitable conclusion the policy of segregation laid down and followed by its predecessors. It is heartrending to think that at this most critical juncture in the history of mankind when the warring Imperialist Powers of Europe are engaged in history's most merciless human slaughter, and particularly when the Union Government claims to have sent our country to war to fight for Democracy and Justice, that the Union Government should make a naive move to resort to undemocratic methods to harass the Indian section of the Union population.

Gradually but surely the Indian community faces extinction; under these circumstances no one can expect the Indian people to submit to such an unjust policy and undemocratic and oppressive measures of the Government of this country. The Indian community cannot if it wants to survive as a respectable community and shall not under any circumstances submit to humiliation and dishonour.

I am
Yours faithfully,

Y. M. Dadoo
Leader Nationalist Group]

TELEGRAM FROM DR. DADOO TO GANDHIJI, JUNE 1946[23]

CONSIDER POLICE ACTION AND ARREST FIRST VICTORY. SPIRIT OF RESISTERS EXCELLENT. THEIR NON-VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR UNDER EXTREME PROVOCATION AND ASSAULTS MAGNIFICENT. STRUGGLE CONTINUES. MORE AND MORE VOLUNTEERS WILL GO INTO ACTION ACCORDING TO PLAN. WE SHALL RESIST.

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, JULY 1946[24]

YOUR WIRE HOPE RESISTERS WILL REMAIN FIRM TO THE END STOP EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE THIS END

GANDHI

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[23] This telegram was sent by Dr. Dadoo, on behalf of the Joint Passive Resistance Council, after the arrest of the first batch of passive resisters in the Indian Passive Resistance Movement of 1946-48. Gandhiji actively supported the movement.

[24] Leaflet of the Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress, July 25, 1946

TELEGRAM FROM GANDHIJI TO DR. DADOO, OCTOBER 10, 1946[25]

DOCTOR DADOO
DURBAN

GLAD PASSIVE RESISTERS ADHERE NON-VIOLENCE. HOPE NO WEAKENING OR DIVISION AMONG OUR PEOPLE

GANDHI

GANDHIJI'S MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA, MAY 18, 1947[26]

Field Marshal Smuts is a trustee for Western civilisation. I still cling to the hope that he will not sustain it on the suppression of Asiatics and Africans. South Africa should present a blend of the three.

To the people of South Africa, to whom I am no stranger, I would say that they should not make the position of their representatives impossible by their unwarranted prejudice against colour. The future is surely not with the so-called white races if they keep themselves in *purdah*. The attitude of unreason will mean a third war which sane people should avoid. Political co-operation among all the exploited races in South Africa can only result in mutual goodwill, if it is wisely directed and based on truth and non-violence.

I have no doubt that those South African Indians who seek to create a division will do harm to themselves and to the great cause of liberty for which the movement of *satyagraha* has stood and must stand.

To the *satyagrahis* I would advise strict adherence to the fundamentals of *satyagraha* which literally means force of truth and this is for ever invincible. It is a good sign that they have a progressive European group solidly behind them. The *satyagrahis* of South Africa should know that they have India at their back in their struggle for preserving the self-respect of the Indians in South Africa.

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[25] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 85, page 442

[26] Gandhiji gave this message to Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker who met him in Patna on May 18 and 19, 1947.

Harijan, May 25, 1947; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Volume 87, page 492

APPENDIX II

ABOUT DR DADOO

MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC, DELIVERED BY O.R. TAMBO, PRESIDENT OF THE ANC, AT THE FUNERAL OF DR. DADOO, LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1983

We are gathered here to pay homage to an outstanding leader of the African liberatory struggle, a comrade and friend who devoted most of his life in the service of his people, a communist of world prominence; a dedicated and convinced internationalist who has played an effective role in the anti-imperialist movement for world peace and security and for the social progress of mankind.

Loved and admired throughout our movement, 'Doc' - as he was popularly known - combined the best qualities of a revolutionary patriot and dynamic leader of the working class. Because of his clear understanding of the factors underlying national oppression and economic exploitation of the black South African masses, he was able in his own unassuming manner, to guide and inspire others to commit themselves fully in the struggle for the noble ideals of freedom, democracy and a just social order. Most important of all, he led by example.

Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo was a first-born in a relatively well-to-do family. But material wealth had no attraction for him. He studied medicine, qualifying in Edinburgh University in 1936. On his return to South Africa, he started his medical practice amidst the poverty-stricken and starving victims of racial oppression and class exploitation. The focus of his preoccupation soon shifted from healing the sick to working for the abolition of the system by which an entire people suffered at the hands of a few. He turned his abundant talents and inexhaustible energies to the arena of political action - the struggle to resolve the fundamental question of political power and social justice in our country.
Thus in 1939 Yusuf was involved in a campaign of passive resistance against the pernicious segregation laws. With characteristic singleness of purpose, he pursued the question of struggle of all the downtrodden to its logical conclusion. And so he worked tirelessly to get the Indian people to see the solution to their own problems within the context of a broader national struggle involving Africans, so-called Coloureds and progressive whites.

In 1947 we see the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker pact which served as a forerunner to the Congress Alliance. This was in line with his advice to his fellow Indians that "our place in a free South Africa is going to be decided by the role we continue to play in the liberation struggle... It is by fighting side by side with our African and Coloured brothers and sisters, it is by our persistent and perpetual resistance to apartheid, by our willingness to make the supreme sacrifice that we shall help to build a secure place for ourselves, our children and for all oppressed people in a free, democratic South Africa."

And yet it would be wrong to conceive of Comrade Dadoo only as a leader of the Indian community of our population. He was one of the foremost national leaders of our country, of the stature of Chief Luthuli, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Bram Fischer, Nelson Mandela and others. Equally, it would be wrong to see him only in the context of political giants, for 'Doc' was at home with the younger generation of comrades like Solomon Mahlangu, Simon Mogoerane and other youth militants, some of whom like Mahlangu have already paid the supreme sacrifice for the just cause of our entire people. This accessibility flowed from his friendly nature and simple disposition.

'Doc' did not impose himself on others and yet had clear convictions and was firm in defence of his principles. It is this streak of humility characteristic of his whole nature that most endeared 'Doc' to our membership and reinforced their own commitment to the cause he served with unsurpassed dedication and distinction.

In 1955, the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter conferred on Dr. Dadoo, together with Chief Luthuli and Father Huddleston, the most prestigious award of our movement - *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe*. This was a fitting tribute to a man who had played an important role in shaping the revolutionary orientation of our entire movement towards the noble ideals of true revolutionary democracy for all the citizens of our future democratic state.

Following the ban of the African National Congress in 1960 and the increased onslaught of the regime on the liberation struggle, Dr. Dadoo was among those who were assigned the task of mobilising international support abroad. He has attended numerous meetings and travelled to many countries in the service of our people, of Africa and of world peace. But at no time did he break contact with the situation, the developments, and the people in South Africa.

In particular, after the Morogoro Consultative Conference in 1969, which adopted our current document on Strategy and Tactics, 'Doc' became the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council which was created with the special task of organising, directing and intensifying the struggle inside our country. His contribution as a member of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress cannot possibly be overstated.

At the time of his death, Comrade Dadoo was serving as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the ANC Politico-Military Council, and has a distinct share in the escalating advances being scored by our struggle. We can truly say of him: He died spear in hand - like a true warrior.

Comrade Dadoo departs from our midst at a most crucial historical turning point in the struggle of our people. The level of our people's political and military confrontation against the brutal apartheid regime has risen as never before, under conditions of heightened repression and fascist terror. The irresistible march of the super-exploited black working class, of the landless masses in the impoverished rural areas, and of the glorious youth and women continues to lay bare the irreconcilable contradictions of the apartheid system which continuously plunges headlong into an ever-deepening crisis.

At this moment when the regime seeks to divide our people with its ploy of a tripartite parliament, it is fitting to recall Comrade Dadoo's precious legacy in his own words: "The lesson of our history is that the key to freedom is a united people, fighting for a single common goal - people's power over every inch of indivisible South Africa. While deriving inspiration from the deeds and traditions of the past resistance, we must deepen the unifying national consciousness of all our people...which is a prerequisite for a nation-wide uprising and victory along the lines of the Freedom Charter."

The love ‘Doc’ had for his fellow human beings extended beyond the confines of his motherland, South Africa. As a true patriot, Dadoo understood already in the thirties that the struggle in South Africa is part of a much wider struggle against capitalism, colonialism and for national liberation, peace and social progress. We owe it to the stalwarts like him that today our vanguard liberation movement, the African National Congress, enjoys high international prestige as a genuine spokesman and leader of our people's advance to the seizure of power.

Comrade *Mota*, as he was affectionately addressed by comrades-in-arms, believed in the unity of the socialist community of nations. He attached great importance to the role of the democratic, peace-loving forces of the Western world in the struggle for peace and progress. He worked tirelessly for the unity of these forces with the national liberation movement which together constituted the ever-advancing revolutionary process engulfing the majority of mankind.
It is against this background that *Mota*, characteristically devoted and dedicated to the revolutionary cause right to the end of his life and confident as ever of our inevitable victory, gave to us all his farewell message, his parting call - the last and the greatest, when, moments before his final breath, he declared: "The struggle must go on."

We assure you, Comrade Yusuf, the struggle will go on. Victory shall be ours. This grievous occasion brings us together less to mourn your tragic departure than to close ranks and advance, united, to the completion of your unfinished task.

