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N.T.N.10 ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE ACTING HEAD OF THE INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA, AT RECEPTIONS HELD AT JOHANNESBURG AND DURBAN, ON SUNDAY 25th JULY, 1954, AND ON 2nd AUGUST, 1954.

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# Mr. Chairman, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I am very happy that I have been given this opportunity to meet you before my departure from your country. Indeed it is a proud day in my life that the people of South Africa have gathered here to bid me farewell. I am very grateful to the African National Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress the have arranged this function tonight. I thank you also, Mr. Chairman, and my other friends who have spoken tonight for the fine sentiments they have expressed about me and my country.

I have lived here for five years. It is a pretty long period to I have lived here for five years. It is a pretty long period to live in South Africa for a person coming from the atmosphere of India. However, in spite of all the difficulties I must admit that I have enjoyed my stay very much. During this period I formed many a friend-ship among Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloureds. It is their cordiality, their courtesy, their affection that has made my stay very, very pleasant. In fact I have found in the common man of South Africa a great goodwill for India, and that has always uplifted my heart. Let me assure you that there is a tremendous goodwill in India for the people of South Africa. When I say "people" of South Africa, I include each and every section of the population of this country. I include each and every section of the population of this country. In India we criticise racial discrimination. We do so not only because it is going to be very harmful to the interests of the European people of this country. They may not be able to realise this at present but we see it very clearly. Whatever we say against racial policies of this country, we do so with a very positive angle taking into account the good of Europeans as well as that of the non-Europeans. We have nothing but goodwill for each and every section of the people of this country. It may be interesting for me to tell you that about four months ago a delegation went from South Africa to Pakistan to attend an unofficial conference there. That delegation included also persons who are ardent supporters of apartheid. They expressed a wish to visit India and we very gladly permitted them to go to India. One of the delegate who visited India came to see me and had a talk with me. I told him that when he went to India he would find that there was no hostility against the European section of the population of S.Africa. What he would find would be only criticism of their racial policy. He appeared to be rather sceptical of what I told him. However when he went to India and was actually well received everywhere, he was very pleasantly surprised. On coming back he told me that what I had said to him was quite correct. He had found that Europeans in India were very welcome. There was no discrimination against them of any sort. But he wanted to test what would be the reaction of the people to a European from South Africa. So he made a point that wherever he went he disclosed his identity to the people. He found that the reaction was not of hatred or hostility but of cordiality. In fact people showed interest in him. They asked him questions but were courteous to him. They paid a bit more attention to him than they would have done otherwise. We have indeed nothing but goodwill for each and every section of the people of South Africa.

India has had a very intimate contact with South Africs. That contact has arisen to a large extent because of the presence of the Indian community in this country. We have taken interest in their welfare and we are accused of interfering in the domestic affairs of South Africa. It is important to note that Indians did not come to this country of their own accord. They were specially invited by the Europeans of this country. It was after efforts lasting several years that they were able to persuade the Government of India - even the Government of India of that day - to allow the migration of Indian labourers to this country. As as son as the Government of India

