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FRIDAY, 23RD JANUARY, 1953

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Duty

Duty is that which is due to Humanity, which we now to all those who are poorer and more helpless than we are ourselves. It is a debt which, if left unpaid during life, leaves us spiritually insolvent and moral bankrupts in our next incarnation.

-H. P. Blavatsky.

Let us put all our burden on God and He will take us along to our heaven of rest and peace. To trust in man is no good, think of and remember God for ever. He protects the world, Ifold Him constantly in mind. He who surrenders himself entirely to His keeping never is left alone. O God, Thou art the friend and leader of all Thy true devotees.

—Saint Tukaram.

MR. ATTLEE'S TRIBUTE TO INDIA

R. C. R. ATTLEE Leader of the Opposition in the British House of Commons, in a broadcast from New Delhi on January 5, said: I am visiting India again after an interval of 23 years and I am finding the experience most interesting. In the years 1927 to 1929 I paid two visits to India. I travelled the length and breadth of the land and I made many enduring friendships, and I had the privilege when I was Prime Minister of welcoming your Prime Minister as one of the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. And now I come back, it is interesting to see what has been happening. I am struck by the great energy that is being displayed throughout India.

Of course, I have not been able to see very much yet. I have only flown across and come to Delhi, but I find Delhi an enormous place now, and I see something of the work that is being done for the refugees—a difficult problem. In the afternoon I have been round the Department of Industrial Research and there, I think, are the foundations being laid of the things which will be of utmost importance to India—the development of the wealth of the country in the interest of all the people.

I have been struck in those years when I held responsibility as the Prime Minister of Britain of the vital importance of there being a full understanding between the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia, and in this matter it seems to me that India holds a key position, because India has its ancient civilisation but, at the same time, has had such close contacts with the West that Indians are fitted to be the interpreters between the East and the West. And, further than that, India exhibits the most remarkable example of democracy in action in Asia. I was enormously impressed by the way in which the elections were carried through.

In the struggle that is going on throughout the world between free institutions and totalitarianism, it seems to me that India has a very leading part to play as the greatest Power in Asia. She, I think, will set the example to other Asian countries that are following along the same course. And above all, I think, it is necessary that we should cultivate the closest possible personal relations.

There are very many personalities that bind together the peoples of our countries and nowadays we all meet as equals. I find wherever I go a great pleasure in meeting our Indian friends, talking of our common problems, because the world today is so closely bound up that while Indians must and should take the greatest possible interest in their problems, they have their part all the time to play in the greater world problems; and I have been struck by the statesmanship displayed in the U.N. by the Indian representatives, particularly recently in the attempt to get a settlement of the Korean question.

Therefore, I would like to say to all of you who are listening to me here in India that there is an immense fund of friendship for India, sympathy in any difficulties she may face in the belief that holding as we may do so many common ideals, we can help the world in moving towards better days, days of peace and days of better conditions for the ordinary man and woman. May I close by just saying God speed to you all.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 23RD JANUARY, 1953

Africans' Complaint Against Indians

Me article on "Strains On Alro-Indian Alliance" by Jordan K. Ngubane, 2ppearing elsewhere in this issue, must set the minds of all responsibl: Indians thinking seriously. The charges laid against a section of the Indian community are The unfortunately irrefutable. African has been so terribly oppressed and exploited all these years and despised not only by the White rulers, but, it must shamefully be admitted, by sections of the Indians as well, that the more enlightened among the Africans are quite justifiably beginning to lose patience and they easily feel hurt even where no liurt is actually meant. For instance, when 'Inc Hindustan Times' referred to the African as being "somewhat mercurial" we do not believe the paper had the slightest intention to นระ the term insultingly. The African is understandably sensitive about the adjectives used to describe him. This, in itself, is a good thing. But as the African grows to full nationhood be soom seilest of sveil liw sil more that being sensitive is not the end and that where genuine weaknesses of his are pointed out, he should not be ashamed of admitting them. If he must be universally accepted as the equal of all men he must ever be couscious of them and try to remove them. It is therefore all the more pleasurably amazing that such a people should have been able to show such a tremendous amount of restraint and dignity in the present compaiga. There is no doub: about the fact that it is a miracle which is most creditable to the African. The amazing thing about it is that this has come about without any previous training. What the intelligent African has a right to take exception to, however, is the blunder which the 'Hindustan Times' has unconsciously made in apportioncredit for leadership, suffering and sperifice. In fact, a very large part of credit for

this must undoubtedly go to the African people. Peactically the whole burden of leadership bas been borne by them and it is they who have undergone most of the sufferings and sacrifice. The part the Indians have played so far amounts comparatively to little and yet the Group Areas Act materially affects them more than anybody else, the Africans being the least affected. The Indian with the back ground he so proudly claims to have, has exected himself mighty little for anyone to have any regard for it. And it is this which hurts the African.