In solemn tribute to this great son of our country, we dip our revolutionary banner. To his family and relations we express our sincerest condolences.

The memory and example of Yusuf Mota Dadoo will continue to inspire us till final victory and beyond.

Tsamaea Hantle Ngoaneso - Qhawe Lamaqhawe!
Seaparankoe!

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE DEATH OF DR DADOO

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party regrets to announce the death on September 19 of its national chairman, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, a major leader of the national liberation movement, at the age of 74.

The oppressed peoples of South Africa, and in particular the working class, as well as the international communist movement, have lost the services of an outstanding leader who devoted his entire life to the cause of national liberation, socialism and world peace.

Born in South Africa in 1909, Yusuf Dadoo graduated as a medical doctor at the University of Edinburgh and returned to practise his profession in South Africa, but was immediately drawn into the political struggle. Whilst still in his 20’s, he found himself in the leadership of campaigns to unite the Indian, African and Coloured people in the fight against white domination. He joined the Communist Party South Africa in 1939 and found in Marxism-Leninism the theoretical foundation for his lifelong struggle to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

Yusuf Dadoo was inspired above all by his great humanity and love of people. As the foremost leader of the Indian people in their resistance to the apartheid laws, he worked tirelessly for unity of action with the African majority whose liberation he saw clearly would open the way for true freedom and democracy for all South Africans, irrespective of race, creed or colour. He was a lifelong friend of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, whose unity he regarded as indispensable for the defeat of imperialism, the establishment and preservation of the independence of nations, and the defence of world peace.

Yusuf Dadoo, on the last day of his life, made a declaration in which he summed up the three motivating ideas of struggle which had guided him throughout his life:

"Firstly, the regeneration of the militancy of political struggle among the Indian people in the period after my return from London; secondly, as part of this process, the growth of consciousness for the urgent need for unity with the majority of the oppressed, the African people, which led to the unity in action of all oppressed and democratic forces; and thirdly, the development of class consciousness as an integral part, in fact the key, to creating a free, socialist South Africa."

But there were other factors which raised Comrade Dadoo to the greatest heights of leadership, and they were his enormous courage and determination, his loyalty to his ideals and to his comrades, his party arid his people, and his devotion to the Soviet Union as the main bastion of revolutionary power and world transformation. Comrade Dadoo went to jail many times in the course of his life. He never flinched and he never wavered. He was ready to give his life at any time. He was prepared far any sacrifice and indeed made many sacrifices for the cause he held most dear - the liberation of mankind. In his last moments he called on all his comrades to carry on where he was forced to leave off and expressed his complete confidence in final victory.

We South African communists mourn the departure of our comrade chairman, a great leader and friend. We thank him for the inestimable service he has rendered to our cause. We shall remember him with love. We shall never forget his example. We shall try to live up to the high standards of dedication, discipline and drive he set. We pledge to fulfil his last wish to carry on the struggle for freedom and socialism in South Africa - for freedom, socialism and peace in the whole world. Like him, we are convinced of final victory.

A PROUD HISTORY OF STRUGGLE[27]

by Essop Pahad

Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo - popularly known as "*Mota*"[28] or "Doc" - celebrates his 70th birthday on September 5, 1979. The story of his life is inextricably bound up with the resistance to racial discrimination and apartheid, and the forging of ever closer links between the Indian and African and Coloured people in the struggle for national liberation.

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[27] From The African Communist, No.78, 3rd Quarter 1979

[28] "*Mota*" is a Gujarati term of endearment reserved for those held in high regard and esteem.

Yusuf Dadoo was born in Krugersdorp on the West Rand in 1909. His father Mohamed Dadoo arrived in South Africa in the 1880s, in the wake of the first Indian immigrants who arrived in the 1860s as indentured labourers on the sugar fields.

The working and living conditions of the Indians at that time can only be compared to slavery. However, on the expiry of their indentures many of them became market gardeners, railway and council workers and domestic servants. This was the origin of the Indian working class in South Africa .

Mohamed Dadoo the elder came to South Africa from Western India. The Indian immigrants were divided on lines of language, culture, tradition and religion. It was Gandhi who created the base for the unity of the Indian people through his passive resistance campaign in South Africa in 1906 and 1913.

As the majority of Indians were brought to South Africa to work as indentured labourers on the sugar plantations, most of them lived in Natal. By 1946 27.12 per cent of the economically active population were workers in industry. Today the Indians constitute nearly three per cent of the total South African population, the overwhelming majority of them members of the black working class. It was the active participation of the workers in the affairs of the Indian Congress which made possible its transformation into a radical instrument of struggle against apartheid and colour bars.

Whilst a schoolboy Yusuf Dadoo used to attend meetings held by former stalwarts of Gandhi and with some of his contemporaries such as Molvi A. I. Cachalia used to help mobilise support for the Indian National Congress in its struggle against British colonialism. At Aligarh, in India, where he completed his matriculation, his hatred for and opposition to British imperialism intensified.

As the eldest son, his father expected him to go into business on leaving school, but Dadoo adamantly refused and insisted on further study. In 1929 he arrived in London, friendless and without contacts, with the intention of studying medicine. Within a few months he was one of six persons arrested for participating in a demonstration against the imperialist Simons Commission. In an attempt to curb his political activities his father insisted that he transfer his studies to Edinburgh .

It was in Edinburgh that Dadoo's political horizons were widened and he gradually came closer to understanding the nature of colonialism and the capitalist system which gave birth to it. He became involved in a wide variety of political activities and began to read Marxist literature. The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels gave him a new outlook on the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and the place and role of the working class in the revolutionary movement. He became convinced that the South African Indian Congress could only advance their fight for freedom in close co-operation with the national organisations of the African and the Coloured peoples.

In 1936, when Dadoo returned to South Africa, the national liberation and working class movements were in some disarray. The racist regime had rushed through the white Parliament the 1936 Hertzog Bills which form the basis of the present Bantustan policy. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was still suffering from the effects of the sectarianism which had plagued it in the 1930s. The Indian Congresses were content to mouth rhetorical denunciations of racist legislation whilst pursuing a policy of compromise and of isolation from the African and Coloured people.

The struggle in South Africa was in need of sincere, courageous revolutionaries who could capture and fire the imagination of the toiling masses, who could speak the language the people understood and were prepared to make the personal sacrifices demanded by a life-and-death struggle. Dadoo was one such revolutionary. He illuminated the political landscape with the sudden clarity of a meteor - but fortunately in a less transitory manner. He grew in stature, political experience and maturity and developed a steel-like resolve never to rest until South Africa was free from the triple scourge of racism, colonialism and capitalism. He bent all his efforts towards building the unity of the national liberation and working class movements in South Africa.

Dadoo was not alone in this crusade. Amongst the Indians there were the veterans of Gandhi's resistance movement and contemporaries such as T. N. Naidoo, P. S. Joshi, Molvi A. I. Cachalia, Nana Sita, G.H.I. Pahad, J. Nanabhai and others who were equally determined to change the ideological and political positions of the Indian Congresses. With Dadoo as the acknowledged leader they formed the nationalist bloc of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) in March 1939 to change its policies from the inside. The nationalist bloc attracted 5 to 6 thousand people to their meetings. This was impressive considering that the total population of the Indians in the Transvaal in 1936 was only 25,493. During this period Dadoo went on speaking tours throughout the whole province, and emerged as a powerful orator. People flocked to his meetings which gave them a renewed sense of pride and dignity. No longer did they have to crawl and plead with the white bosses. They could and did stand up for their legitimate rights as South Africans. Already at that time he had become a household name amongst the Indians in South Africa, many of whom proudly displayed his photograph in their homes.

Non-European United Front

Dadoo was also active in a wider political spectrum. In 1938 he was one of the founders of the Non-European United Front (NEUF) in Johannesburg. Acting in harmony and concert with other national leaders, some of whom were Communists, such as J. B. Marks, E. Mofutsanyana, Josie Mpama, G. Carr and Alpheus Maliba, the NEUF took up the vital problems agitating the African people. In his capacity as secretary Dadoo diligently attended to the daily organisational requirements of the NEUF. As one of the main speakers he constantly addressed mass meetings in African townships and locations in which he called for united mass action against living conditions. He became popular amongst the African people and not surprisingly a square in Orlando was named Dadoo Square. In the process of the struggle Dadoo and J. B. Marks became close friends and comrades-in-arms and remained so until Marks' death. In some respects they had similar personalities. They were ebullient, open-hearted, easy to get on with, and both had a lively sense of humour. Through their practical activities and personal relations they gave meaning and life to the concept of the unity of the oppressed working people .

Dadoo's profound political understanding and wide variety of political activities logically led to his joining the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in early 1939. By then the CPSA under the firm leadership of Moses Kotane, its general secretary, had largely overcome the drawbacks of sectarianism which affected the Party in the early thirties. Dadoo says that without a Party dedicated to realising the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in South Africa he would have remained a half-developed revolutionary. It was in the CPSA that he matured theoretically and this in turn immensely improved his practical work and approach.

The South African situation was transformed with the outbreak of the second

world war. Communist and non-communist progressives characterised the war as an imperialist war, and fought tooth and nail against the racist regime's attempts to recruit black soldiers. Dadoo and his comrades argued most vehemently and persuasively that as long as there was racist oppression and segregation in the armed forces, there could be no question of countenancing the recruitment of black soldiers.

