

Indians in South Africa concluded

by G. R. NAIDOO

THE LONG AND BITTER YEARS

Along every road there were restrictions. And to make the struggle yet more difficult there were splits among the Indian people themselves. Only now, at last, comes unity with other non-whites.



SPECIAL BRANCH MARKED THEM

A "fact-finding" delegation from India is met by Indian leaders in the Union. The markings on the picture were made by the Special Branch when they confiscated it during a raid. Left to right: Mr. Ashwin Choudree, Pundit Kunzru, who headed the delegation, Mrs. Manilall Gandhi, the late Mr. A. E. Shaik and Mr. P. R. Pather.



ATTACK ON RESISTERS

Indian passive resisters have camped in a "banned" area in Umbilo Road, Durban, in 1946. White hooligans swoop down on them and set fire to a tent. Indian leader G. M. Naicker surveys damage.



THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

Co-operation between the Indian Congress and the other non-white groups has become a reality. It is 1952, and the defiance campaign is on. Chief Luthuli addresses a Durban meeting.

DURING the years 1910 to 1920, the position of the Indian in South Africa changed from that of a serf to a wage earner. At the same time, the "Indian menace" bogey was kept constantly alive. Many whites, fearing Indian economic competition, looked for any excuse to attack them. They alleged that the Indians always sent their money out of the country; that they were a danger to public health because of their "unclean habits;" that their presence depreciated the value of property in a neighbourhood; that their trading and business methods were "foreign" to the country.

Then, in 1925, Dr. Malan, Minister of the Nationalist-Labour Coalition, introduced the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provisions) Bill, which envisaged the rigorous residential and commercial segregation of Indians in Natal.

This legislation raised a great storm of protest among the Indian people, who were being led by the South Africa Indian Congress, which had been formed in 1920. The concerted opposition to the Bill led Dr. Malan to refer it to a Select Committee. After continual pressure from India, however, a con-

ference was called at which a delegation from India met leaders of the South African Government.

As a result of these talks the Cape Town Agreement was published in 1927.

In terms of the agreement, India agreed to accept voluntary repatriates from South Africa if the Union Government paid their passages. The Union Government undertook to drop the Areas Reservation Bill and to

provide for the cultural and economic uplift of the Indians who remained in the country.

The agreement, however, was essentially a compromise, and achieved very little. The Union Government expected that Indians would submit to voluntary repatriation in large numbers, while the Indian people expected that conditions would be improved for those of them who wished to remain.

PLEASE TURN OVER

Congress launches campaign against the "Ghetto Act"

From August 1927, when the agreement came into operation, until the end of 1940, only 16,201 Indians took advantage of the repatriation offer.

In spite of the weight of the forces against them, the Indian people were unable to achieve unity among themselves. There was a serious split in Congress in 1933, and a settlement was reached only in 1939.

There was trouble the following year again, however. There was an outcry at the time that Indians were penetrating into white areas and thus devaluing white properties. The Lawrence Committee, which included representatives of the Natal Indian Community, was set up with the purpose of dissuading Indians from buying land in white areas.

The participation of the A. I. Kajeer group of Congress in the Lawrence Committee led the "progressive bloc" (often referred to as the left-wing group) to revolt against them.

The white cry of "penetration" continued, and finally the committee was disbanded in the face of a demand that legislative restrictions should be instituted to stop Indians from buying in white localities.

The Government then appointed the Broome Commission to investigate the question of Indian penetration. As a result of its report, which said that Indian penetration was increasing, the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill was passed in 1943. This Act became known to Indians as the Pegging Act, and was widely opposed by Indians both here and overseas.

But even this legislation was not considered adequate to control the Indian people, and in 1946 General Smuts introduced the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill.

Accused of "selling out"

And thus the tussle went on, with no sign by the whites that they were prepared to treat the Indian people as human beings entitled to decent rights. There seemed to be no end to the discussions and negotiations on the Indian people. Another compromise settlement followed — the Pretoria Agreement. The Indian Congress, led by Mr. Kajeer and Mr. Pather, agreed that their people would buy land for investment purposes only in white areas, but not for occupation. This raised a storm of protest from the poorer section of the people, who accused Congress of "selling" them out so that the wealthy would be able to invest in white areas. The signing of the Pretoria Agreement brought an open split in Congress. An Anti-Segregation Council was formed, headed by Dr. Naicker and his progressive bloc. The Council had only 15 members on the Natal Indian Congress Committee, while the "Kajeer-Pather Group" had 125.

The council urged co-operation with other non-white groups.