New Outlook Required

Mr. Ngubane has referred to the N.I.O. and a section of the Indian Press who, for from trying to beseiend the Africans and help them in their great struggle for emancipation, are trying to play the part of "Bhengu" by collaborating with the Government to crush them or to get their own material interesis safeguarded at the expense of the African. Past experience should have taught them that that is not going to pay, but that, on the contrary, it may cause incalculable barm not only to themselves but to their whole community. The time has come when the Indians-the merchant class in particular, who by their material wealth are looked upon as holding a leading position in the community must have an entirely new outlook in their relations with the Africans. The time has passed when the latter can be regarded as an insignificant people worthy only of their exploitation. It will be well for the White ruler too to realise this fact. There is a rapidly growing consciousness among the Africans. They are no longer prepared to tolerate such things. They bonest ly and sincerely mean to recover their manhoud which has been snatched away from them by violence or by non-violence. That they have been inspired to adopt

the non-violent way as taught by Mahatma Gandhi is a blessing for South Africa. If Indians wish to be true to Mahatma Gandhi, by whom they swear from the house tops at all times they must not play the leadership but make common cause with the Africans in their great struggle and be and act as their humble servants, not out of any fear complex but because humility is the hall-mark of Truth and Non-violence and in true humility lies real service to the down-trodden humanity.

Most Unfortuate Thing

One of the most unfortunate things about the African people is that they have not one single organ which can be said to represent their voice. The so-called African papers that exist do not express the true sentiments of the Africans. They benefit mainly the European syndicates by whom they are owned and feed the Africans with stuff that would result in stultifying their national spirit, growth and advancement. Some of these papers have gone to the extreme of devoting much of their soace to poisoning the relations between the Indian and the African. To create friction between the Indian and the African seems to be the object some of them have set themselves -as if Indo African conflict will make the African move forward a little faster. These bave large eirculations and can therefore earily poison the minds of the Africans. Fully conscious of this fact, 'Indian Opinion,' which has the welfare of the Africans truly at heart, bas deemed it its duty to open up its own columns for their benefit and it is desired as soon as time, space and circumstances permit, to introduce the African languages in it.

Personal Contact

We entirely agree with Mr. Ngubane that there is a dire need now than ever before for closer personal contact not only between the Indians and the Africans in South Africa but between the people and the Government of India and the African people, if India really means to help the Africans in their struggle for emancipation. We whole heattedly agree with the suggestions made by Mr. Ngubane in this respect.

In conclusion we cannot lay too much emphasis on the need for all non-Europeans in South Africa to make common cause in

fighting a common enemy not losing sight of the fact that the enemy without may be just a reflection of the enemy within ourselves which is more dangerous than the one without. Our aim should therefore be to be good and to do good. If we can succeed in doing that we are sure all will eventually come right.

Republic Of India

NDIANS throughout the world will celebrate on Mon. day, January 26 the fourth anniversary of the attainment of the Republic of India. It is a great day in the history of India for on that day she threw off the foreign yoke 2nd became completely independent. She is proud of her achievement more than any other country under the circumstances can be and she has every reason to be because unlike any other country she achieved her goal without flowing rivers of blood. The parties with which she had waged a non-violent war have not remained her enemies. On the contrary they have become her true friends. They are both living in amity and are helpful to one another in every respecis. How strange it is that while our Prime Minister Dr. D. F. Malan should declare India 25 South Africa's enemy, Mr. Attlee, the former Prime Minister of Britzin, with whom India had fought so bitterly for over balf a century and had her Government to completely retire from India, should pay her such a glawing tribute and acknowledge her not only as the best friend of Britain but of the whole Western world. So being a Republic she is still the most useful partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Though India has made tremendous strides during the six years of her independence and four years of her complete independence in political, social, educational, economic and spiritual advancement and has belped to solve the problems of world peace and is still doing so successfully let her not be too proud. Let ber not forget that she is held in high esteem by the outside world because of her high stand. ard of culture and philosophy. It is in that respect that she is looked upon as the guiding star. Let her be ever conscious of that fact and fit herself for that great task and not become consciously or unconsciously an imitation of the materialism of the West. Let her not be entrapped in that glamour for if she does as she seems to be doing she will lose all she bas gained and the same fate will await her as awaits the West. We must confess that we are not too enamoured of her rapid industrialisation. What we have been enamoured of is the great achievement of that simple little man but a great soul Vinoba Bhave, in settling the land problem and now in trying to settle the econo. mic problem in a non-violent way by changing the hearts of the people. Though he is receiving scant publicity his achievement surpasses all other achievements and is really showing the way to the world to bring about real peace and happiness. India's relations with Pakistan are unfortunately not too good and her two sons representing the soul of India, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sabib, are still pining in Pakistan gaol for no dear Motherland,

crime whatsoever. How can India glory over her achievement when these things exist? How can there be any peace of mind for any true Indian? She must thank God for what she has been able to achieve and in a spirit of humility search within lest ber own hands are not soiled, her own conscience not beguiled which is hindering a settlement of the problems that are still facing her. Let her search whether she is really honouring the memory of Mahatma Gandhi whom she regards as the "Father of the Nation," or whether she is betraying him. India is as much in need of light as the world at large is. We Indians in the outside world send to the President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendraprasad and to the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru pur felicitations and pray that the Almighty may give them wisdom and courage to perform the very heavy task of guiding the destiny of our

NOTES

Case Against Mr. Patrick Duncan And Others

Seven Europeans including Mr. Patrick Duncan and fourteen Africans and eighteen Indians including Mr. Manilal Gandhi who were arrested on Monday, December 8 and were charged with having entered the Germiston African location without permits and in terms of the new proclamation with having incited Africans to break laws will be tried at the regional Court, Germiston, on Monday, January 26, The accused are: Patrick Duncan, Blizibeth Sophia Cachalia, Winifred Mary Macdonald Levson, Selma Stamelmann, Percy Cohen, Margaret Holt, Griffith Lekopa, Crawell Dimandi, Charles Likaje, Frans Khunou, Goolam Cajee, Jolozela Mawimbela, Piet Molotsi, Ebrahim Dawood Cajee, Henry Gordon Makgotli, Philet mon Duna Mokwe, Mohamed Asmal, Magapial Melka, Suliman Jooma, Rehmtulla Keshavice. Amratlal Parboo, Morsa Monla, Billy Shabaku, Sigamoney Naigat, Kista Rumgam, Dr. Jesudas Harold Sundrum, Govendaswami Sooboo, Rookmany Moodley, Luxmi Ranchbod, Sarah Cajee, Kheronnisa Areff, Thayanayagie Perumal, Parvathy Padayachy, Gelena Twala, Linoiwe Ngakana, Alfred Hutchinson and Manilal Gandhi.