discovered/ .... 2

discovered that these Indian labourers were not being treated well they stopped their further emigration. For 8 years from 1866 to 1877 no Indian came to this country. But in this period the Europeans of Natal made frantic appeals to the Government of India. They persuaded the Imperial Government in London also to press the Govt. of India to allow the migration of labourers from India. The Govt. of India, conscious of the treatment that had been meted out before to the Indians in this country, demanded assurances and agreements were the Indians in this country, demanded assurances and agreements were made at that time that Indian labourers would be well treated. In fact an assurance was given that as soon as the Indian labourers completed the period of their indenture, they would be free men and would have rights no wit inferior to any other British subject in Natal. Inducements were held out to the Indians to settle in this country. One of the inducement was that in lieu of a free passage back home they could be allotted a plot of land where they could settle. Arrangments were made for Indian women to come here so that the Indians here could have a settled life. When the sovereignty of Natal was transferred to the Union Government, the responsibility of Natal was transferred to the Union Government, the responsibility of carrying out these agreements and assurances fell on the Union Government as the successor Government. The Union Government recognis-ed the interests of the Government of India in the Indian community in this country and from time to time conferences were held to dis-cuss the difficulties that were being created for Indians. In the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government agreed that the Indians domiciled in the Union, who were prepared to conform to western standard of life, should be enabled to do so. The Union Government also undertook to uplift the Indian community to the full extent of their capacity. But in spite of all these assurances and agreements disabilities were imposed on Indians. The assurances and agreements were dishonoured only in breach as more and more disabilities were imposed on the Indians in this country. It became the moral duty of the Government of India, who had been a party to the emigration of Indians to this country, that they should come forward and tell the Union Government that what they were doing was wrong and contrary to the agreements and assurances given to them. It was wrong for them to take away the rights of the Indian community. In these circumstances it cannot be said that this is a matter of domestic interference. It is strange that during the last 50 years the Union Government were prepared to talk to the Government of India on various issues concerning the to talk to the Government of India on various issues concerning the Indians in this country but today they are not prepared to talk and plead that the itealment of Indians is a domestic matter. The history of coming into existence of the Indian community in this country is such that it fails to the duty of the Govt. of India that they should take interest and whenever a disability is imposed on the Indian The history community they should raise their voice against it. It is important to note that whatever the views of the Government and the people of India in regard to the rights of Indiana, they have intervened mainly only on those occasions when the Union Government have passed laws against the Indian community or taken away any of their existing rights. At one time they had franchise rights and these were taken away. They could trade freely but trading licensing laws were passed to control limited trading by Indians. Thereafter the Union Govt. began to impose disabilities in regard to acquisition and occupation of properties.

The legislation enacted previously was intended to prevent further progress of Indians but it allowed them to retain the vested interests they had created. The Group Areas Act however wants to reverse the progress. It is intended to uproot them, ruin them economically and reduce them to the status of labourers in which they first came to this country. When such measures are being taken in violation of assurances given and agreements made the Government of India is compelled to raise its voice. It cannot be said that this is interference in the domestic affairs of the Union 1

The second reason because of which the accusation of interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa is levelled against India arises from the fact that as recently as 1952 the Government of India took the step of placing the issue of model discrimination before the United Nations. This issue of model discrimination is not a domestic matter at all. It is a very fundamental issue. It is of such a great importance that it can rock the world. Facial discrimination in this country is based on the concept that a person of European extraction is a superior human being and a person of non-European extraction is an inferior human being. Easist discrimination is also based on the concept that the Europeans or the people of European extraction should maintain their domination over non-Europeans and continue to do so for all time to come. It has been said in this country and said authoritatively, that the people of Europe, the white nations of Europe, are becoming decadent. Why has this been said? It is because circumstances have arisen in Asia in which the colonial powers of Europe have been compelled to withdraw from Asia and the people there have become free. This process is starting in parts of Africa. It is because of this that it is eaid in this country that the people of Europe are becoming decadent. The people who believe in racial discrimination in this country want that the domination of the white man in all parts of the world must continue for ever. This concept must die and die completely and in each and every corner of the world. The more quickly this concept dies the better for the world. It is only then that the peace and progress of the world could be ensured.

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We are being accused of interference in the domestic affairs of this country, because we are opposed to disabilities being heaped upon the Indian community in this country. The question arises why these disabilities have been imposed, inspite of all the assurances given by the Union Government to the Government of India. I have heard many reasons being given by Europeans in this country for these disabilities and I would like to analyse them. One reason given is that Indians who enter business become unfair competitors with the European traders and, therefore, measures should be taken against them to stop them from expanding in commerce. The Indian community have been trading in this country for a long time now. This should have produced some effect, and cause some difficulties for the European traders in this country if the argument were true. They should not have been able to make the progress they have made. On the contrary they have actually grown from strength to strength In fact the European commercial class in this country is one of the most prosperous commercial classes in the world. Therefore that accusation cannot be correct. In the matter of competition in trade, rade of the trader is immaterial. If today in one street there are ten shop keepers and tomorrow their numbers goes up to 20 without a corresponding rise in the number of customers, then the original ten shopkeepers are bound to feel the pressure of competition from the new ten shopkeepers irrespective of the rase. Whenever the question has arisen of general restriction of traders in certain areas the European Chambers of Commerce always protested against it. Their protests are well founded because economy of South Africa has all along been expanding. Purchasing power has been increasing. There is continuously a scope for more businesse to be opened. It is very interesting to note that European commercial classes most support the United Party and note that European commercial classes most support the United Party and the Party says that millions and millions of Europeans immigrants should be brought from Europe into this country. If millions of Europeans come into this country, would they not become serious competitors with the existing European commercial class; Certainly they would. However the English commercial class does not worry about that. The reason again is that this country is prosperous and more and more people can be absorbed in it. The Indian trading community started in a very humble way as hawkers and pedlars, or small store holders,