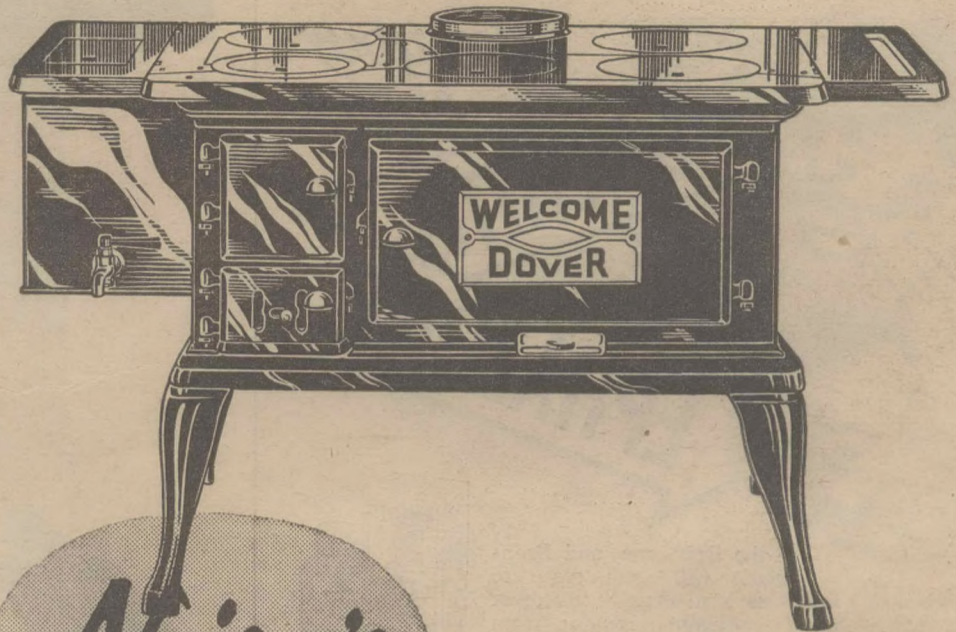
Hostility grew between the two Indian groups. Matters came to a head in August 1945, when members of the Anti-Segregation Council applied to court for an order directing the committee of Congress to hold an annual general meeting. The council felt that Congress was afraid of allowing members to discuss its policy, and was evading an annual meeting. The court found against the Congress officials.

When the annual meeting was held in terms of the court order, the people returned the Anti-Segregation men to power. The progressives had now taken over the running of the Congress. The "old guard" later formed the Natal Indian Organisation, which still exists to this day.

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill was passed in 1946, and the Indian Government, at the request of the Indian Congress, severed diplomatic relations with South Africa. One of the reasons for this decision was the fact that the Union Government had refused a request to hold a Round Table Conference.

Congress denounced the Bill as the "Ghetto Act." It felt that determined measures were needed to oppose it, and it was decided that a passive resistance

PLEASE TURN OVER



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Group Areas Act could mean economic death to Indians

campaign should be launched.

The campaign began when people occupied a piece of land in the Umbilo area of Durban. Soon afterwards the tents of some resisters were burnt down by white hooligans.

As the campaign got under way, some people sought arrest by entering the Transvaal without a permit. The resistance snowballed, and nearly 2,000 Indians, including about 300 women, went to prison. There was never any lack of volunteers.

Another major step taken by the new Congress was the decision to place the "Indian question" before the United Nations Organisation. The issue is still brought up regularly at the United Nations, where the majority of nations have constantly attacked the treatment of Indians in the Union.

The coming to power of a Nationalist Government in the Union in 1948 brought a number of fresh blows to the Indian people.

One of the most crippling was the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, which led to almost their entire leadership being banned from political activities at one period or another. Even people who had never been members of the Communist Party — while it was still legal — were affected.