Our New Acting Editor

In the absence of the present editor Mr. Manilal Gandhi Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane will assume the editorial responsibility of this journal. Mr. Ngubane is a wellknown African writer and has recently been a regular contributor of the "African View Point" to this paper. Mr. Ngubane is an ardent non-Com-

Mahatma Gandhi's Death Anniversary

ON Friday, January 30 will be the sixth death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. As usual on that day between 6 and 7 p.m. in the evening there will be prayer held at the Phoenix Settlement which will be open to all those who are interested irrespective of race, colour or creed.

munist and we can trust him to keep the paper from being contaminated by the present day Communism.

A Regular New Feature

We are happy to present to the readers of 'Indian Opinion' with a new regular feature which will appear formightly by "John Gild,', a well informed journalist who will be free to express his own views and report his own

Apartheid Policy Responsible For Riots

The Committe convened by the Kimberley City Council to inquire into the riots in No. 2 Location in November, began its sitting in the City Hall last week. All the members of the Committee are Councillors. The first witness, the Venerable Archdeacon Wade, Rector of St. Matthew's Church, said the broad policy of apartheid brought about the conditions which led to the riots. Archdescon Wade said there was little or no contact between the City Council and the location people. The housing position was far from satisfactory and unfulfilled promises had made many give up hope. The beer hall had been a major cause of the riots in the location. The strength of the beer served had been a bone of contention and when it was sugared the people concerned were arrested for preparing a concoction. Archdeacon Wade said that lighting in the location was an important factor. The lack of lighting was helping the tsotxi element. He said Natives found the beer ball in Kimberley unsatisfactory. Licences should be granted to individuals for the brewing of beer. As far as the bus service to the location was concerned, the staff did not exercise sufficient self-control when dealing with Africans. The Venerable Archdeacon H. E. Wraige said he attributed existing race relations to the policy of the present Government and its repressive legislation.

Study Of Educational Facilities

A five-men Natal University team, aided by the Natal Education Department is soon to start on a 12-month servey of all the available education facilities for Europeans, Natives, Indians and Coloureds in the Province. The

team will be composed of four university graduates, holding education diplomas, under the leadership of Professor Arnold Lloyd, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Natal. It will start sitting at the beginning of the university term and will visit all the centres in the Province where educational facilities are warranted and where such facilities are though to be warranted. The ann is to find out the exact position with regard to available Lichtucs at present. An official of the Education Department told the Press that there was a total of 298,204 children of all races attending schools in Natal at present. There were 50,684 European, 61,529 Indian, 7,305 Coloured and 178,686 Native. Out of this total there were 114,583 (40,635 European, 13,976 Indian, 4,666 Coloured, 55,306 Native) children attending Goverament schools, and 163,636 (4,655 European, 44,170 Indian, 2,505 Coloured, 112,306 Natives) attending Governmentaided schools.

Segregation In Schools

The principle of race segregation in Coloured and Asiatic schools in the Transyaal, insofar as teachers and pupils is concerned, has been dropped from the provisions of the Draft Education Ordinance, which the select committee presented to the Provincial Council in Pretoria.

CHANGE OF NAME

In response to our request to our readers for proposals to change the name of 'Indian Opinion we have now received the following names: Liberal Opinion,' 'The Statesman,' 'New Outlook,' 'African Dawn,' and 'Times Of Africa' and 'Equality.' Readers are requested to kindly to send further suggestions.

Manager Indian Opinion,'

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DUNCAN'S DEFIANCE

By C W. M. GELL

THE very heat which is generated when Europeans dirouss Patrick Dunosu's conduct in lololog the passive resistance movement constitutes one justification of his action. For it odw seedt lia beguellade and believe in racial liberalism not merely to define their principles, but to express them in action at a time when it is socially invidious and even legally danger ous to do so. Duncan with his companions has crossed the dividing line between passive sympathy with the non-European cause and solive support for it. In doing so he has exposed the political and moral dilemma of our European liberals who, as an oversess oritio renently said, have lately seemed to move so cantlonely as to be in danger of not moring at all.

Duncan is a friend of mine. I have known something of how his mind has developed towards this decision and I think his motives deserve to be more widely known, even than his admirable statements have made them.

He has said himself that he has "thought defiance" for the last four years, ever since it became plain that Nationalist policy must precipitate a deoleive orisis in our race relations. He and I and others realised that the only hopeful solivity open to non-Europeans was olvil disobedience-not, as many suppose, with the primary purpose of filling the jails and embarrassing the authorities (though it may have that incidental consequance), but of shooking and shaming the conscience of South Africa and the world. watched with admiration the unexpected dignity, restraint and discipline of the Deflance volunteers in the face of a certain amount of provocation and illtreatment. We felt a common sorrow at the wave of violence which swept the Eastern Province and Johannesburg in October and November.