They have been serving the poorer sections of the people both Europeans and non-Europeans. They have played a minor and a complimentary role to the European traders. They have not stood in the way of the progress of the Europeans.

The next reason that is given is that the Indians have penetrated into European areas. That is particularly being said about Durban. The Indians who have begun to live among the Europeans are people of some means, education, and culture. They have high standards of living. It cannot be said that they are bad neighbours. In their personal attainments they are superior to thousands and thousands of Europeans who are living in this country. In fact if an Englishman of Durban went outside South Africa and came across an Indian of the same status as his neighbour he would be proud to know him. There is no reason why it would be wrong for an Indian to live among Europeans. He certainly causes no harm to the Europeans.

Another argument that is given is that Indians look for support to the Government of India. The neessity of their being so would never arise if no disabilities are imposed in them. There would then be no need for Indians to look to India. This argument is falacious and cannot justiry disabilities on Indians in this country.

The other reason that is being advanced is that the Indians in this country appealed to the Government of India to withdraw the High Commissioner, impose trade sanctions and take their issue to the U.N. These steps, taken by the Govt. of India, have created difficulties for the Union Government and given it bad name in the world. I can appreciate the annoyance of the Europeans or the Govt. of this country. But it should be realised that these steps have been taken merely because disabilities were being imposed on Indians in this country.

One other thing which is repeatedly pointed out is that Indians have begun to co-operate with the African people and have become their political allies. I say what is wrong in the various sections of the people of the same country to cooperate and try to build a better country. In any case this is a very recent development, I realise, and understand the bitterness of the Europeans in this matter but this also cannot be said to be the basic cause of imposition of disabilities. The disabilities are being imposed for the last 60 years and not since the Indians and the Africans had joined hands.

All these arguments have been used for the purposes of propaganda and oreating titterness against the Indian community but they are not the real cause. The basic reason for imposing disabilities is different and I shall try to analyse it to you. During the last 300 years Europeans in this country have tried to build a certain structure of society. In that structure of society they have placed the white man as the bots - the master and they have placed the clack man as the servant or almost the slave. This structure of society is a very delicate one. It is balanced pre-aritually and is built on the myth that the white man is a superior human being and that the black man is an inferior human being. They want to maintain this tructure for all time to come. They have imagined that they could maintain the structure so far as the African was concerned. Whether this was correct or not is a different matter but they did feel that they could prevent the African people from emerging from the status of the servant in this country. They also trought the Indians in this country as labourers. They were also to occupy the status of servants in that structure of society. The Indians however wanted to make progress. The Europeans were not prepared to concede to them equality, but the Indians did not want to stick to the status of a servant. They were not prepared to remain cervants. When the European caw that Indiane had stopped being servants ener or as hawkers he felt that they had become a danger to the delicate structure where there could be relationship of master and servants ener or as hawkers he felt that they had become a danger to the delicate structure where there could be relationship of master and servant only between a European and A Non-European, hwas stated to be an alien element. The Indian was said to be unassimilable. The Intitle Indian community in this country by itsel could not be a danger to the ethropeans. They feer however that if the Indian was permitted to and go forward, then the myth of white an's su