In 1940 Dadoo was arrested for printing and distributing a leaflet published by the NEUF which said "Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed". 'When he appeared in court there were mass demonstrations outside and during an adjournment the people, Africans and Indians, carried him shoulder-high to his home - a distance of about 3 kilometres. Dadoo refused to pay his fine of 25, but was saved from imprisonment by a supporter who paid his fine because he could not bear to see "this wonderful person" going to prison. In January 1941 Dadoo was arrested once more this time for allegedly inciting the African people in Benoni where he had spoken at a meeting Once more his trial was the occasion for a mass demonstration. He was sentenced to a fine of 40 or four months imprisonment, and once again elected to go to prison. His statement to court was a powerful indictment of racist and national oppression and a bold declaration of the NEUF's opposition to the war:

"The struggle of the non-European people for liberation is not an isolated struggle; it is merely a continuation of the struggle of the oppressed masses carried on in many lands… The Government may imprison me, it can fling hundreds and thousands into jail and concentration camps, but it cannot and shall not suppress the demand for freedom which arises from the crying hearts of the non-Europeans… The struggle goes on..., all non-Europeans unite! Create a fighting unity! . . . "

Dadoo vividly recalls his prison experience at the notorious "Blue Sky" prison in Boksburg: For the African prisoners it was "hell". The prison warders were horribly cruel, subjecting them to the most gruesome treatment. Some African prisoners died because even though they were ill they were sent out to work. When the other prisoners realised that Dadoo was in for politics they became very sympathetic and offered to do his share of the dirty chores such as cleaning out the latrine buckets. Dadoo politely refused.

Whilst Dadoo was in prison, protest meetings were held throughout the country, and the Guardian reported that in Durban his imprisonment was the chief topic of conversation and practically every street had a slogan demanding Dadoo's release.

People's War

In June 1941 Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. In a flash the progressive forces everywhere marshalled their energies in support of the world's first socialist country. The CPSA, after a lengthy and thorough debate, came to the conclusion that the character of the war had changed. It was now a people's war in which the Soviet Union, the only socialist country in the world, had to be defended and assisted.

The burden of conveying this change of line to the people fell on the shoulders of Kotane and Dadoo. In the beginning they experienced great difficulties and at

one meeting in Maritzburg Dadoo and other speakers were shouted down and had to make a hurried exit. But by explaining the issues honestly and simply, by analysing the qualitative change in the international situation and showing the role of the Soviet Union, "the land without colour bar", the CPSA gradually won the support of influential leaders and members of the national liberation movement and of the broad masses .

A later complicating factor was the entry of Japan into the war. Many black people regarded Japan as a "coloured nation" inflicting defeat on a "white enemy" and openly expressed the hope that Japan would attack South Africa and liberate them. Once more the CPSA with Kotane and Dadoo in the forefront had to meet the challenge head on. Meetings and propaganda campaigns were organised to expose the true nature of rapacious Japanese imperialism.

The heroic defence of their motherland by the Soviet people and the exploits of the Red Army won the admiration, respect and love of the oppressed people. At the sacrifice of 20 million lives, the Soviet Union played the major part in ensuring that the Nazi millennium did not even last five years. The war brought out the greatness of Soviet society and opened the eyes of millions to the true nature and achievements of socialism.

The influence of African workers, youth and progressive intelligentsia in the African National Congress was growing apace during these years. Leaders such as Lembede, Tloome, Sisulu, Tambo and Mandela were in the forefront demanding a more militant and revolutionary policy. Within the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, too, great changes were taking place. By 1945 the militants, led by Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, had all but taken control. In the period 1941-43 the membership of the Communist Party rose fourfold - a clear indication that the Party and its policies were gaining support from the working masses.

The lives of the African people, then as now, were characterised by extreme poverty, total insecurity in employment and every other field of life, the hated Pass Laws and brutal pass raids. In the Transvaal the NEUF had organised a huge campaign against the Pass Laws which included meetings, rallies and demonstrations in the locations and townships and outside factory gates. Dadoo was one of the most prominent speakers. The campaign reached its peak at a representative conference in May 1945 attended by over 540 delegates at which a National Anti-Pass Council was elected with Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the ANC, as Chairman and Dadoo as Vice-Chairman .

It was partly through the activities of the NEUF that the broad united militant front of the national organisations of the African, Coloured and Indian people and the CPSA was developed and strengthened .

A landmark in the struggle

1946, the year of the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign and the glorious African mine workers' strike, witnessed an unprecedented confrontation between the forces of national and social liberation and those of an obdurate vicious racist oppressor and exploiter.

By the time that Smuts - a thoroughbred racist had introduced the Ghetto Act, which sought to segregate the Indians residentially and commercially even further and to introduce a limited form of communal representation, the Indian Congresses, greatly strengthened by the active participation at all levels of

the Indian working class, were ready for confrontation. The hard, grinding work carried out by Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, trade unionists such as H. A. Naidoo, G. Ponen, M. P. Naicker, D. Seedat, D. Singh, M. D. Naidoo, G. Singh and others had infused in the Indians a spirit of resistance.

During the two-year campaign Dadoo and the other Passive Resistance organisers worked with the purposeful energy of a hive of bees, and won a huge response from the people.

In the course of that campaign Dadoo went to prison twice. The first time was in July 1946. The second time was in March 1948 when he and Dr. Naicker were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for "inciting" Indian people to break the law which prohibited Indians from moving from one province to another without a permit. The imprisonment was received with wrath and indignation by the Indians who responded with slogans such as "Long Live Drs. Dadoo and Naicker!" and "We Shall Resist!"

The Passive Resistance Campaign, in which nearly 2,000 men and women voluntarily courted imprisonment, is a glorious page in the annals of the militant resistance of the Indian people. Moreover it had a far wider long-term impact in that it helped to lay the basis for the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

Despite his overburdened schedule in that campaign Dadoo did not neglect his other political duties and tasks. In 1946 he was a member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Johannesburg District of the CPSA, vice-chairman of the National Anti-Pass Council, President of the TIC, chairman of the Transvaal . Passive Resistance Council and joint-chairman of the National Passive Resistance Council.

As chairman of the Johannesburg district of the CPSA Dadoo made his contribution to the strengthening and development of African trade unions, but it was above all the sterling work of his comrade J. B. Marks which welded the African Mineworkers' Union into a force capable of bringing out, in the week August 12 to 19, 1946, 100,000 African miners on strike for higher wages - one of the high points of African resistance in this century.

In 1947 Drs. Dadoo and Naicker made an extensive and triumphant tour of India where they met most of the national leaders including Gandhi, Nehru and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. They addressed a great number of meetings and also attended the first All-Asian Conference.

In March of the same year the historic Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo pact was signed, marking a significant development in the co-operation between the African and Indian peoples. The "Doctors' Pact" made a bold demand for full franchise and the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislation.

But before the co-operation could be consolidated riots broke out between Africans and Indians in Durban in January 1949. There is no doubt that the racist authorities encouraged, aided and abetted the carnage. Having stood aside in the beginning when prompt action could have averted the riots the army and police later opened fire indiscriminately and killed many Africans. The casualty figures were as follows: Dead - 142: 87 Africans, 50 Indians, 1 European and 4 who were not identified. Injured - 1,087: 541 Africans, 503 Indians, 11 Coloureds and 32 Europeans. Fifty-eight of the injured died later.
The response of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) was prompt and effective. Both organisations fully realised that firm action had to be taken to defeat the enemy's plot to divide the oppressed masses. The African and Indian Congresses submitted a joint memorandum to the Commission of Enquiry

which was set up and with many other organisations withdrew from that commission when they were prevented from cross-examining witnesses. In February 1949, 30 African and Indian leaders issued a joint statement in which they emphasised:

"the fundamental and basic causes of the disturbances are traceable to the political, economic and social structure of this country."

At the time of the riots Dadoo was abroad. His view then as now was that the racist enemy would stop at nothing to provoke and incite violent divisions within and amongst the oppressed national groups. The most important lesson was that for unity to be really effective it had to permeate to the grass-roots and this process had to be speeded up. It was the unity in action of all the oppressed blacks and democratic whites initiated and organised by the Congress movement in the fifties which defeated all the enemy's nefarious schemes and conspiracies to provoke similar riots and disturbances.

A Glorious Decade

The Nationalist Party won the all-white election in 1948 on the basis of a virulent white chauvinist and anti-communist campaign. However, whilst the white electorate further entrenched the power and influence of the racists and fascists, the national liberation movements and the CPSA laid the basis for a common united mass militant resistance . Most significantly the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action was a clear indication that the ANC was now getting ready to assume its historic role. An impressive demonstration of the unity and power of the national liberation and working class movements was the highly successful May 1, 1950 strike in Johannesburg and the Reef. But before this unity could be strengthened the racist regime introduced a Bill in the All-White Parliament to ban the CPSA. This was recognised by Communists and non-Communists alike as a prelude to the banning of all people's organisations which spoke out against apartheid and racially discriminatory laws and demanded justice and equal democratic rights for all.