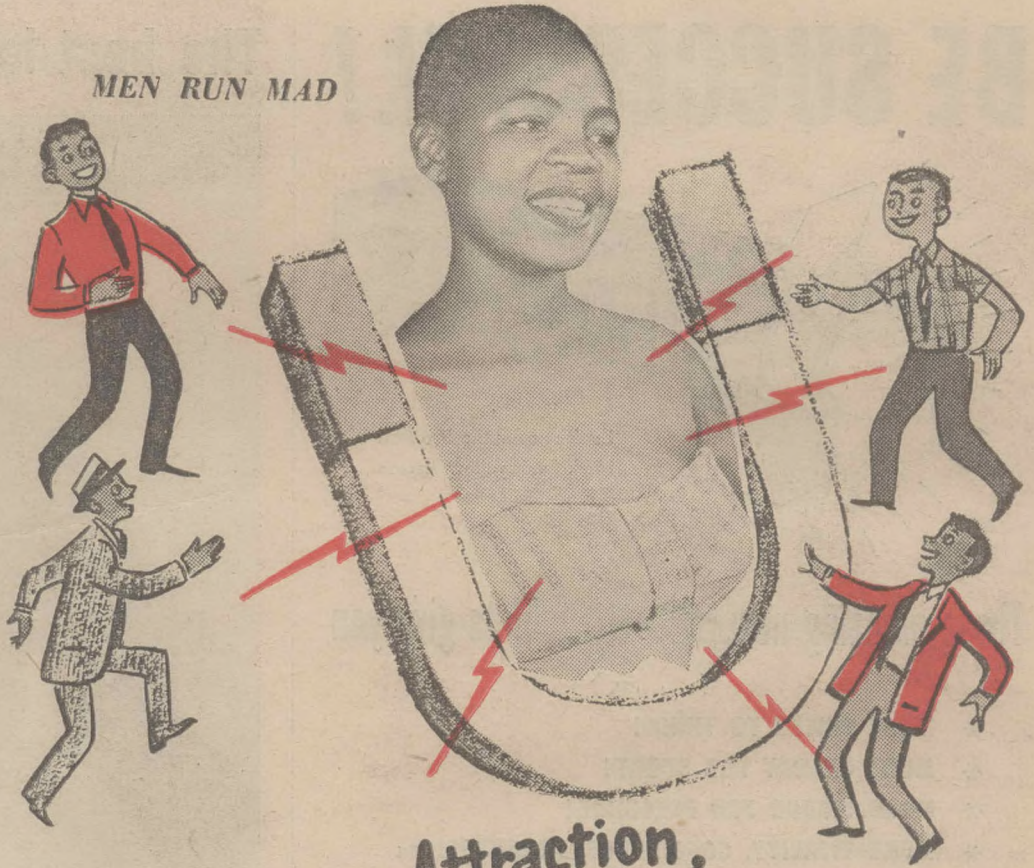
The Group Areas Act was also mooted in 1950. Indian leaders immediately attacked the measure, pointing out that it could mean the economic strangulation of a community which had played a vital part in developing the country. There seemed little doubt among the Indian people that the Act was aimed primarily at them.

In 1952, the Indian Congress, in co-operation with the other non-white Congress movements, began the Defiance Against Unjust Laws Campaign. A number of whites also took part in the campaign, which has come to be recognised as one of the most important milestones in the non-white political struggle in South Africa.

What the Indian people are fighting for most is the recognition that they are a part of the South African people. To the vast majority of them, South Africa is the land of their birth, the only country they know as home. It is the country on which they base all their hopes for themselves and their children.

NEXT MONTH: Indian Men of Note — the first of an enthralling series about some of our most striking people.

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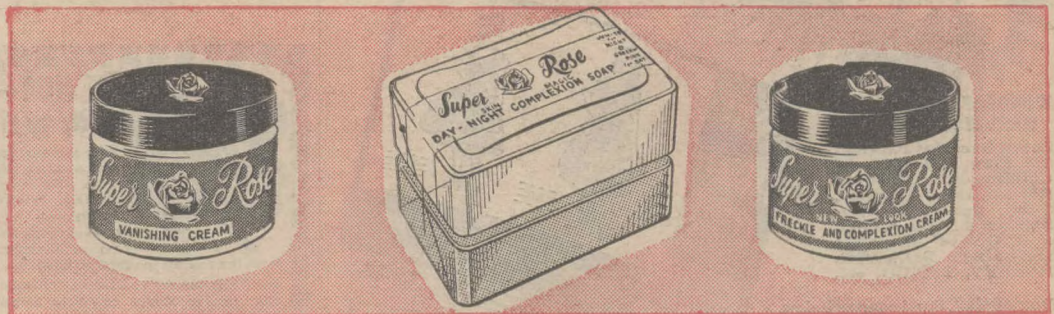
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The Real LUTHULI

By
DENNIS KILEY

CONCLUSION

AT Adams, too, Luthuli gained his first experience of political organising, when he joined the Bantu Teachers' Union. "I was concerned, as was the duty of the Teachers' Union, with the agitation for better salaries and improvements in the general conditions of service."

In 1935 he was approached to stand for the Abasemakolweni chieftaincy—and he had to make the choice between the economic security of his teaching career and the duty of serving his people as chief.

It was a hard decision for a young married man to make: "Finally I thought that call of the people should not be refused, and that I should not look at the position selfishly."

His wife supported his decision wholeheartedly and although most of his friends said: "Luthuli, you madman—how can you make a living?"

HIS CLASH WITH

he stood, and succeeded, taking over as chief in 1936.