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and the whole structure would topple over. It is because of this that the Europeans and the Government of this country are hostile to Indians and from time to time have imposed disabilities on them. The more Indians have tried to progress the more laws have been passed against them. But can it be said that if there was no Indian progress, the African would have been prepared to stay in at the status of a servant. I do not think so. I do not know how far the economic progress of the Indians have been able to influence the Africans in this country but I am very positive that the progress of the European community has had a tremendous impact on the African people and that effect is showing today. If the influence was to come only from the Indian community then the effect should have shown itself most on African people in Natal. But what do we find. In the last Defiance Campaign the area from which the greatest response came was not Natal but the Eastern Cape where there are hardly any Indians. But it is there that the African came into contact first with the white man.

It is not always that the Union Parliament discusses realistic issues. But during the last session of the Parliament one such issue was discussed and it was the integration of the non-European into the economy of the white man.

Bookesmen of the United Party said that the Africans had become Integrated in the economy of the Europeans and that integration was going apace. As this process went on it would be impossible to deny to them political rights. The spokosmen of the Nationalist Party accepted this. But they said that they could not allow economic integration of the non-whites with the white to continue and hand over political power to non-whites. They axplained that their apartheid policy only could stop economic integration of the Africans and thus maintain white supremacy. Whatever the differences between the views of the United Party and the Nationalist, the discussions made it clear then ever before that if the African people made progress economically then they would grow in strength. The strength would be such that they would demand pelitical rights and it would no longer be possible for the government to refuse them. That is why every step is being taken to stop the economic progress of the Africans and other non-Europeans in this country. The Industrial Conciliation Bill has been introduced and has provisions about job: make been created. The Africans in the science of 'temporary residents' has been created. The Africans in the science of 'temporary residents' has been created. The Africans in the science of 'temporary residents' has been created. The Africans in the science all of 'temporary residents'. This white Africa is over 9/10 th of the South Africa. It contains all the economic activity and from the point of view of economic life of the country it is the whole of South Africa. So in South Africa the African is a temporary resident. You cannot come across such a concept in any part of the world, it is fantastic that of the population as could be, should be given the statue of 'temporary residents'. This status is given to Africans so that they could be denied rights in South Africa. They are not given any rights and are only needed as servants and nothing more. They are paid to have the same status, as my friend Mr

About a century and half ago, the world took notice of chattel slavery. Today 1t will take notice of the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa. I am sure that it will take a very serious note. In any case the economic progress of the African people can never be prevented. If it is prevented, there are bound to rrise serious repercussions from the Europeans in this country. They cannot retain their prosperity, which they have built on the labour of the Africans, without passing in a tiny bit of that prosperity to the Africans. It is true that when a people progress economically they make progress politically also. But there is even a more important factor in the situation. It is the rise of the human spirit among the Africans and other non-European people of this country. I have been here for five years. During the course of these five years I have seen a tremendous revolution taking place among the non-European people of this country. That revolution is taking place in their minds and hearts. Their whole outlook is being transformed. Their whele attitude to the rulers, to the white people, is changing. Their inferiority complex has gone. Their fear is going too. When a subject people lose the fear of their rulers then it is never possible for the rulers to continue to subjugate them.

The fear of the rulers in the minds of the Africans and other Non-European people is almost gone, When that process is complete, then it will be impossible for anybody to prevent them from marching forward and gaining their complete rights as full citizens of this country. Of course even the little political progress that the non-Europeans have made today has frightened the rulers and they have passed extremely drastic laws. But it is a well know fact that revolutions feed on repression. The more repressive laws are passed, the more the African and other non-Europeans in this country would think of their effect. The more they think, the more aware they would become of their position, As they get awareness they would grow more politically conscious. They are breaking the shackles in their hearts. Once these shackles are gone no other shackles could bind them The laws that are being woven around them cannot hold them. In fact as my friend Mr. Tambo has pointed out there is nothing peculier about what is happening in Bouth Africa. It is just a part of one force emerging in the world, About 300 years or so ago the people of Europe spread over the whole of the world and dominated it. It was in a way an historical force. That force has spent itself and a new force has arisen among the non-European people of the world. That has led has arisen among the non-European people of the world. That has led practically the whole of Asia to become free. The same force is leading people of Africa to struggle for freedom. Nothing can stop it. Nothing can stand before it. It is invincible. It must succeed. I am often surprised at the attitude adopted by the European section of the population in this country. They have already started what I would call a cold civil war. But do they expect that they can win in this cold war. Do they expect they can live in this country and prosper in the face of permaent hesitility of the vast majority of the people of this country. It will be good if they recognised and recognised quickly, that they could never succeed in the face of this invincible force. If they inct obarged their attitude recognised that the non-European people just changed their attitude, recognized that the non-European people are also as good human beings as anybody else, and concede them rights and try to cooperate and help them, they would contribute in building a very prosperous South Africa is which they would have a very honourable place.