There was a moment then when Duncan faltered, afraid that more violence was likely and would betray the campalgo's early promise. But it gradually became clear that the rioladid not arise out of Deflance luoldenia or involve Defiance leadership; that in three out of the four towns there appeared to bave been come police or administrative provocation which, while not excusing morder and arson, at least explained how the general racial tension fomented by the Government's policies was exploited by hooligans and

eriminals for their own ends. The olreumstances which provoke civil disobedience are inevitably also those which may lead to explosions of violence-Those who are responsible for the circumstances do not have the right to blame passive restatence to their policies, for the violence which those policies engender. There can be no more demning thresfold indistment of Nationalist polloy than the Government's refusal to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry, the irresponsible and conflicting explanations of the riots propegated by Messrs. Swart, Verwoord, Louw, Sirydom and others, and the palpably false Identification of the Definer Campaign with Man Man terrorism.

A little belatedly and perhaps not quite so announcementalingly as we hoped, the leaders of the African National Congress condemned the violence and reaffirmed their adherence to the principle of non-violence. And Duncan decided that he must take the step for which he had prepared earlier in the year by resigning from the Basntoland service and settling on a form within the Free State border.

Now here, I think, his motives have been misrepresented. The first and most widely published criticism was that of all the most influential Englishlanguage deilies, which saw to his action at Germiston location on December 8 "a slight and an embarrassment" to the electoral prospects of the present political Opposition as wall as a threat to the conception of "White supremacy with justice" which it professes.

Donosn was not unawaye that bls sotion might cost the Oppoelison a few floating votes. Re dld not wish to give the Nationaliels any grainitons appleiance. But he is one of those many liberal South Africans who belleve that the U.P.'s greatest esonge of engiled all al mendeem the Nationalists' fundamentally bad principles with any principle of its own at all. If Duncan's defiance embarrarses the U.P., the blame most lie rather with the U.P.'s reluctance to think out any colour polloy of its own, distinctive in principle from that of the Nationalists. Thus, to blame Dancan for the embarrasament is to commit the lame error of logic as the Nationalists do, when they blame the Deflance Campaign for the riote. It is to confuse a secondery effect with the primary cause. .

Secondly, two other considerations decisively outweighed these short-term arguments of political expediency in Dancan's mind. The first was that the hysterical and muddled thinking which followed the riots dangerously increased the risk of the non-Europeans coming to believe that the hand of every White man was against them. Both the English and Afrikasos press galfied in positional leading articles more or less implicating the Deflance movement and the whole African community in what had happened. The Nationalists, who had systematically broken down all bridges between Europeans and non-Europeans, sought the maximum party advantage by misrepresenting the facts. The Opposition paid lipsorvice to "consultation," but declined to consider the concessions without which consultation is mesningless. Even munidity stephield bas selfisgio a long and practical liberal record momentarily went into reverse, though there were bonourable exceptions and others who quickly recovered their faith and courage. But it was against this background that Duncan made this decision. And time may yet prove that his gesture made Its small but not unimportant contribution towards preventing the final catestrophe of all Whites opposing and being opposed by all non Whites.

Thirdly, there is a little publicised struggle going on within the African and Indian Congresses between the liberal and communist leaders. I am speaking now of genuine communists. not the comic-opera estegory of 'statutory communism'' dilw which Mr. Swart seeks to befuddle the lesues and beepatter all opponents of the Government's rapial ideology. There are several communicate among the non European leaders, notably in the Transval, whose adherence to non-violence is purely temporary and taotion). But there men do not yet dominate the Congresser. The danger is that, if the genulue liberale among the Congress leaders-men like ex Chief Luthali, Drs. Moroke, Njougwe, Naloker, Professor Matthews, Manilal Gaudhi, Lucas Phillips-do not obtain any reealts by pacific methods, they may be discredited by fallure and the refusal of Europerps to recognise them as spokesmen of their people. In an effort to bring home the public the realities to of the present altostion, some European liberals are saying, that there are no "moderate" non-European leaders. In the sense that there are none with any followers among their own people who are less "extreme"

than the official policy of the A.N.O., this is true enough. But the present A.N.O. policy is very "moderate" compared with what it would be if the racial extremists and communishs won control of the Congresses. Common sense and European self-interest both args as to come to terms with the non-European movement while reasonable men still have the confidence of their people.

Duroan is very consoions of this and resilers belter than most Ecropeans bow little time is left for an bononrable and athleal compromise before, in their auger, frastration soil Ignorance, the non-Europeans go over into irreconcilable hostfilty towards all White men. Woigh-(no all these considerations and the spathy of the larger part of his fellow Whites, he has decided that his concolence as a Christian and his love of South Africa renaired him to enpport polively the non-violent sympolen for justice and a larger future for the underprivileged four-fifths of his follow-countrymen. In doing so, he has moved a few to join him and stirred a great many more consolences in a way that more political activities could not have done. When someone described bim and his companions as "the only Whites with clear convolences," they saknowledged the decisive nature of his dead.