Meeting before the ban came into effect, the Central Committee of the Party decided to dissolve itself with a view to frustrating the aims of the enemy. For Dadoo the decision to dissolve the Party was one of the most painful he had ever had to take part in, but he considered at the time that there was no alternative. However, there was never in his mind any doubt that the situation in South Africa demanded the active and vital presence of an independent party of the working class, fighting for national liberation and socialism. When Moses Kotane took the first steps towards reconstituting the Party in illegal conditions, Dadoo and others were with him from the outset. Units were established in the main centres of the country and by 1953 an underground conference was held in Johannesburg attended by Communists from all over the country. At this conference a new central committee was elected - Dadoo being one of them - with Moses Kotane as general secretary. A new name was adopted, the South African Communist Party (SACP), heir to the glorious traditions of the CPSA.

Dadoo steeled himself to the arduous task of working in an illegal Party whilst remaining a prominent figure in the public eye. He and other Communists studied the experiences of other underground parties and resistance movements and learned how to operate with a combination of caution and precision which enabled them to escape the attentions of the security police. Slowly the Party became more influential and recruited to its ranks some of the most dedicated and courageous freedom fighters in the national liberation and trade union movements. The composition of the membership and leadership since its reconstitution has reflected accurately the situation in South Africa where the African working class is the main force for social renewal.

Commenting on the attacks of the enemy and sometimes even well-meaning friends that the Communists used a back-door approach to infiltrate the national liberation organisations, Dadoo is emphatic that the SACP never entertained any idea of dominating any organisation. He points out that as Communists they were as patriotic as anyone else in fighting racism and white domination for the freedom of the black people.

But they were also fighting for socialism and for that it was absolutely necessary to have an independent vanguard party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism - a party that understood that racist oppression and white supremacy is the creation of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism and that the national liberation of the African people is the precondition for the building of a socialist South Africa. This is what the Communists work for, fight for, go to prison for and die for. There never has been nor ever will be any attempt to dominate any organisation. The SACP is an indispensable part of the national liberation front headed by the ANC.

Defiance Campaign

In 1950, Dadoo was elected President of the South African Indian Congress in recognition of his contribution to the struggle. Nominating him for the post, Dr Naicker called him "one of the greatest sons of South Africa". Soon the SAIC was to join with the ANC to organise a Defiance Campaign against unjust laws in a bid to raise the struggle of the oppressed to new and higher levels. A planning Council was set up consisting of Dr. Moroka (Chairman), Walter Sisulu, J. B. Marks, Yusuf Dadoo and Yusuf Cachalia. The Council was instructed to prepare a report on the methods and forms of struggle to be adopted. That report, which was the basis for the organisation of the Defiance Campaign, was prepared mainly by Sisulu and Dadoo. Though he had met Sisulu some years previously, this was the first time that Dadoo had worked so closely with him. They had continuous discussions in which their common outlook and friendship blossomed. Dadoo was impressed by Sisulu's sharp analytical mind, his pragmatism and his common touch with the people.

Nelson Mandela was elected volunteer-in-chief with Molvi Cachalia his deputy. Already at that time Mandela's courage, devotion to duty, magnetic personality and dynamism had manifested themselves. Following Kotane's defiance of his banning orders, Dadoo and Bopape followed suit. Once more Dadoo found himself in prison. Unencumbered by the detail of daily work, he spent six very fruitful weeks discussing with Kotane and Bopape numerous problems that faced the revolutionary movements in South Africa. Dadoo says that Kotane was also very busy advising the ordinary prisoners on their legal rights and helping them to prepare their court cases.

Dadoo has no doubt that the Defiance Campaign in which over 8,000 courted imprisonment was one of the great acts of resistance in our revolutionary history. It led to the strengthening of the ANC and SAIC, generated a new spirit of militancy and a conscious feeling of organised resistance, and brought about the formation of the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) of white allies of the liberation movements.

The question of political consciousness and enlightenment, Dadoo maintains, is a complex process which assumes new features as changes occur in the working and living conditions of the people. For him the strength, vigour and influence of the leaders, however formidable their personal capabilities may be, lies in the

growing political consciousness and organisation of the toiling masses and in their ability to express and articulate the collective will. Thus diverse forms of mass struggle, demonstrations, strikes, rallies, mass meetings, group discussions and other actions are the principal and most distinct expression of the will of the oppressed and exploited people.

The intensified repression of the racist regime had brought about a new situation and the revolutionary forces had to find new forms of struggle to ensure that the mood and spirit of militancy did not flounder and ebb away. The Congress Alliance decided to hold a Congress of the People where a Freedom Charter could be adopted. At that time the Congress Alliance consisted of the ANC, SAIC, SACPO and SACOD. Later it was augmented and strengthened by the inclusion of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the only non-racial trade union centre in South Africa .

Dadoo was continuously under banning orders which prevented him from participating openly in the hectic activities of the Congress Alliance. But this did not prevent him from making his contribution at secret meetings and discussions with leaders of the Congress Alliance and the SACP. He was consulted on all major issues and his views and analyses greatly respected.

On the suggestion of the ANC it was decided to award the honour of *Isitwalandwe* to Chief Luthuli, Dadoo and Father Huddleston. Dadoo was deeply touched that he was considered for this honour and even twenty-four years later says with emotion "I am at a loss for words to describe my feelings." His great regret was that like Chief Luthuli he could not participate in that great assembly as they were both banned. He also feels honoured to be associated with Luthuli, as Dadoo has the greatest respect and appreciation for Luthuli's incalculable contribution to the deepening of the revolutionary process in South Africa.

Dadoo is unequivocal that the Freedom Charter is really a People's Charter, reflecting the deep-seated feelings, grievances and aspirations of the masses who were active participants in its formulation. He characterises the Freedom Charter as the embodiment of the demands of the national liberation movement at the stage of the national democratic revolution which can and does unite the most diverse forces. The inclusion of the clause on the nationalisation of monopoly industries and banks he says is a logical demand of the national liberation movement in the conditions obtaining in South Africa, since it is not possible to overthrow the racist system without a fundamental and irreversible shift in economic and political power.

The period 1950-60 was characterised by the most formidable acts of mass militant resistance. In the urban areas the African working class demonstrated its power and willingness to lead the struggle and to fulfil its historic mission. In the rural areas there were the heroic battles including armed uprisings of the people of Zeerust, Sekukuniland and Pondoland. The people's resistance in the rural areas was temporarily halted only because the enemy used the most barbarous and murderous methods of suppression. However these actions had a long-term impact on the will of the people to resist. In all of these activities the ANC was involved in one way or another.

For Dadoo the formation of the Congress Alliance was a high water mark in the process of bringing about unity in action. From the very beginning Dadoo operated on the basis that the major role would have to be played by the African people and that the struggle for national liberation would have to be under the leadership and guidance of the ANC. The Congress Consultative Committee, which was the organisational expression of the Congress Alliance, was not a

decision-making body. It discussed various issues, acted as a co-ordinating body and made recommendations which were not binding on any constituent part of the Alliance. In the conditions at that time the Congress Alliance under the leadership of the ANC was the most appropriate form for bringing about the unity of all those opposed to racism and apartheid.

Internationalism

A genuine patriot, Dadoo clearly understood the organic relationship between the struggle in South Africa and the world-wide struggle against capitalism, colonialism and imperialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. With Dadoo there were many leaders including Kotane, Marks, Mandela, Tambo, Tloome, Sisulu, Nokwe, A. Nzo, G. Mbeki, Bram Fischer and M. Mabida who worked tirelessly to expose the aggressive nature and conspiracies of imperialism and the forces of reaction. While the ANC was still legal, the Congress Alliance organised protest meetings and demonstrations and produced an immense amount of analytical and propaganda materials on a wide variety of international problems. A few such issues were the Zionist-imperialist aggression against Egypt, the counter-revolutionary conspiracy in Hungary in 1956, the bloody French colonial wars against the people of Algeria and Indo-China, the imprisonment of Kenyatta, the ClA-inspired murder of Lumumba, the Portuguese colonial massacres in Mozambique and Angola and the fight for peace and disarmament.

Furthermore, fraternal links were developed with progressive continental and international organisations of the workers, youth, students, women and peace fighters. After 1960 the SACP developed and strengthened its relations with the international communist movement. Today the ANC has an internationalist outlook with a breadth and scope which make it one of the leading anti-imperialist national liberation forces. Our people, whom the racists tried to isolate from world developments, developed a fierce hatred for imperialism and a love and respect for progressive forces throughout the world.

In spite of the Treason Trial - 1956-1961 - which incarcerated so many of the leading activists, the struggle against the pass laws, Group Areas Act, Bantustans, forced removals, slave wages and inhuman exploitation went from strength to strength. To take the struggle against the pass laws to a new and higher level in 1960 the ANC planned a mass militant campaign. But the ANC plan was preempted by the Pan-African Congress (PAC) which was formed by some disgruntled, chauvinist and anti-communist elements within the ANC.

The PAC call for anti-pass demonstrations on March 21, 1960 was an ill-prepared adventurist action. In only two places, Cape Town and the Sharpeville- Evaton-Vereeniging complex, was there any kind of mass demonstration. The trigger-happy white police and army wantonly opened fire on the peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, killing 69 people. "Sharpeville Massacre" was the message that flashed all round the world. The callous brutality of the killings in Sharpeville and Langa exposed the fact that the fascist regime in South Africa would stop at nothing to preserve the privileges and power of the white minority and monopolists.