The Indian representation has been withdrawn from this country and I am on the verge of my departure. In a way a link is being broken between India and South Africa.

I quite agree with my friends who have said here today that there is a greater bond between India and South Africa than this formal link which is being broken. That greater bond cannot be broken and would grow from strength to strength. We shall continue to take interest in the affairs of this country. Let me add that while we shall take interest in the affairs of this country, India has no "interests" in this country.

In the terminology of the Western world "intereste" has a special significance. During the last three or four hundred years they tried to create "interests" in every part of the world and on the excuse of these "interests" they have tried to dominate the non-European peoples of the world. Certainly India has no such "interests" in South Africa or in any other part of the world. Our Prime Minister, has given a very clear message to the Indian community in South Africa. He has said that we shall always support you and we shall always fight for your rights if disabilities are imposed on you, but if they demand any rights or concessions which is against the interests of the African people then certainly you will never get any support or cooperation from us. You must live in cooperation with the people of Africa."

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India can never forget South Africa. The reason is that South Africa in a way has made a great contribution to the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi experimented with truth in this country and took his experiences to India to fight for the independence of our people there. It is a holy ground for us from that angle. I am very happy that the seed which Mahatma Gandhi sowed in this country over 50 years ago has begun to eprout among you. Folicies of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress show this. I feel very happy to see that you are not motivated by narrow sectionalism or hatred or enemity towards other sections. You are inspired by ideals of love and for the good of all people of South Africa. You have started on the right path which is bound to lead to greater prosperity for South Africa. There is no other country which requires the message of love and common brotherhold that you wish to propagate more than South Africa, We shall watch with great interest the efforts you make in this direction.

I wish to assure you that the people and the Govt, of India will give you their fullest moral support in your ideal to create a society in this country in which there will be equality, equal opportunity and justice for all. I believe that I am not only giving you a message of support from India but also voicing the feelings of the whole of Asia.

I have felt very impressed by the utterances of your leaders and particularly by the utterances of your great leader, Chief Lutuli. He is a true Christian and is inspired by sincere spirit of service to the people of this country whether black or white. In moral stature he is far higher than any other political leader in this country, white or non-white.

I wish to thank you again for the great honour you have done me ly gathering here tonight. I shall carry with me very happy memories of the very pleasant associations that I have made in this country and I know that your good wishes shall ever he with me.

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DR. MAICKER SPEAKS After a lapse of 12 months during which he was banned from attending any public gatherings, Dr. Naicker, President of the N. I.C. made the following speech at a meeting held to commemorate JUNE 26th "DEFIANCE DAY".

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TODAY June 26 is a red letter day in the history of the struggle for liberation in this country. We are assembled here to may our humble tribute to those brave and gallant men and women who have contributed to the struggle for freedom, from the time of the arrival of the first white man in this country.

BEFORE recalling the supreme courage and determination of during forbears let us first of all understand the significance of JUNE 26th. Mr. Yengwa, the Secretary of the Natal African National Congress, will deal mere fully with this particular aspect. However, it is necessary for me to remind you of the following facts.

ONE JUNE 26th, four years ago the first united struggle of the non-white people began. It was on this day that we had the historical National Day of Protest in which thousands of Indians and Africans laid down their tools as a mark of protest against the injustices perpetrated against them by a vicious, antidemocratic Government.