Some sincero and practical workers for racial oc-operation may question the manner or timing of Duncan's selion. He would himself be impatient only with those who have done nothing but talk, or with those whose eanolimonions words conges) their intention of maintaining perpetual White domination in a thinly-velled disguise. His message to us is twofold. First, "within the lifetime of many of ns, our non-White fellow-citizens will be smanchpated." We can only choose whether it bappone with viclence that would destroy Sunth Africa, or by agreement and motual truet. Becoudly, that our condition is so oritical that it is not enough to east a vote once In five years and leave the rest to the politicians. There is no sotive political leader today among the Europeans openly dedicated to an ethical solution of the racial question, because none believes the electorate would support bim. We have to obsoge that; to prove to the non Europeans that we mean to meet their legitimate aspirations and to our politicians that it will pay them and South Africa to do so; to prove by our closeds that we have principles and mean to stand by thom, whatever the cost in personal sacrifica or gooisl ostracism.

Within the limits of his lodividual effort, that is what Dunoan has tried to do, stressing the solidarity of our common humonity overriding racial differareness. Let these who criticise him prove their sincerity and courses by their own deeds now, today. For words are no longer enough. And those who are not yet prepared in some manner to take their stand actively, forfeit the right to criticles them who do.

THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

"WHEN MALAN GOES"

THE new session will give the Union Parliament its first opportunity to slabate the significance of the defiance campaign, The compaign begon just as Par-Hamont adjourned last year at the and of June. No doubt there will be planty of wild worde, and not only from the Government side. For one of the publicat things in the country today is the failure of the Opposition to appose the Government in an effective fashion. That is why it is so dishopest to pretend that "when Malan goes," all will be well. The United Party, better organised then at the last election, In hard at work, seeisted by the servila English daily popers, potting across the idea that it is only the Nationalists who have ruined race relations. People most be persuaded that a change of government will produce missoles of progress. It is, of course, true that it would be a good thing to get rid of the Malan nd bloom si sull Covernment, foolish for white people to delude themselves with the belief that the United Tirty could speedily put matters right. Mr. Strougs and the mellocra men who surround him have given no sign that they perceive, even dimly, bow to relax tension, let alone how to "solve the problem." They are so eager to get back to the fruits of office that they have given to serious thenght to anything but Acgans like "when Malan goes." As long as they continue to evade realities, no Indian or African can have faith in any organisation but one built up by the efforts of his own people

New Liberal Groups

There are, fortunately, some Enroscans who recognise that noither of the major political parties is at present capable of reconstructine South Africa on now founds. tions. As Besil Davidson put it in his superb book, "Report on South. ern Africa," it is to white people merely a question of "which white supremacy" shall rule, Molan's brand or Straues's, and to outsiders that struggle is "Ilttle better than a shoddy farca." But there are inorensing numbers of Europeans with enlightened wlods who decline to take part in the work of the United Party. These people are now secrebing for the best form of activity for their political energies.

They have formed losse liberal groups in Capetown, Johnonesburg and Maritzburg, and they are meeting shortly at the Caps to discuss linking their groups topether in a common purpose. Alan l'aton and Margaret Ballinger are among those interested in this movement, but the groups are still leaderless Another weakness is the fact that "liberal" is an exceedingly vague term which covers all sorts of politically homoless and unbappy men and women. Some of these people are, however, beginning to see that in the Congress movement lies the best hope of progress in raco relations. Freedom cannot be given to non-Europeann on a plate held out to them by Europeaus. It can be echieved only by long and nationt exections on the part of those who want it, Europeans can greatly help, above all hy making the movement inter-racial and co operative in its sime, but the offictico demand must como from those who will gain most by ita POSCESS.

American Foreign Policy

President Eisenbower has to make important ilecisions in the coming months. On foreign roller he has chosen Mr. John Poster Dal'og as his chief advisor. All his life Mr. Dalles had cheriched the ambition to be Secretary of State, a position held nearly on years ago by his grandsother. An n Wall Street lawyer, Mr. Dulles was a partner in one of the world's most inflaential law firms, one which counted foreign governments among ica ollepts, including lending Nazis Dolles is also a keen Christian, a pillar of the Presbterian Church. As the main author of the prece treaty with Japan, he antagonised some of America's friends, including Mr. Authony Eden, by his brniggs handling of their objections. Like his grandlather, Mr. Doller will be partial towards Japan, and rot merely for sentimental reasons. Japan is making great strides for. ward in re-building its industries. In the endless quest for allies in the cold war, the United States feels that it cannot rely on India. So it is leaning heavily towards Japan. This is part of the imme diate design to oppose the new Chioa. Some of the Republicana who put Mr. Eisenhawer into tha

presidency, don't trophia to hide their demand for action against China. Unlike firliain and India the United States has refused to recognize the Communist Government or to let it join the United Nations Whether the new Administration in Washington will be pushed into an even more aggressive policy—that remains to he realise, before it is too late, that no good can come to manking from war in Asia.

Sympathy Abroad

More nows has now come from "Americans for South African Resistance," the new society formed to show sympathy with the defiance campaign. Among its sponsors are Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of

Howard University (for Negroes) in Washington, Mr. Roger Baldwin, a famous figure in the American Civil Liberties Union, and Mr. Norman Thomas, lender of the Socialist Party. The joint chairmen are the Rev. Donald flarington and the Rev. Charles Y. frigg. The address is 518 West 186th Street. New York 33, and the secretary is Mr. George M. Houser, announcement quotes a letter from one of the younger leaders of the African National Congress, who wrote: "There has been a transformation in the way of thinking of the Africans . . . They are on the march, and whatever the result of the present defiance campaigu, even il it enda la total defent at the hands of the Government, South Africa will never be the rame again,"

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

STRAINS ON AFRO-INDIAN ALLIANCE

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

Lyen in the best of times and in the happiest of countries an arrangement like the Indo-African alliance against colour discrimination would have been a delicate offair. In a country lite South Africa, at the present moment, it has within it complicated tensions of a highly explosive nature. For this reason alone, if for nothing else, it behaves the partners to the alliance to treat it with the realistic care it deserves.