The experience of Sharpeville, taken together with the massive use of armed force and intimidation, backed by the white mass media, to suppress all popular struggles made it inevitable that non-violent mass resistance should give way to other methods. The revolutionary forces had to find alternative forms of struggle to meet and defeat the fascist terror. Thus at the initiative of the ANC and SACP came into being *Umkhonto-We-Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), the

military wing of the ANC. Into the ranks of *Umkhonto* came the most dedicated and fearless revolutionaries from all the racial groups. On December 16 1961 the first acts of sabotage took place in all the major cities. Preparations were made for a concerted, well-organised, armed revolutionary struggle. But the enemy was not unprepared. It introduced the most draconian legislation which effectively legalised torture and the murder of detainees and substantially increased military expenditure.

Dadoo Abroad

Following the Sharpeville massacre the racist regime declared a state of emergency. Thousands were arrested including most of the leading members of the national liberation and working class movements. Dadoo with Kotane, Harmel and others evaded the fascist net and went into hiding. For some months they operated underground moving from one place to another and continuously keeping abreast of the developing situation. It was then decided that the time was ripe to make public the existence of the illegal SACP. Leaflets were distributed throughout the country and according to Dadoo the declaration was widely acclaimed by the working people. The SACP in consultation with the SAIC decided that Dadoo should go abroad to give the Party an external presence and to help in organising all-round international support for the internal struggle. In the discussions Dadoo vigorously argued that his place was in the underground, but he was overruled and as a disciplined Communist and revolutionary he submerged his own wishes and feelings and fulfilled the collective decision.

From London he travelled to different parts of the world to put the case of the oppressed, but maintained the closest contact with the movement at home and was able to make his contribution to the new programme of the Communist Party which was adopted at an illegal conference in Johannesburg in 1962. This programme has made a tremendous contribution to the theoretical elaboration of the nature and character of the racist socio-economic system in our country and to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist thought in our continent.

Following the Rivonia and subsequent trials of our brave freedom fighters, the revolutionary movements were compelled to retreat, take stock of the changed conditions and map out new plans for the revolutionary struggle. However, despite the most sustained reign of terror over nearly twenty years the ANC and SACP were never cowed into submission. Time after time the fascists boasted that they had "broken the back" of the ANC and SACP, but this was never to be. The ANC with its clear programme of action and demands became the heart and the mind of the oppressed. The fascists may torture, maim, imprison and kill our revolutionary cadres and leaders but they will never destroy the ANC, SACP and SACTU.

A cardinal test of an organisation claiming to lead the people in struggle is its ability to analyse and discuss its achievements and shortcomings in an objective manner permeated by the principle of criticism and self-criticism. The ANC manifested this essential quality at the Morogoro Conference of 1969. That conference was a historical milestone. After a careful and searching analysis and an open discussion decisions were taken which have had a positive impact on the course of the revolutionary struggle. One such decision was to set up a Revolutionary Council which was entrusted with the task of improving the underground structures of the ANC, strengthening the capacity of *Umkhonto-We-Sizwe* to meet the firepower of the enemy with the fire-power and superior tactics of the guerillas, and relating the armed struggle to the mass

actions of the working people. Oliver Tambo was unanimously and enthusiastically elected chairman and Dadoo vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council. Since its formation in 1969 the Revolutionary Council has considerably heightened the activities of the ANC underground and *Umkhonto-We-Sizwe*. In his post Dadoo has worked tirelessly and selflessly, never sparing himself.

As a leading member of the SACP Dadoo was also occupied by his Party duties and functions. In August 1972 J. B. Marks, then chairman of the SACP, died and was buried (in his own words) "in the land of the proletariat". At a CC meeting soon after Marks' death, Dadoo was unanimously elected chairman. He says that his election was a great honour and a heavy responsibility; more so since he had to follow the high standard of leadership set by Marks. However, once he took on this responsibility he made and continues to make valuable contributions to the extension of the Party's influence and position inside and outside the country.

In the continuing work to heighten the political and revolutionary consciousness of the people, underground literature plays a preeminent role. It acts as a mobiliser, organiser, stimulator, and catalyst. Both the ANC and SACP have produced a vast quantity of underground resistance literature. Even the enemy has been compelled to admit that the consistent production and distribution of illegal propaganda material by various means, including bucket bombs, has made an impact on the country. Our brave underground fighters take great risks to prepare and distribute this material. A number of them have been arrested, tortured, imprisoned and killed, but the work continues.

The national liberation front, headed by the ANC and of which the SACP is an integral part, has played its rightful role in the rapidly developing situation in racist South Africa, despite deep illegality and certain shortcomings and weaknesses. Whether in the massive strikes of the black working class, the ferment of revolt amongst the youth and students, or the resistance in the rural areas, the contribution of members of the national liberation, trade union and working class movements has been significant. A large number of young people who have left South Africa to acquire political and military skills have testified to the influence of the ANC.

Soweto Explosion

The uprisings in Soweto and other parts of the country In June 1976 shattered for all time the propaganda of the racists that South Africa is an ocean of peace. The oppressed, down-trodden youth and students demonstrated not only their utter rejection of racism and apartheid but most significantly their readiness to make the supreme sacrifice. Workers, youth, students, professionals and small traders came out in united mass action.

In the recent period militant actions on a wide variety of issues, by black working people in the urban and rural areas, youth and students and other strata of the population have intensified. Moreover, the underground structures of the ANC, SACP and SACTU have been strengthened and the fighting qualities of *Umkhonto-We-Sizwe* have been displayed in action. Even the enemy has been compelled to admit that South Africa is in a "state of war". Numerous armed clashes have occurred between the freedom fighters and the forces of racism, repression and murder. In some of the clashes units of *Umkhonto* have inflicted wounding blows on the enemy troops and eliminated traitors and informers such as Abel Mtembu and L. Nkosi.

Dadoo's political life, like that of so many outstanding revolutionaries

throughout the world, proves irrefutably that one can only be a true patriot if one is an internationalist. Dadoo emphasises that class unity is essential both on the national and international scale. Imperialism and the national forces of reaction will do their utmost - including the use of terroristic violence - to protect their interests. Thus it is not possible to dispense with the most potent weapon of the international working class, proletarian internationalism.

In the course of his political duties Dadoo has represented the SACP at various congresses, conferences and seminars in the socialist countries. He went to the Soviet Union for the first time in 1960. When his plane landed at the airport in Moscow his heart beat faster. He was tremendously excited and overjoyed that at long last he was in the motherland of Lenin, where the material base for socialism had been established. His love for the Soviet people and the CPSU had grown steadily stronger over the years. For Dadoo, as for millions of people, the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of all those fighting for a new and better life free from capitalism, imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and fascism.

In contrast to the principled class positions of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders in Peking have betrayed the most sacred principles of socialism and proletarian internationalism. Dadoo represented the ANC at the representative conference held in Helsinki in March 1979 in support of Vietnam after the criminal aggression and brazen banditry of the Chinese invaders. In his speech he said: "By their actions the Chinese leadership have entered into an unholy alliance with the most reactionary and warmongering forces of imperialism. In Chile, Angola, Ethiopia, wherever the people are fighting against imperialism and reaction, they find ranged against them the Peking leadership."

Dadoo led a delegation of the SACP to Congo (Brazzaville) in November 1975. During this highly successful visit they met leading officials of the Congolese Party of Labour and the government. In a joint communique after the visit both parties agreed to develop contacts and to help each other in the struggle for socialism. In 1977 Dadoo had the honour and pleasure to be part of the world Peace delegation which presented the Julio-Curie Medal to Agostinho Neto in Luanda.

Dadoo as always remains a firm champion of the might and strength of the international communist movement. Within the ranks of the Party and internationally he is a tireless fighter for the unity and cohesiveness of the world communist movement. On behalf of the SACP he attended the 1960 and 1969 international meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the recent historic first meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa. He reads extensively and is well informed about developments in Africa, the socialist world, Middle East, Asia and Latin America. In many ways Dadoo is a symbol of the internationalism of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Dadoo draws his political strength and dynamism above all from the black working class which is the main social force for national liberation and socialism. In his political life he has always attempted to draw the widest possible sections of the oppressed blacks and democratic whites into the mainstream of the struggle. An implacable foe of sectarianism and exclusivism Dadoo has made an immeasurable contribution to the significant role played by the Indians in the revolutionary struggle.

Dadoo's political life is indeed A Proud Record of Struggle. Notwithstanding the drawbacks, weaknesses and retreats of the revolutionary forces, Dadoo on the

basis of a scientific evaluation of the scope, depth and potential of the national liberation and working class movements and the fierce opposition of the oppressed to racism and apartheid is supremely confident that as surely as spring follows winter the popular Congress slogan "Freedom In Our Lifetime" will become a reality.

LANDMARKS IN A LIFE OF STRUGGLE

1909 - Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo born in Krugersdorp, Transvaal, on September 5. the son of a well-to-do Indian businessman.

1927 - Matriculates at Aligarh college in India, after attending school in Krugersdorp and Johannesburg.

1929 - Arrives in London to study medicine. Arrested for demonstrating against imperialism. His father insists he transfer to Edinburg.

1936 - After qualifying as a doctor - LCRP and LRCS (Edin.) and LRFP and S. (Glas.) - Dadoo returns to practice in South Africa. Active in Transvaal Indian Congress.

1938 - One of the founders of the Non-European United Front in Johannesburg.

1939 - Joins the Communist Party of South Africa. Forms nationalist bloc in Transvaal Indian Congress to work for progressive policies and leadership.

1940 - Arrested for printing and distributing a Non-European United Front leaflet which said " Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed". Refuses to pay fine 25, but saved from imprisonment by a supporter who pays fine for him.