IT was on this day also, two years ago, in 1952, we further strengthened the bonds of non-European co-operation by striking yet another blow at injustice through the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign.

AND, therefore, it is only right and proper that today the fourth Anniversary of our first united struggle we should recall the contributions made by the numerous heroes and heroines who laid down their lives so that we may live in freedom.

WE recall the gallant struggle waged by the Zulu people under Dingaana and Cetshwayo; we recall the struggle of theXosa Nation under the leadership of such great men as Hinsa, Sandale, Nongawuzi and others; we recall with pride the struggle led by Moshesh and Khama on behalf of their people - the Abesutu and Abetswana respectively.

WE recall also the more recent history of contributions made by great and gallant fighters for freedom. To my mini comes immediately the name of Johannes Nkosi who was killed in 1930, when he led the African people of Durban in their struggle against the abnoxious pass laws; we recall the case of an old woman freedom-fighter -Mrs. Valliamma - who fought and later died in prison during the great passive resistance struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi when he was in South Africa, and of Kistensamy who was beaten up by white hooligans during the Passive Resistance struggle in 1946.

On this historic day, we also recall the death in prison of a gallant daughter of South Africa - Miss Sinini Mxokozeli - who died during the recent Defiance Campaign in a goal in the Eastern Cape.

WE pay homage to these great men and women who left their kith and kin; their homes and their jobs, to play their part in the liberatory struggle of the oppressed people of our country.

WE are proud of their services and sacrifice and when the true history of this land of our birth is written they will not be forgotten.

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Dr. Maicker's Speech/

THE greatest bribute we can pay to their noble example is to rodedicate ourselves to the just cause in which they lost their lives. We must build an army of the people, fighting, not with guns and bullets, but with the strength of the people; fighting, neither for pay nor power, but, for freedom. In doing so we should remember that we are but a small division of the great army of men and women in such countries as Gautemala, Malaya, North Africa, Kenya, Indo-China and other parts of the Colonial World who are fighting against Imperialism and Colonialism.

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South AFRICA today still remains a bastion of the vicious system of semi-colonialism where the vast majority of the people are subjected to the most inhuman conditions. While we consider plans to fight Fascism at home we must remember that the Fascists leaders hope to re-infect the world at large with this plague of fascism. In their desperate madness to inflict the world with this horror they are developing more and more destructive weapons. They intervene and side with the oppressors when they see masses of people ready to break the shackles of slavery.

WE SEE these war mongers brandishing the Atom and Hydrogen bombs without paying any heed or thought to the destructive power of these weapons. I am not one of those who panles everytime a weapon of war is invested. But we have read scientific and other data of the destructibility of these horror weapons. If an Hydrogen bomb is dropped on Cape Town it can kill people here in Durban and radioactive snow from the Cape can be carried by the wind to places thousands of miles away and there injure and kill people and animals, for it will destroy all people both black and white; war mongers and such a struggle. No intilligent person, no civilised person who loves grave threat that faces mankind.

WE must strengthen the hands of peace and strike out against those who want war and those who remain indifferent to the miseries of mankind.

What can we, who are almost slaves in this country and who have no verge in the making of laws do? First, we must organise and strengther our respective organisations and by our massive protest make known to the Government our desire for peace and freedom. We must strengthen our bonds of friendship and join hands with all the oppressed people of this land. We cannot avoid that which history has imposed on our generation. We must fight back with all our resources to achieve our cherished goal - freedom in our lifetime.

OU will today hear of the steps taken by the National Liberatory vement - the African National Congress, Natal Indian Concress and Congress of Democrats - to call a great Conference to be known the Congress of the People where a Charter embodying the aims, rations and the demands of the people of 3 ath Africa will be ted.

xt step in the struggle for freedom is - the CONGRESS OF THE . Let us go forward and make this Congress an occasion where ple irrespective of race or colour could meet and give on to their nopes and desires.

Durban

LOVE LIVE THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE :

AFRIKA ! MAYIBUYE :

Matal Indian Congress - P.O.Box 2299

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# RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

#### **TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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