In recent months the African has discerned certain trends among his allies which made him feel that his national pride was being insulted or that certain sections of the Indian community were bent on giving a twist to the resistance movement which would give to it a character that would redound only to their own exclusive credit and reveal African contributions in poor light.

I shall confine myself to two events—the first in this country and the second in India because my purpose is neither to see our communities involved in a row about these things nor to give our enemies clues of where the alliance is weakest. These two incidents are selected because they are indicative of unhappy trends and in themselves are free dynamite given to our mutual enemies by those whom we have the right to claim as friends.

The first case concerns the Natal Indian Organisation. This body is in a very unique position. To the average African, it is more representative of Indian Opinion than even the Indian Congress. This is a mere statement of fact and does not in any way reflect my own opinion. Somehow, the average African feels that the N.I.O. is more expressive of Indian opinion that the Congress.

There are two reasons for this. The clearest picture that the average African has is of the Indian as a trader and since the N,1.O, represents the merchant class it is accepted as the real representative of the Indian community.

Secondly, the African people, a suppose like most Indians against the African, have not as yet thed all their suspicious against the Indian—suspicious based on their experiences with the trader class and which led to the 1949 riots. The riots were, in actual fact, a demonstration against the merchant class, but then the African re-

gards the merchant class as the leaders of the Indian community as well. So that the N.I.O. stands in the position of exceptional responsibility vis-2-vis the Indian people in African eyes.

The ordinary Indian factory hand finds it hard to understand African suspicions of him—whereas the African judges him in terms of his (the Indian's) merchant class.

Plot To Dynamite Campaign

Reports circulating in Durban suggest that the N.I.O. is on a plot to dynamite the resistance campaign acting in collaboration with the Minister of the Interior. The N.I.O. counterblast, it is being said, might be started in the form of an open depunciation of the campaign followed by a series of underground negotiations with the Government which would end up with the Government seeing in these denunciations "responsible expressions" of "responsible Indian opinion." From there the way will be clear for drastic laws to be passed against the resisters here and for a heated exchange between the Union Government and India at U.N.O. based on the "responsible" denunciations.

These reports might be based on fact or they might be rumour, But against what is going on in the N.I.O. at the moment, and which we need not bring to the light of day at this stage, African auxietics are not altogether without foundation, This is particularly the case when it is remembered that the N.I.O. itself has complicated the situation by its own reluctance to enable the African and the world to know precisely where it stands on the resistance move. ment. It is for the N.1.O. to dispel the mists of suspicion surrounding its activities.

The second instance concerns the behaviour of sections of the Indian Press here and very often in India. The treatment meted out to African leaders and African contributions by important sections of the Indian Press at times does little to cement Afro-Indian relations. Both in this country and in India the resistance wavement is aften reported as though it were an Indian movement. The impression is being sedulously created that the African leaders of the struggla are juniors to their Indian counterparts.

One has to contrast the bebaviour of Indian journalists with the reportage we get from the British and the United States Press. From thosa sections which we have grown to regard as impartial we got fair and accurate reports which do not play down anything vital done by either the African or the ludian. As much cannot be said of the sections of the Indian Press under discussion: a Press we have every right to expect to be friendly-more friendly than papers from England and America.

'Hindustan Times'

A case in point is a recent editorial in the December 18, 1952 issue of the Overseas Hindusten Times,' Discussing the entry of the Whites into the campaign and the Indian comrounity's role in it, the editorial concludes; "The attainment of independence by India could not fail to produce its effect on Indiens in South Africa and the unexpected success which their movement has attained in as much a tribute to their leadership as to the readiness with which the somewhat mercurial African bas risen to the call for restrain! and dignity which a non-violent resistance campaigo enfoins."

Two things are worthy of note here. The editor is quite sure that the resistance campaign is an Indian movement, led by the Indians. Secondly he goes out of his way to cast aspersions on what he calls the "somewhat mercurial African."

The 'Hindustan Times' is one of the most powerful papers in India and wields considerable influence on both the people and on the policy of the Indian Government. What is more, it has a world circulation. So that whatever it says is bound to be read right round the world. The damage such a paper can do is obvious.

In the editorial under review the editor has allowed himself to be guilty of two unfortunate errors. He has his facts all wrong and, secondly, has gone out of his way to cast espersions on the African which are quite uncalled for.

Of the 8,000 people who have gone to jail so far the percentage of Indians does not in any way suggest that they regard the campaign as theirs. At the very best, the numbers they have srnt to jail have been of little more than token dimensions. To call the campaign theirs creates the impression that somebody somewhere wants to play down the achievements of the "somewhat mercurial African" and play up, even at the cost of exeggerating and dis-

torting facts, the achievements of the Indian. We, Africans, never begrudge the Indian his due. We have never concealed our admiration for his perfect mastery of the creed of non-violence, nor have we concealed our desire to learn from him. We are indebted to the Indian for the help he has generously given us. But we do not want him to make unfair claims at our expense.

Wrong Facts

Even on the plain of leadership, the editor's facts are all wrong. Up to now, hardly more than two prominent Indians. barring the former Communists, have come out courageously in support of the African defiance campaign. The editor probably had the National Joint Action Council of the resistance movement in mind when he wrote of leadership. But even here the Africans and the Indians are evenly represented—an African gesture of appreciation to the Indian for his part in the campaign. At the very best, equal representation should mean foint leadership and nothing more.