The community was primarily a cane-growing one, and in 1936 Chief Luthuli found himself having to oppose discriminatory legislation which threatened the people's livelihood. The 1936 Sugar Act restricting production affected the Non-European cane-grower worse than anybody else—particularly the provision giving White farmers a higher price for their cane than Non-Whites could get.

He helped in the formation of the Natal and Zululand Bantu Cane Growers' Association, to protect the small growers.

STOOD FAST

His interest in the political problems of our people was intensified at this time also by the Native Land and Trust Act and Native Representation Act.

"I am glad that the younger people of that time stood fast against the woings of the Government and resisted the Act, because it deprived the people in the Cape of the vote."

More and more it was impressed on him how the Non-Whites were left out in the cold

when the country's affairs were being discussed, and at the time that the country was heatedly debating the new policy of the United Party formed by the Smuts-Hertzog fusion, Chief Luthuli said:

"England sold us at the time of Union. We have no say in this argument. What was the use of Union when the majority of the people are left out of it?"

The social, physical and economic needs of the Non-White people took up Chief Luthuli's time and filled his thoughts, and in 1945 he formally joined the A.N.C.: "Not because I am at all interested in politics as such, but because political methods have to be used to secure the uplift of the people."

The death of Dr. Dube was another crisis in Chief Luthuli's life: "It made many of us younger men realise that we had to get in and give what help we could."

He became a member of the Natal Executive Committee of the A.N.C. and took over as President in December, 1952.

SHOUT LOUDER

"I was constantly asked in my campaign: 'We have got



● At the height of the Defiance campaign . . . Chief Luthuli confers with Natal Indian leader Dr. Naicker.

nothing from the Advisory Council so far—what will you be able to get?—and all I could say was that I agreed that there was nothing the Council could really do, because it was only acting in an advisory capacity. I did hope, however, that I could get it to shout louder so that the world could come to know more of our ills. I had no illusion that the Council was of any political benefit to the people."

During all this period Chief Luthuli had somehow managed to find the time to play an active part in Church affairs, and in 1938 he became a member of the delegation to the Conference of the International Missionary Council meeting in Madras, India.

In 1948 he was invited by the

American Board Mission in Boston to visit the States and speak on the work of Christian missions in South Africa. People from various parts of the world attended, and Chief Luthuli spent nine months in the U.S.A., addressing hundreds of meetings in about eight large cities.

TRIP TO U.S.A.

HIS first big clash with the Government came when his duties as chief came into conflict with Government policy, during his presidency of the A.N.C. at the time of the Defiance Campaign.

He was reported to Pretoria for addressing a Congress meeting at Newcastle and

THE GOVERNMENT

THE FULL STORY
TOLD FOR THE
FIRST TIME

speaking against the culling of cattle and other Government measures. On the instructions of the Chief Native Commissioner, the Local Native Commissioner asked Chief Luthuli how he could reconcile such statements with holding the position of chief.

"I replied that as far as I knew regulations governing chiefs did not bar them from becoming members of political bodies, except those bodies declared as subversive, and the A.N.C. had not been declared subversive.

"Two or three months went by, and I was summoned to Pretoria—this was at the height of the Defiance Campaign.

PROTEST

"We met in the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. W. Eiselen, in the presence of the Chief Native Commissioner and the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs. Dr. Eiselen told me that as chief I was supposed to keep law and order, and yet I was engaged in a movement which encouraged the people to break the law.

"I informed Dr. Eiselen that while it was true that defiance was connected with the breaking of laws, its aim was not criminal but political, and that we did this because we had no other way of protesting."

SACKED!

After two weeks Chief Luthuli replied that he saw no conflict in his duty as chief and as leader of Congress: "Because in both I am expected to lead my people in the right

way."

A few weeks later the Native Commissioner called and told him that he would forthwith cease to hold the position of chief and must hold an election in the Reserve.

His first ban, served on him on June 13, 1953, under the Riotous Assemblies Act and Criminal Laws Amendment Act, restricted him from the chief centres of the Union and debarred him from attending public gatherings.

RESTRICTED

The next one—served on him under the same laws soon after the expiry of the first one—restricted his movements to the Magisterial District of Lower Tugela, as well as banning him from all public gatherings.

When that one expired this year Chief Luthuli emerged into public life again to find his prestige and popularity so great that crowds jammed railway stations to welcome him at every point—far larger and far more enthusiastic crowds, incidentally, than the present Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, is accustomed to seeing when he moves about in public.

Once again he was clamped back into the little district which has been his home, on and off, for more than 50 years now—and once again his personal influence and the power of his political organisation seem to have gained a new surge of life.