1941 - Arrested for allegedly inciting African people in a speech at Benoni meeting. Refused to pay fine of 40, and goes to jail. On release he is restricted under Emergency Regulations.

1941 - After Nazi attack on Soviet Union in June, Communist Party declares the character of war has changed. Dadoo one of those entrusted with raising support for anti Nazi struggle.

1943 - Opens anti-pass conference called Johannesburg by CPSA.

1945 - Member of delegation to government protesting against pass laws; fined 25 pounds for taking part in unauthorised procession.

1945 - National Anti-Pass Council elected with Dr. A.B. Xuma, ANC President as chairman and Dadoo as vice chairman.

1945 - nationalist bloc defeats reactionaries in Transvaal Indian Congress leadership. Dadoo elected TIC president.

1946 - One of the leaders of passive resistance against Smut's anti Indian laws. Serves six months prison sentence.

1946- Arrested with 50 others on charge under Riotous Assemblies Act of inciting 100,000 African mineworkers to go on strike after it had broke out.

1947 - Together with Dr G.M. Naicker, leader of the Natal Indian Congress, tours Indian to win support for passive resistance campaign against Smut's Ghetto Act. Meets Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah.

1947 - Historic Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker pact signed pleading co-operation of Africans and Indians in struggle against discriminatory and oppressive laws and demanding full franchise rights for all.

1948 - Dadoo and Naicker sentenced to six months imprisonment for defying 1913 Immigration Act prohibiting Indians from moving from one province to another without permit.

1948 - On release from prison, Dadoo refused permission to leave South Africa to present Indian case to United Nations.

1948 - After Nationalist victory in general elections, calls for national convection to defeat the apartheid regime.

1948 - Leaves South Africa without passport to attend UN session in Paris. Meets Nehru in London, Dimitrov in Bulgaria. Visits other socialist countries. Travels on to India where he addresses Constituent Assembly on disabilities of Indians and other oppressed in SA. Visits Pakistan.

1949- On return home, banned from speaking in 8 main centres of the country.

1950 - Elected President of the South African Indian Congress.

1951 - Active in campaign against disfranchisement of Coloured voters. Calls for all-out resistance to Group Areas Act.

1952 - Elected one of five members of the Joint Planning Council to organise Defiance of Unjust laws campaign. (The others are J.B. Marks, Walter Sisulu, Dr J.S. Moroka and Y. Cachalia.)

1952 - Banned under Suppression of Communism Act from attending all gatherings and ordered to resign from Indian Congress and Joint Planning Council of Defiance Campaign. Defies his ban, addresses meeting and sentenced to six months imprisonment - his seventh prison sentenced (quashed on appeal on a legal technicality).

1952 - Together with 19 others, charged under Suppression of Communism Act for organising defiance Campaign and given suspended sentence of 9 months imprisonment for what the judge called "statutory communism"

1953 - Banned from taking part in the activities of a further 15 organisations.

1953 - Dadoo elected to central committee of newly constituted SA Communist Party at first congress held illegally in Johannesburg.

1955 - Announcement made at historic Congress of the People that Dadoo, Chief Albert Luthuli and Father Trevor Huddleston awarded traditional African decoration of *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe*. Because of bans only Huddleston able to attend; Dadoo's award accepted by his mother.

1957 - Dadoo banned for a further five years from attending gatherings.

1959 -Arrested at Howick, Natal, under immigration laws banning Indian movement form province to province without permission.

1960 - After Sharpeville shooting and declaration of State of Emergency Dadoo sent overseas by decision of Communist Party and Indian Congress to organise external apparatus and solidarity campaigns.

1962 - After arrest of Nelson Mandela. Dadoo leads procession in London demanding his release. Visits India and has talks with Nehru.

1969 - Elected vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress.

1972 - After the death of J.B. Marks, elected national chairman of the South African Communist Party.

At the time of his death Dr Dadoo was national chairman of the SACP, a vice-chairman of the ANC Politico-Military Council, and a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, in whose activities he had taken a prominent part for many years. He had led many delegations of the SACP to many different parts of the world and was a firm champion of the International Communist Movement. On his 70th birthday he was awarded the Order of Dimitrov of Bulgaria, the Order of Karl Marx by the German Democratic Republic, the Order of the Friendship of the People by the Soviet Union, the Gold Medal of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the Scroll of Honour of the World Peace Council, the Decoration of the Hungarian Peace Movement and the 'Wielki Proletariat of Poland.'

A TRIBUTE TO YUSUF DADOO[29]

By Joe Slovo

The times of Yusuf Dadoo are well documented, and the main thrust of my short input will be about Yusuf Dadoo himself.

The breadth of his contribution was highlighted in a rather heated and, to what might seem to some, a rather odd debate. It was a debate on what words we should put on the head-stone of his grave We eventually hit on the words: 'Fighter for national liberation, socialism and world peace.'

The choice of words for Yusuf's headstone was not easy. In fact, it occasioned much debate, and the reason is plain. How do you carve everything Yusuf was into a piece of stone? Could we, indeed, have a grave-stone large enough to do justice to the many layers which made up his many-sided contributions. To scan the whole panorama of his life's endeavours would have needed more than a grave-stone; it would have needed a mountainside!

Those of us who had the privilege of knowing Yusuf well, can imagine that if he

[29] This tribute was presented as part of a panel discussion on the life and times of Dr Yusuf Dadoo, in the course of the University of the Witwatersrand September Spring Festival in 1991

could have had a say in his own epitaph, the one addition he would perhaps have insisted upon would have been the words 'simple musket-bearer'. For, above all, this is how he saw himself.

Comrade Yusuf was essentially a man of duty and not privilege; a revolutionary who gave and who expected nothing for himself in return. Indeed he was a musket-bearer who was always ready to be in front - for duty and not for position or honours. And when deserved honours were heaped upon him, they left him genuinely startled and almost embarrassed. He was a most modest person.

This eldest son of a wealthy merchant left no estate of property or other material possessions. A qualified medical doctor, he always spurned the wealth he could so easily have had. He combined in himself the same qualities of abnegation of worldly possessions of a Gandhi or a Trevor Huddleston. And in the process he left the community in which he was brought up and all the dominated people a most rich legacy. In the years since his death, the seeds he helped to plant and to water for well over 40 years of devoted political activism have begun to sprout their foliage.

Included in the testament which Yusuf signed on the day he died was a short reflection on whether his life merited a biography. He said: 'Over many years friends and comrades have urged that I write my memoirs. However, I did not pay much attention to such requests, thinking that my life's work was not that significant. But today, on reflection, I regret that I did not comply with their wishes. I realise that, correctly written, such a book could bring out three crucial developments linking together three motivating ideas of struggle. Firstly, the regeneration of the militancy of the political struggle among Indian people after my return from London. Secondly, as part of this process, the growth of consciousness for the urgent need for unity with the majority of the oppressed, the African people, which led to unity in action of all oppressed and democratic forces; and thirdly, the development of class consciousness during these struggles as an integral part, in fact the key, to creating a free, socialist South Africa.'

In each of these areas, in close on 50 years of political activism, Yusuf won positions in our history which, in combination, are perhaps unique. He reinjected into the Indian community the Gandhi-like spirit of pride and defiance, and became this community's foremost national leader. But he went further-than the Gandhi of the earlier days, he saw more clearly than the young Gandhi that the fate of all the black oppressed is indivisible. And through his endless drive for unity in action between all the dominated peoples, he became one of the foremost heads of all the black oppressed. In song and speech his name rang out with the Luthulis, the JB Marks's and other national liberation leaders, and not just among Indians. What is more, he never bought his national popularity at the expense of hiding the very driving force of his political life, a devotion to internationalism, to socialism as the ultimate foundation for true freedom and liberation. He was a proud communist and this devotion informed everything he did as a revolutionary nationalist.

Hours before his death he dictated a message to the Central Committee of the SACP which was meeting the following day. In it he said: 'Today, almost as never before, the South African workers are on the march. In this field a great responsibility rests on our Party. We are the revolutionary Party of the working class, whose clear role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The working class, in essence the black working class in our country, is the pivotal force in the struggle for a revolutionary overthrow of the entire apartheid system. As such our Party must place its main focus and emphasis on organising,

uniting and giving clear guidance to this class, which forms the backbone of our struggle. Included in this task is assessing our strength and weakness in the trade union movement as a whole, assessing (re-defining if necessary) the role of SACTU, and ensuring our future working in this vital field meets the demands of the time.'

His principled refusal to hide his ultimate commitments presents something of an enigma since it seemed in no way to detract from the regard - sometimes bordering on worship - in which he was held by his immediate community. It was not then and is even less so today, an easy mix. He stemmed from a community which, with all its racial wounds, nonetheless suffered a lesser degree of discrimination than the African majority. It was a community in which insecure commercial vested interests, which were attained through individual initiative and imagination, had to be jealously guarded. In addition, it was a minority community filled with the uncertainty of being hemmed in between two major forces, with a degree of some African grass-roots resentment (stoked up by regime policy) against the traders' role in their exploitation. (This found horrific expression in the 1948 Natal massacre).

But Yusuf, more than any other Indian leader, became the beacon of hope and the beacon of growing acceptance that, at the end of the day, the fate of all blacks was a common one. And, in relation to the Indian community, what made this possible was not just his unending political drive to achieve unity, but perhaps even more so in the way he was perceived as a result of his personal example.