I must, on behalf of the African, express strong dis-approval of barbed adjectival qualifications used to describe my people because they are not only in bad taste but also because they do not in any way create better understanding between the Indians and ourselves. In them is implied a slur on the African community and an insult on the valiant men and womeo who have made colossal sacrifices to lead us which no self-respecting African can tol. orate. We expect these things to come from the opponents of our just cause and not from declared friends.

I appreciate the fact that there is a lot of ignorance about the African in India, es in America, England and else-where. But the remedy for this lies in the hands of the Indian Press and Radio. I think it is in the interest of the cause which we and the people of India hold dear-the atteinment of human freedom through non-violence—that the Indian Press should arrange with African journalists in this country to give it regular contributions describing conditions and developments in the African commonity. Leading African personalities should be asked even to prepare talks to colighten the people of ladia on goings-on in the African community-to be broadcast through All-India Radio.

Secondly, we must set in motion a movement for the exchange of correspondence

between our two peoples so that they should huild up personal friendships and get to understand India's truly great cultural attainments-if to scal the bonds of comradeship with the Indian here. It is extremely difficult for the African-I menn even the woll-educated African. to build up a strong and abiding friendship with the ledian here. The Indian lives to his own cloister, telling us of his great culture, when he does nothing to make us understand it and through it to understand him bettert

Thirdly, even in the resistance movement one would like to see India working in direct consultation with the African. Up to now the main inter-

mediaries between ourselves and the people of India have been lest al tog era only elaphicibni sympathy with our national aspirations. And if the picture they have given India of ourselvas has been unfortunate, it has only complicated relations between the Indian and the African bere.

Our alliance with the Indian here is always subject to very many stresses from our common oppressor. If we will not betray our struggle, we and the Indiana peed to march arm in arm as men and equals. Anything which drives us off this course must be ruthlessly weeded out or exposed, for ours is the destiny to make South Africa a land fit for free men to live in

ness in Krugersdorp. He was one of the best legal brains in the Kholvadian community. He was a very generous hearted public worker. He is survived by 7 children, his eldest son Dawood Ismail Caice is well-known in business, aport and in the political field. One of his sons Goolana Cajee and his grand daughter Sura Dawood Cajee and grand son Ebrahim Dawood Cajee were arrested with Mr. Patrick Duncan and Mr. Manilal Gandhi in the defiance campaign at Germiston location on December 8. The heartfelt sympathy of all the friends of Mr. Cajee will go out to the bereaved family.

HINDU DHARMA

By- M. K. Gandhi

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Golden Wedding Anniversary

Mr. and Mrs. B. Parmesar, well-known residents of Durban celebrated their golden wedding anniversary at St. Anthony's Hall on Saturday, January 16. The Hall was filled by a large crowd of men and women. Quite a large number being relatives of the Parmesars. Mr. and Mrs. Parmesai very happily out the wedding cake specially made by Mrs. lithoo and the guests present partook of the light refreshments that were served. Congratulatory messages were received from all over the Union and other places. Mr. S. L. Singh acted as the M.C. and among the speakers were Senator Clarkson, V. Lawtence, Mapilal Gandhi, M. B. Naidoo, J. W. Godfrey, P. R. Bather, Mrs. A. Christopher, Dr. Anusuya Singh, Pundit Jugmohan, F. Satyapal, M. Ramouthar, C. Varadacharlu and others. Songs specially composed for the occasion were sung. Music was supplied by the Tone and his Quintette orchestra. After Mr. and Mrs. Parmerar expressed their hearty thanks for the culogistic terms in which the speakers had referred to them and for their good wishes the very pleasant and happy function terminated with an expression of gratitude by Mr. R Chotai one of the sons-in-law TO DESCRIPTION messages of good wishes that had been received and to the Catholic Mission for kindly allowing them to use the Hall.

S.A. Indian Soccer Team To Tour India

A South African Indian football team will leave South Africa on May 3 for a six weeks' tour of India. The team of 17 players, a manager and a trainer will leave Durbag ig the Karanja on May 3 and arrive at Bombay on May 24. After a tour of six weeks they will return in the Kampala, which leaves Bombay on July 9. The proposed itinerary for the tour will be' discussed at a council meeting of the S.A.I.F.A. in Durbon on January 25. The S.A.I.F.A. had proposed 14 matches, including three Tests. The team will most probably be selected at the end of March, and it is probable that fixtures throughout the country will commence a month earlier to give the selectors an opportunity of studying the form of players.

Obituary

Mr. Ismial Amod Cajee, a well-known Indian of Schweizer-Reneke died recently at the age of 86. The late Mr. Caire came to this country 65 years ago. He had the biggest business T 11

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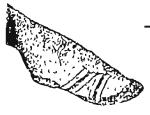
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Our America Letter

By HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, January 8,

THE World Council of Churches is the new, international Protestant body organized in Amsterdam in 1948. At its first meeting, the world Conneil passed strong statements condemning racial discrimination and segregation within and outside the churches. In 1950, the Central Committee of the World Council, meeting in Toronto, Canada, proposed that a multi-racial, interdenominational delegation be sent to the Upion of South Africa. Both the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and the Englishspeaking churches in South Africa responded by indicating that the time was not ripe to receive such a multi-racial dolegation. Instead, the World Council in April and May 1952 sent its Hollander general secretary, Dr. W. A. Visser's Hoolt to South Africa.