The good-humoured man in the grey Homburg may have to handle his meetings from a distance—but his grip is firmer than ever before.

THE CHIEF SPEAKS

THERE'S NO NEED TO FEAR US

By ALBERT LUTHULI

WHITE South Africa is bedevilled with paralysing fears. There is a fear of being submerged politically in a Black sea. The so-called "tyranny of Black numbers" becomes a terrifying reality to many Whites.

The fear of losing their racial identity through miscegenation empties White South Africa of all reason and reasonableness.

Unscrupulous power-hungry politicians among them meanfully fan these fears and prejudices for their own aggrandisement.

The net result is that White rule in South Africa indulges:

- In severer treatment of Non-Whites and in a callous disregard for the person and dignity of a Non-White and for his right to enjoy universal human rights;

- In governing by most questionable ways. By means of a camouflage an attempt is made to conceal the real

intent of the laws and plans enacted ostensibly for our benefit when all is in the interests of White supremacy;

- Dwarfing Western civilisation in South Africa;

- Sometimes perverting moral values, as when self-preservation is made to supersede moral laws almost to the point of saying: "Anything to maintain White identity."

Allaying Fears

Responsible African leadership has assured White South Africa that it has no intention of perpetuating domination under black guise.

It is only interested in making South Africa a non-racial democracy.

I reiterate this assurance with greater emphasis. African leadership has long offered White South Africa a hand of friendship. True friendship can only be on a basis of equality and mutual trust. Apartheid snubs our offer. This snubbing may cause further strained relationships.

That is why we are determined to fight to the last such enactments as:

- The pass laws; Bantu Education; A Bantustan system.

It should be clear to White South Africa that it would be morally wrong of Non-Whites to acquiesce in a status quo that perpetrates on them indignities that humiliate and rob them of the birthright of all human beings—liberty.

Next week I shall deal with allaying White feelings on miscegenation.



113 WOMEN IN COURT AFTER DIP TANK DEMONSTRATION

A dipping tank was destroyed, and 113 women faced charges in Umzinto court. They were all found guilty. And were fined £25 each, or three months' jail.

TROUBLE IN NATAL

Hungry stomachs are talking in Natal. High taxes, no work, no chance of work for many because of influx control. The angry women heard their babies crying, and they picked up sticks. Here is a report in words and pictures by G. R. Naidoo.

“WE DO NOT GET ENOUGH FOOD. Our husbands pay more than £2 in taxes. The employers do not pay them anything. Our husbands are stuck at home. If husbands come from Durban because of illness they cannot go back to Durban. Because of these things we are dying.”

That is what a rural mother told a magistrate. That is part of the background to the story of protests, baton charges and unrest through the Province of Natal in which two people have died, and as a result of which nearly 1,000 women have been convicted.

Twenty thousand women up in arms. Around 75,500 children left without mothers for various lengths of time. Fines totalling

almost £20,000 imposed — with alternative periods of imprisonment totalling almost 300 years.

The frustrations of unsophisticated country women reached breaking point soon after the city sisters rioted in Cato Manor. Many of these women live below the breadline. They hear their babies crying with hunger. They see their husbands forced to idle without any work, without pay. Hungry stomachs talked, and the women rose in demonstrations right through Natal.

No attempt was made to injure any individual, except apparently in isolated cases, where police claim they were attacked and had to use force to protect themselves. And