Like Gandhi before him, he eroded the understandable impotence felt by an apprehensive minority. Moving away from the received orthodoxy of what is really meant by 'revolutionary' struggle, he absorbed one of the indigenous traditions of our own realities - the Gandhite concept of defiance, of refusal to collaborate even at the risk of incarceration. And he was among the first to offer himself. The 1946 Defiance Campaign against Smuts' anti-Indian laws not only helped to inject a renewed sense of self-regard in the Indian community, but was also a harbinger of the new militancy which spread through the ranks of all the black oppressed.

I recall, on the lighter side, an exchange between Yusuf Dadoo and Buirski, who was a Party veteran from the 1920s. And Comrade Buirski poked fun at this 'Gandhite deviation' by describing the campaign as 'squatting on a plot.' Yusuf replied: 'The comrade does not have to squat on his plot: he owns it.'

Embraced MK

But Dadoo went beyond Gandhi, and when even the little remaining room to manoeuvre was blocked, he embraced with enthusiasm the creation of MK. Yusuf Dadoo had another seminal quality which helped soften the reaction of those in his community who, because of their economic status, were nervous about his unhidden commitment to a socialist future. He was a passionate internationalist, but equally passionate in his pride and regard for his cultural roots.

He had the most undeviating respect for his community's languages and religious traditions. He saw no conflict there. Diversity, he understood, was no obstacle to unity, indeed it could enrich the South African nation in the making.

This explains his insistence while in exile in London to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. (I'm not sure whether any other Chairperson of a Communist Party can

claim the title of *Haj*). I remember meeting him on his return to Heathrow airport in London, head shaven, kettle in hand and white robe.

It was with the same genuine respect for his people's beliefs that he expressed the wish to ensure that Muslim rites would also take place at his funeral ceremony.

In summary, there are few figures in our history to match Yusuf Dadoo's grasp, in practice, of the very complex relationship in our country between national struggle and class struggle. His contribution was not in the sphere of theoretical treatises, but in the practice of struggle and the personal example of his whole life-style.

When we landed in Cape Town for the Groote Schuur Talks in May 1990, Yusuf Dadoo was one of those at the very top of my mind. If only he had lived to see how far we had advanced in the centuries-old struggle to destroy this evil system!
But even though he was fated not to live to the inevitable future of a free South Africa, he truly lived to make it possible.

There is an important lesson in all this, especially at this moment, and especially for those in the Indian community who are today being so assiduously wooed by the National Party which, together with previous white minority ruling parties, kept them as ghetto people for more than a century.

I am confident that the example that Yusuf Dadoo has given will play a very fundamental role in ensuring that those who have been sitting on top do not succeed in weaning those in this community away from their natural allies - their fellow South Africans in the struggle for a true democracy.

GOVERNMENT IRE FOLLOWS DADOO TO THE GRAVE

By Fatima Meer

A close friend of Dr Dadoo told me that when he was a boy there was this park in front of his house, but he was not allowed to enter it. It was for whites only. In his family, there was a continuous pall of nostalgia about India, and incessant talks of the joys of life out there. He thought India was like that park.

He was eventually taken to India and to his village in Kholvad. It was the height of the monsoon, and he was lifted across the water, and there was sand everywhere, and the India that was the park in his mind's eye, evaporated. He accepted India for what it was, his father's and his mother's land. Later, when he went to Aligarh, and he grew into India's problems, he came to see her also as his land, part of the great fraternity of lands in need of liberation.

I paid my respects to the memory of Dadoo in London. The massive head of the granite Marx brooded over the little grave, no more than a mound of earth surrounded by a low picket fence. Yusuf Dadoo lay buried as he requested, in a Muslim cemetery, but as in life, so in death he remained integrated in two ideologies. Brian Bunting and Winnie Dadoo attested that he was a Communist to the last. His brother Eboo believes, however, once a Muslim always a Muslim; the roots are too deep, too strong. Yusuf Dadoo was probably both, reconciling the two in their commitment to life as freedom from tyranny.

During the weekend, South Africans of all races were to have met to celebrate the life of Dr Yusuf Dadoo. The Government joined the celebration by banning the meeting, thereby officially recognising that the life and work of this man has an import that goes far beyond his death, and beyond his banning and exiling.

Yusuf Dadoo's significance lies in his 47 years of active service (1936 to 1960 South Africa; 1960 to 1983 Britain) in the cause of democratic rights for all South Africans. Dadoo's childhood was spent in Krugersdorp where his father, a poor peasant, settled towards the end of the last century. When he was about 10 years old, his family faced eviction on grounds of race, but his father took the matter to the Appeal Court and won his contention that his company, Dadoo Ltd. was not a person and had no race.

His father's stance and the ripple effect it had in securing, albeit temporarily, the trading rights of many other similarly pressed Indian traders, left an indelible impression on his young mind.

Two years later, he left for India where, in 1930, he matriculated at Aligarh College. He then proceeded to Britain where he graduated as a medical doctor at Edinburgh. He returned to South Africa in 1936. His professional status gave him an immediate entry to leadership in the Indian community as it had to the 25 year old Gandhi, some four decades earlier. It was inevitable that he would react strongly to the mounting racism which characterised South African society on the eve of the Second World War. All three black peoples were facing fresh legislative attacks which threatened further diminution of their status.

Indian land and trading rights were under fresh assault in the Transvaal and, at a time when 80 percent of the population was South African by birth, the Colonisation Commission of 1934 had proposed new areas for their settlement in Guinea, Guyana and Borneo. Attacks of a cruder nature had resulted in the sitting of two more commissions to consider the desirability of a Mixed Marriage Act and an Act to prevent blacks from employing whites.

Dadoo directed his attention to moving Indian politics from the conciliatory to the confrontational, and to release it from its ethnic bastion. He declared passive resistance against the Transvaal Indian Act in 1939 and was immediately supported by Gandhi and Nehru. The campaign, however, was postponed to 1946 when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was extended throughout the country, affecting all Indians. Two thousand people were imprisoned and at the United Nations, the question of racism in South Africa became an international issue.

Dadoo's greatest significance, however, lies in the fact that he worked for a broad democratic front. He joined the South African Communist Party as the only organisation active at the time involved in the rights of African workers. As early as 1922, Africans had made up the bulk of the membership of the Communist Party (1 600 of the 1 775 total membership). He was impressed by Moses Kotane and J. B. Marks who were both members of the Communist Party and the ANC. He drew close to Dr A. B. Xuma, the President-General of the ANC. He was moved by the deplorable living conditions of the Africans workers and their families.

Above all, he was shattered by the crippling effect of the pass laws. He joined Dr Xuma in a massive campaign against passes and was arrested with him when they jointly attempted to present the authorities with a petition bearing 850 000 signatures. Later he signed a declaration with Xuma to work together.

That declaration was a precursor to the joint action that the Indian and African National Congress took against the Nationalist Government in 1952 in the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign. Joint action continued in the Freedom Charter of 1955 and finally led to events of 1960 which forced Dadoo into exile.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

WINNIE DADOO

[Yusuf Dadoo was married thrice. His first wife was Ilse, his second, Maryam and his third, Winnie. His first two marriages ended in divorce, partly because of his political commitments that left little time for family. His third marriage lasted, partly because Winnie was as politically involved as Yusuf Dadoo himself He has two daughters, Shereen, from Ilse and Roshan from Winnie. The following notes were made from an interview with Winnie a year or so after his death and it gives some insight into his personal life in London.]

Winnie's grandparents had immigrated to South Africa at the turn of the century, from Russia, more specifically from Latvia and Lithuania, respectively. She was brought up in the Jewish tradition, observing the rituals but not very regular in her attendance to the synagogue.

Winnie met Yusuf Dadoo in 1948. She was then already a Communist Party member and had been working on the CP paper, Guardian for two years. She met him at a party a Bram Fischer's house, organised in honour of a delegation bound for a UN meeting in Paris. She was part of that delegation. "The trip never materialised for we were stopped at the airport the next day and our passports were taken away. " The party however was memorable for there she met Dadoo.
"He was wonderfully good looking The Indian passive resistance struggle was on and the party was agog with news of the campaign.

"In 1949, Yusuf spent a year in Europe. He met Krishna Menon and Bridget Tunnard of the Indian League. They gave him an office. He travelled to Bulgaria and met Dimitrov."

"I met Yusuf again a year later, again at Bram Fischer's house. He was married to Ilse at the time, but the marriage was not working out. Ilse was living in Parktown, Yusuf in End Street. A married niece and her family shared the cottage with him. Boxer was "general manager". I visited Yusuf at Boxer's house. I became quite friendly with Mrs Boxer, though she was shy at first. They had four children. Theirs was the first non-white home I had visited. I was quite scared the first time for their house was in a dingy part of Doornfontein." White girls didn't go out alone in those days, certainly not to Doornfontein. Boxer met me at the tram stop. I couldn't have told my sister l was going to some non-white family.

Later when she found out she was horrified. I enjoyed my visits to the Boxers, with Yusuf. As time went on, we all became very relaxed and we would sit in the kitchen, talking and eating; we celebrated the children's birthdays. Yusuf was the pleasantest of company on those occasions.

"In 1951, Ilse left the country with Shireen. Yusuf and l became very close, but we could not contemplate marriage. There was the Immorality Act, among other things and there were raids. We parted. Yusuf married Mariam in 1955. She came

to live in End Street with her children ."