While I was visiting South Alrica in the summer of 1952, I heard rumors of the first draft of Visser't Hooft's report to the World Council, Some Afrikaner churchmen said they maw the draft and felt it was a good report. Churchmen from other, more liberal denominations in South Africa also said they saw the first draft and also felt it was a good report. This ambiguous reaction intrigued me, but it was not until last week that I finally saw a copy of the report entitled, "Christianity, Race, and South African People." It is published in a 33-page pamphlet by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

This is a report to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches which, at this writing, is meeting in Lucknow, India. What the Central Committee will do with the report, except file and lorget it, is problematical. But the report itself remains a curious document meriting comment, Dr. Visser 't Hooft admits at the onset that his observations are "not a general report on conditions in South African churches." Throughout the report one sees that Visser't · Hooft is more the thelogian and the ecclesiastical politician than the sociologist and the religious prophet. He is best at analyzing the theological basis of apartheid and best at conciliating all churches and making none of them angry (for his job as general secretary of the World Council is to

keep all the denominations now members of the Council still members and to soduce others which are not yet members to join.)

There are evidences in the report that Dr. Visser't Hooft was well wined and dined by his fellow Dutchmen, however many generations removed. He seems to endorse the apartheid-created medical school Natal for non-whites in and he enticizes the African National Congress. He echoes the widespread canard in white circles that "a good deal of the reporting concerning South Africa is quite definitely mis-leading." He almost implies that apartheid could be given a fully constructive meaning.

Dr. Visser 't Hooft's recommendations and suggestions are essentially ecclesiastical, chief among them being the negative suggestion that the World Council of Churches should not send a multiracial delegation to South Africa at this time since it "might well create misunderstanding rather than under-standing." This, again, might be good politics for the World Council of Churches, but is a denial of the religious principles which the World Council has consistently propounded. Why should it besitate at this time to send a delegation to South Africa, one containing some non-whites? What could be more important than at least to try to send a delegation including some outstanding pon-European clergymen? Their visit to the South African churches could only do good if the non-Europeans were allowed to enter the country; and, come to think of it, no harm could possibly be done if it got to be known that some dis-tinguished non-European representatives from the World Council of Churches were harred.

These are the personal reactions to this report on South Africa by this correspondent, but let us turn to the January 7th issue of "The Christian Century," most important weekly of interdenominational Protestantism. It devoted a leading editorial to the Visser't Hooft report and is critical. It likens the report to a speech by an American president which initially was called "very able" but, on second thought, someone asked, "On what side of the question was the speech?"

The editors of the powerful "Christian Century" magazine state plainly, "We question whether there is much in... this report to offer help to Christians and churches in South Africa in dealing with a problem of such dimensions and perplexity." It plainly says that with the "lundamental human revolt of the African ... Christianity in that continent must reckou." If Christianity must come into conflict with the colonial order, "then it must accept the penalties of that cooflict," Above all, "The Christian enterprise must pay whatever price is involved to free itself from seeming to be -and frequently being-a part of the historically doomed colonial order." This is the kind of lough judgment which some Ohristian body should make about South Africa, a kind of judgment which tragically did not result from the two-month visit of Visser's Hooft.

The parade of books published about Mahatma Gandhi continues unabated. The latest is "Mabatona Gaudhi: Peaceful Revolutionary," by Haridas T. Muzumdar and published in New York by Scribbers. This elim volume is one of a dozen io the Twentieth Ceptury Library, a now series about "those thinkers of the last hundred years who have most influenced the intellectual currents of our time." Mahatma Gandhi follows in this collection such giunts as Charles Darwin, Albert Einstein, [and Sigmund Freud,

Professor Muzumdar is a wellknown American of Indian origin who has interpreted Gaudhi to America for more than three decades. This is his filth book on Gandhi and contains interesting chapters on Gandhi's economics and pedagogy as well as an analysis on his "moral equivalent of war." Best news for the future of the Gaudhi literatute in America is that John Haynes Holmes, longtime interpreter of Gandhi to the West, is bringing out a new volume on Gandhi which Harper will publish next autumn under the title, "My Gandhi."

The defiance campaign in Bouth Africa has continued to find its way into the American press. When Patrick Duncan and Manilal Gandhi defied the law in December, this was front page news in many American newspapers and this correspondent first heard about it over a television news programme...The non-white press in America played up the facts

that Dr. Ralph Bunche, prominent American Negro, was named to the three-man committee of the United Nations to investigate apartheid in the Union of South Africa...This correspondent's articles on his observations of the Union of South Africa have begun to appear in 'The Courier," largest non-white newspaper in America with editions in 14 metropolitan centres.

Potpourri: Adlai Stevenson, ratiring governor of the State of Illinois and past candidate for the presidency, has appounced his plan to visit India on a proposed tour of the Far East, Ellorts are being made to induce him also to visit Africa.....It is rumoured that United States Justico William O. Douglas, who has visited Asia several times in recent years, will visit Africa next summer. This is another indication of the growing interest about Africa on the part of the American people and its leaders Michael Scott. who has been observing the United Nations General Assembly sessions in New York City for the past several months, was one of teo persons named on the 1952 honour roll for democracy by the 'Chicago Delender, large non-white weekly published in Chicago.

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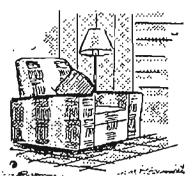
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