PLEASE TURN OVER



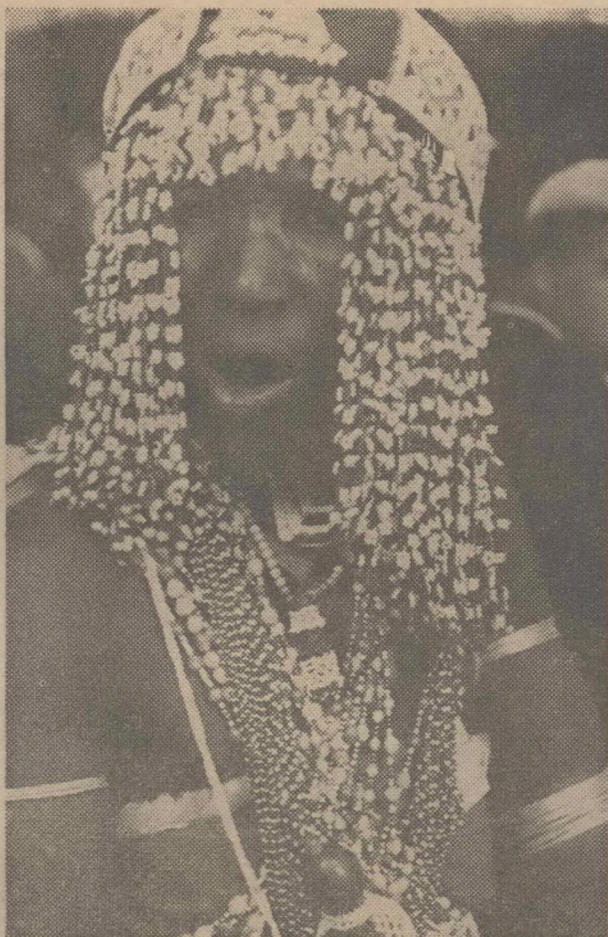
TOOK A GUN TO MEETING

When disturbances spread to Harding, farmers met, and white wives sheltered in hospital. Men got out guns. A call went out for more police.



"POLICE WEREN'T GENTLE"

Philda Hlongwane, from New Hanover, said police called her all sorts of names. "Maritzburg women did nothing to warrant the baton charge. I say the police weren't gentle as you think."



"THE CHILDREN ARE STARVING"

Mother of eight children, Coseleni Mkize, says "Our children are crying for food. This influx control is killing our people. All we want is a chance to live and be happy."



"BLAME THE INFLUX CONTROL"

20-year-old Daphne Dimba: "Our men must pay more tax, but we have no money. Must we crawl on our knees to see the authorities before they will hear our troubles and worries?"

angry women of Natal meet to state their case

mostly it must be said that the police showed remarkable restraint when they were confronted with demonstrating women.

Several officials blamed "agitators" for "causing the trouble." Perhaps they were correct. But the "agitators" were not necessarily professionals out to cause trouble at any cost. Government laws produce hundreds of "agitators" each month.

Under laws dealing with slum clearance

alone, a regular convoy of urban women is sent back into the rural areas from the cities because there are no longer homes for them there. Most times they are sent to country areas foreign to them. They are being sent to their "original home," says the Government ticket. But is a hut in the grass in a long-forgotten village "home" for a city woman?

The women have no say in the laws that

PLEASE TURN OVER



SCHOOL BURNED

In Maritzburg women rose, and in the night flames licked around Government school buildings in the model Sobantu village.



BATON CHARGES

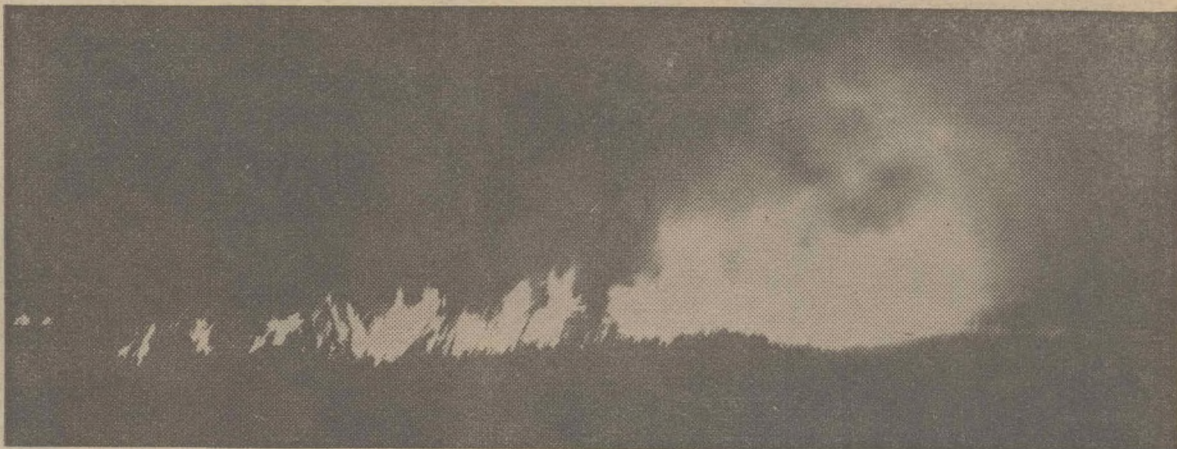
Everywhere there was speculation. Some folk had sticks. These women gathered to prepare demands, but later police baton-charged.

fire by night . . . arrests by day



"WE DO NOT ASK FOR MUCH"

Fifty women, many with their babies on their backs, spoke at meeting to plan the future. Many came to the meeting in tribal dress, from far away, like Mrs. Hlupekile Ngcobo, and her little son.