Winnie concentrated on her journalism in the New Age, (formerly Guardian) and became deeply involved in protest action. In 1960 she was arrested and detained for five months at the Fort with Hilda Bernstein, Rica Hodgson, Molly Fisher, Violet Weinberg and Sonia Bunting. They were locked up with the ordinary prisoners most of whom were prostitutes. "We slept seven to a cell, on straw mattresses on the floor. We were subsequently moved to Pretoria where conditions were much better. We went on a hunger strike. They tried to deal with that by separating us from each other. I was sent to Nylstroom, to a rehabilitation centre. It was a beautiful place, but for the bars and the walls.

Yusuf by then had left the country and was in London. His marriage had virtually ended. Mariam never joined him in London and they eventually divorced.

"On my release from prison, I took an exit permit to Israel, and from there joined Yusuf in London. " There were at last no barriers to their being together. They married and started house in an attic room in the India League.

"Yusuf didn't care where he lived I later found a two-roomed flat at six and a half pounds a month. The flat was cold and damp, but we couldn't afford anything better. Yusuf got something from the United Front in those days, and sometimes his family helped. I found work in a travel agency and later, as a bookkeeper. That helped to some extent, but when Roshan was born, I had to give up my job."

To aggravate matters, they were given notice to vacate the apartment they rented, since the building was sold. They moved to Muswell Hill. "We had lived in furnished accommodation up to then and had no furniture or money to buy any; South African friends, settled in London, helped. Percy Cohen's father-in-law gave us the carpet that we still use, and Esme Goldberg brought in a bed, a table and chairs. They are all here.

Winnie says that Yusuf was against acquiring property, but she had to think about herself and Roshan, and when Yusuf's health began to fail, she made arrangements in secrecy, so that there would be some security for them. Theirs was a happy marriage which ended with Yusuf's demise. His last days were spent in hospital.

"He lay ill for week, periodically going into a coma. We were all there with him, Shereen, Roshan, and I and his family from South Africa -- his brother Eboo and his wife Fawzia, his sisters Amina and Julie, and his late brothers wife Gorie. He would periodically emerge from his coma and his face would light up and he would be surprised to see us, and he would chat happily. The friends also came. Joe Slovo, Gill Marcus, Beverly and Tessa, Brian Bunting, Cassim Patel and Zainab Asvat."

On the day of his death, his sisters-in-law were at his bedside reciting the Quran. He called Joe Slovo and talked to him, then he talked to his brother Eboo. I whispered in his ear that Shereen was coming. He was waiting for Shereen, but steadily weakening. His breathing grew shallow and then I realised that he wasn't breathing at all. I called the others. It was 8 p.m. He had passed away peacefully, in coma or sleep. "

ZAINAB ASVAT

I became aware of Yusuf Dadoo in 1936, when he had just returned to South Africa as a qualified doctor. I was a standard six school pupil at the time. He was so highly respected that I wanted to be just like him, a doctor.

We lived near the station and our common mode of transport was the train. I went to school by train, and anyone who visited us, came by train. We could see them coming from the station and Dr Dadoo was one of them. He came to see my father because he liked my father's politics and believed that he could work with him.

The Transvaal Indian Congress was in the hands of Mohamed Jajbhai and Suleman Nana and their political approach was one of compromise, which my father rejected. Dr Dadoo came often and he and my father would be locked in conversation. My mother could not see what they had in common, and she would say, "Why does this "joowanyo" (youngster) keep coming to talk with you? and my father would say, "This "joowanyo" will put Congress on the right line."

Mota, as we called him had a wonderful reputation as a doctor. Soon after his arrival, Hussein Coovadia contacted meningitis. He diagnosed it on the spot, and his fame travelled like wild fire. My mother said if you wanted to see him, you had to queue up. He was also a very dedicated doctor. My sister, Apa contacted typhoid and he came daily, travelling eight or nine miles to see her. By then he had acquired a small car. He never drove himself. Boxer, his man of all jobs, drove for him.

Dr Dadoo formed the Non-European United Front in the Transvaal. My father was elected as the first president and Dr Dadoo as the first secretary. I went to the inauguration meeting with my father and my brothers. *Mota* had a profound influence in my emancipation as a Muslim girl. He came over to our house one day, looking for my aunt's house. She had suffered a stroke. I was alone. He said I should go with them to direct them. Boxer, looked at him in surprise and inquired whether my father would not object. "No, " he said, "she is just like my little sister." I went with them. That in itself was quite a forward move, a girl of thirteen, escorting two men.

He encouraged my family to send me to high school. I was the first Muslim girl to go to high school in the Transvaal. There were Tamil girls there, but no Muslim girls. He later persuaded my father to allow me to help them in their political campaigns. The TIC elections were on and my father and *Mota* were organising to take over control. Both sides, Nana's and Dadoo's saw the potential of the women's vote, and brought them to the polls. I was amazed by the Nana women, who were brought in cars, in their *awdnies* and *miesars*. We did not have cars to bring out our women in such large numbers, so we lost out to Nana.

Mota also had a profound effect on the youth. My brothers followed him to the City Hall steps in Johannesburg. Things could get quite rough there. I trailed along behind my big brother Saleh who tried to shake me off. I would cry and my father would say, "Take her!". We used to stand with placards. By then we had moved from Newclare to Fordsburg.

When *Mota* and my father formed the Non-European United Front, I was a regular attendant at the meetings, encouraged by both *Mota* and my father.

I told my father I wanted to be a doctor. I always played at being doctor and would dispense a medicine" (sugar) to the young children who called me doctor. My father said he would discuss it with *Mota*, which he did, and it was due to Mota's influence that he supported my medical career. To finance it he planned to build a semi-detached cottage on a plot of land he had in Fordsburg. The idea was that we would live in the one, and the rental from the other would pay for my fees and for the mortgage. The plan was never effected. My father died in a motor accident. He was 80 years old. *Mota* organised the funeral.

Six months later, I passed my matric. It did not seem possible for me to pursue a medical career. I planned to teach and save and go later, but *Mota* just said, "She will go to university." He felt obligated to my father, for he knew that it had become as much my father's dream as mine that I should become a doctor. He tried hard to get me admitted into Wits, and when that failed, I went to Fort Hare. He gave me £30 to purchase clothing. Professor Mathews was one of our tutors at Fort Hare . Among my fellow students was Seretse Khama.

Mota was a member of the Communist Party and many of the young people, including my brother had joined it. I too was attracted to it, but my brother insisted that I first read and understand Marxism. I never joined the Party.

One day *Mota* came and told me he wanted me to go to Natal as a Passive Resister. I was in my third year at Medical School at the time. My mother was reluctant. "What about her studies she is arrested?" she asked. "No problem," *Mota* said, "she'll be following in the footsteps of her father. " We organised other women, Chella Naidoo, daughter of Mrs P.K. Naidoo from Doornfontein, and Mrs Naiger from Pretoria. Zohra Bhayat, Zubeida Patel, Amina Pahad and Jamila Bhaba . I.C. Meer and J.N. Singh came to see us off at the station. We travelled second class, to Durban. *Mota* told me that I would have to speak on behalf of the TIC and gave me a Gandhi cap for Dr Naicker.

We were met at the station by a huge crowd and many photographers. We were camera shy and tried to hide our faces. My brother-in-law who kept out of politics and was somewhat conservative was angry that I had been photographed. A.I. Meer, Dr Naicker and Debi Singh drove us to Dr Naicker's house where we had breakfast. I stayed with my sister and brother-in-law in Old Dutch Road.

On Sunday, there was a mass meeting at Red Square where I gave my maiden speech and presented Dr Naicker with the Gandhi cap. After that speech, Dr Naicker and Debi Singh explained to us that we would have to break the law. We had not intended to do that. I spoke to *Mota* over the phone. *Mota* said the NIC had decided that I should lead the first batch of women resisters, and he expected me to do so. I told *Mota* to inform my mother. She raised no objections. I discussed the matter with the other women. They were happy to resist. Zohra, however, had to consult her mother, Chotibai, who said that Zohra was young and unmarried, what would people say? Chotibai decided that she would replace her daughter.

We pitched our tents on Gale Street. For three weeks the authorities ignored us. We slept in the tents, but went home in the morning to wash and refresh ourselves. There were six tents, two for women and four for the men. M.D. Naidoo led the men. I led the women.

We drew a lot of attention from the local Muslims. Some Muslim boys came, just to get fresh with us. They complained that I was cheeky.

I had two aunts in Durban. The one said that I was disgracing her because people

were bandying "her niece's" pictures around; the other aunt however, was supportive, partly because when she came to visit us at the tent, she found me reading "*ya sien"* from the Quran. She brought us "*godras*" (eider downs) and food.

The Durban women, from the Meer family, Deenama Rustomjee, Mrs Hajra Seedat, had formed the Women's Passive Resistance Council, and they gave us support.

We accompanied them to canvass funds in the Grey Street complex. Our reception was mixed, some welcomed us, others criticised us; some shop keepers even threw us out.

Eventually we were arrested and imprisoned.

I owe my politicisation to Dr Dadoo; but for him, I may well not have been a doctor today.

I visited him a few days before his death. He knew that his time was ending. He said that I knew what had to be done upon his death, and he left it to me to ensure that the Muslim ritual was faithfully performed. He said he would have liked to have been buried in South Africa, but he knew that that was impossible.