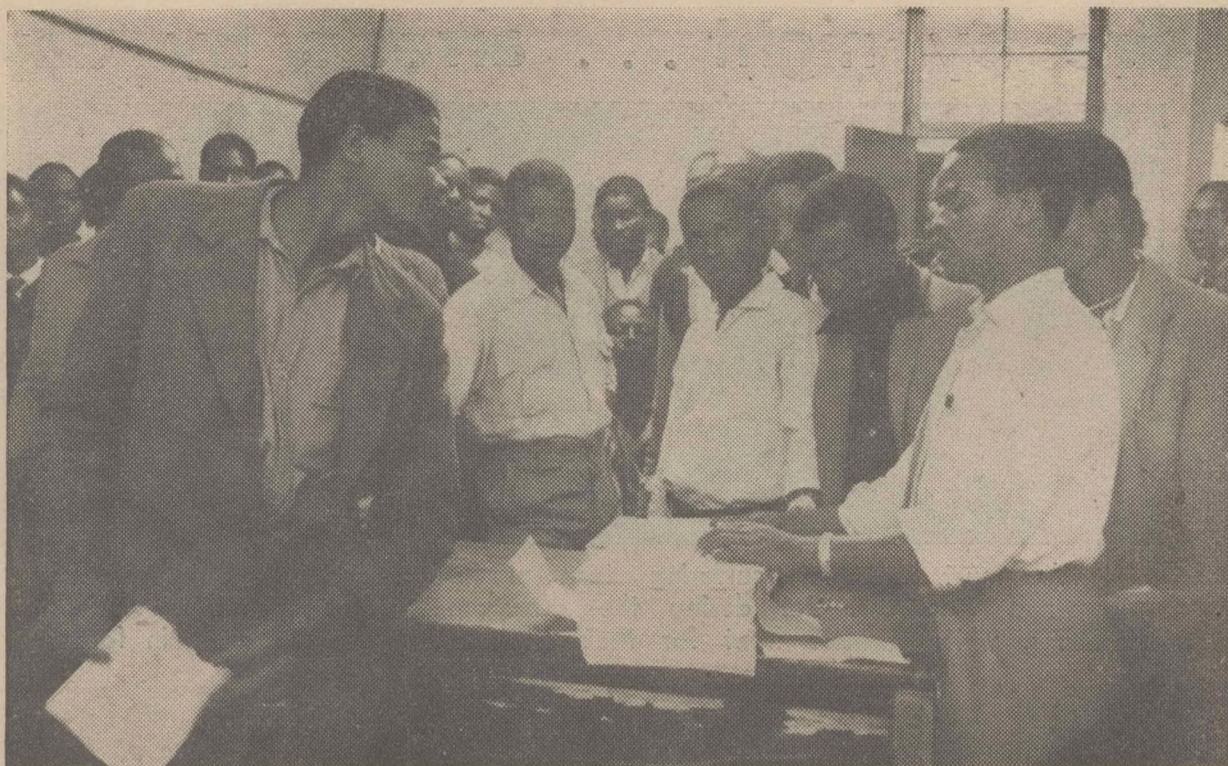


"We must not let suffering turn us into terrorists," Chief Luthuli warned Congress. But during the disturbances fires flamed on lonely farms, white farmers went for their guns, and policemen came in force.



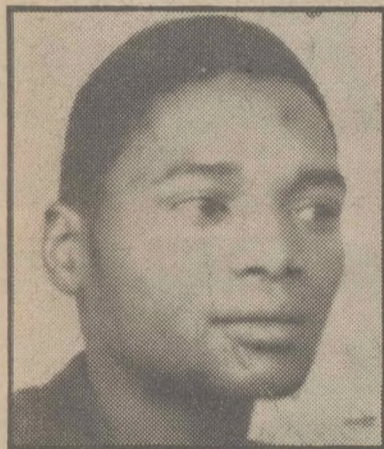
HUGE CROWD GATHERED TO PLAN FOR FUTURE

There were about 1,200 delegates at the huge A.N.C. rally in Durban which was called by banned Chief Albert Luthuli. Mostly women attended, but there were men as well to hear complaints from all areas. They decided to set up committees in all parts of Natal.



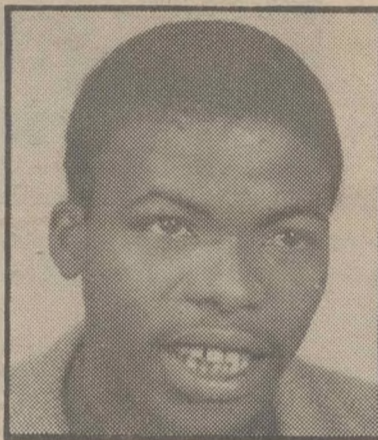
VOLUNTEERS CARRY LUTHULI MESSAGE

When the authorities were desperate to know how to stop the disturbances, Chief Luthuli sent out messengers through the province, calling for order, and non-violent action by all.



THESE ARE 2 MEN WHO LOST THEIR LIVES . . .

"I sympathise with those who lost their lives, and their relatives, and those who sustained injuries during the disturbances," wrote Chief Luthuli. Here are two men who died. Left: George Gumede, shot in riot at Sobantu village; Right: N. Ndhlovu, Sobantu teacher, also killed by a gun bullet.



A.N.C. SUPPORTS THE WOMEN -BUT SAYS: "NO VIOLENCE!"

govern them. In the words of Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress:

"... laws are implemented by the Government without consultation with the affected people. The Government is only prepared to discuss matters with chiefs. People are told to accept new laws when they are completely ignorant that the laws have been discussed already. Women are therefore trying to overcome misrepresentation by the chiefs by staging demonstrations against inhuman laws."

One of the 600 women arrested in the New Hanover district, for example, said that the destruction of a dipping tank by women should be looked upon as a "letter to the authorities, which they will read."

Are the authorities reading these "letters" rightly? Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, the secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, speaks of subversive organisations making dexterous use of a feeling of uncertainty and confusion caused by sustained and exaggerated criticism of State efforts to benefit Africans. It appears from these words that he

denies any real or reasonable basis for the women's action.

Certainly he has not suggested any remedies to quiet the unrest. Least of all has he instituted an investigation into the complaints of the thousands of women who have demonstrated.

There is one main complaint which is basic to all the disturbances. That is influx control, the aspect of Government policy which is hitting the rural African hardest. This policy is being administered too often by officials who show very little, if any, sympathy for the plight of the human beings they are dealing with.

Since 1952 no African is recognised as a permanent urban dweller, unless he fulfils certain requirements. Some of the conditions under which he can remain in an urban area are that he has to be born and be in permanent residence in an urban area; he has to work continuously in an urban area for one employer for a period of not less than 10 years, or he has to remain lawfully and continuously in an urban area for a period of not less than 15 years, and during either

period he should not be sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of more than seven days, or, with the option of a fine, for a period of more than one month.

Influx control becomes most acute in Natal since the reserves are on top of the main urban areas. The weekly traffic between urban areas and the reserves far exceeds similar traffic in any other province. The ratio of urban dwellers to rural dwellers in Natal gives a great preponderance to rural areas. The crush in the reserves makes influx control the most burning point.

Influx control is mainly responsible for driving many people from their families, and for the deportation of many men from their work centres to enforced idleness at home while their families are starving.

"Our men get little pay"

There are other burning issues. Certainly dipping laws, which made the dip tanks a target for attack. "We don't want to see this tank," said one woman. "We pay money for cattle. Because of dipping, cattle have died. We cannot start ploughing. There is a tractor we can hire, but it costs us a lot of money. Our husbands get little pay. Our husbands cannot get permits to go to Durban to earn more. We have not enough fields to plough. We do not want to see the sight of this tank."

And reference books, increased taxes, dissatisfaction with "Government" chiefs, forest clearance, and closed settlements are building bitter resentment.

Said an irate mother, when reproached that African women should now be carrying sticks: "It's true African women never carried sticks before. But then they never carried passes before, either!"

Harding, Maritzburg. All over. Fires in the sugar lands of the South Coast. And while some pompous officials were still crying out against the African National Congress "agitators," it was Chief Albert Luthuli, banished President-General of Congress, who brought back order to Natal.

He told the people: "I would like the whole country to know that it is not the A.N.C.'s policy to indulge in violent resistance and arson. I strongly warn those who may wish to demonstrate that there should not be any blood shed in any demonstration."

"We do not support anybody who damages or burns buildings or destroys property. It does not benefit the nation and it loses us support throughout the world, because violence makes us look like terrorists and irresponsible people. We also lose support from our sympathisers in the country and abroad."

"Don't become terrorists"

About 500 A.N.C. volunteers carried Luthuli's message through every reserve and to every village in Natal. "I pay tribute to the recent spirit of resistance shown by Africans," he said, and he listed the grievances of the women. But he warned, "we must not let suffering turn us into terrorists."

"Beware of people who come to you under the banner of Congress. Make sure of the sect to which they belong, because others will come to you with other aims and objects and pretend to be supporters of Congress. If such people claim to be leaders of the A.N.C., ask for their credentials."

Chief Luthuli sent out nearly 250,000 leaflets, and his action has brought quiet for the present to the troubled province of Natal. But the grievances remain. The people are angry. The Government should cease attributing their anger to so-called agitators, and should meet the people immediately to find out the real source of their grievances. ●

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