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OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



*He knows truly, who sees
aright,*

*The light of knowledge
that kindles the soul;*

*Suffering nothing to dim
his sight,*

*He finds his way to the
Supreme goal,*

*The soul is the primal
source of lustre,*

*Whose radiance spreads
in countless waves,*

*Filling the world with
goodness, culture,*

*Beauty, virtue and the
love that soars.*

*The spirit of creation in
the centre sits,*

*Music of the spheres ring
with his praise,*

*From him emanates all
our wits,*

*But his vastness we fail
to appraise.*

*O' redeemer of the sinner
and weak,*

*Of my failings. Thou
alone art aware,*

*Joy through thy grace
I dare yet seek*

*Throwing myself entirely
unto thy care.*

S. N. Das Gupta.

Satyagrahi May Not Take The Life Of A Single European

By Mahatma Gandhi

A NATION that is bent on forcing justice from an unwilling Government, has little time for engaging in mutual quarrels.

Nothing can possibly prevent a Satyagrahi from doing his duty because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk if necessary, a million lives so long as they are voluntary sufferers and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a Satyagraha campaign. Mistakes, even insanity must be expected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no resort to the mad fury of the powerful but a voluntary, dignified and quiet submission, but not submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The secret of success lies, therefore, in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the Government as sacred as those of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experience I have gained now during nearly 40 years of conscious existence, has convinced me that there is no gift so precious as that of life. I make bold to say that the moment Englishmen feel that although they are in India in a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong, that moment will see a transformation in the English nature in its relations to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all destructive cutlery that is to be had in India will begin to rust.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 3RD OCTOBER, 1952

Where There Is A Will There Is A Way

THE Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, in an interview with representatives of the 'Bantu Press' recently criticised the defiance of unjust laws campaign, and stated that many who were taking part in it lacked the knowledge to form a proper opinion on the laws in question. The term "unjust laws," he said, was a complete misnomer and that he believed that "by and large they are vital to our common existence in this country." Dr. Eiselen said he thought differentiation in legislation between the different races in the Union was essential because the Natives were "still a long way behind the general stage of development of the country. As a group, he said, they were in a stage of development so different from Europeans that, in fairness to themselves and in the interests of the country, they must frequently be treated on a separate footing."

The 'Natal Mercury' which gives hardly any prominence to the defiance movement, has given great prominence to Dr. Eiselen's interview.

Assuming what Dr. Eiselen has said were true, the question one would like to ask Dr. Eiselen is (1) who is responsible for having kept the Africans in that deplorable stage of development; and (2) why has he been kept in that stage? The reply is quite simple. The White ruler has kept him in that stage and he has done so in order to safeguard the interests of the ruling race. Thus selfishness and greed are the two evils which have guided the non-European policy in South Africa, and thus the White ruler, we would humbly suggest, has forfeited the right to rule over the non-White.

There are certain matters in which the non-Europeans themselves would like to be treated on a separate footing. For instance access to liquor, access to races, access to gambling. The non-White is not at all anxious to

encroach upon those preserves of the White man. But unless you treat the lowest of the land as equal in the eye of the law and afford him all the opportunities of fully developing all his faculties, how can you expect equalisation to be effected. If the non-Whites have remained undeveloped they have remained so because of the artificial barriers raised against him and the present struggle is for the removal of those barriers.

If matters have reached the present stage, causing anxiety to the White ruler, it is due to the unfortunate tendency on his part not to remove those barriers but to establish them permanently.

So the present struggle is not for equality with the White man but for equal opportunities.

Dr. Eiselen has gone into detail to explain how fair the laws affecting the non-White are.

On the question of land ownership Dr. Eiselen refers to the right of the African to sell his land when he cannot even own it in his own place of birth. It is common knowledge that while vast tracts of land are possessed by the White ruler the African is starving for land. If the land question were solved the question of culling of cattle would never have arisen. Instead of giving the African land sufficient to keep his body and soul together and to keep his possessions he is being dispossessed of his cattle—his only asset in life.

Dr. Eiselen tries to justify the policy of segregation by stating that "either side has at least an equal right to its feelings," but he seems to forget that the White ruler has considered only his own feelings and has totally disregarded the feelings of the non-White person and with the power that he possesses has usurped everything that is good for himself and has given the non-White what has been rejected by him.

The White ruler's desire to bring industry at the door of the

African has not been philanthropically motivated. The only purpose behind it is to exploit African labour—nothing more and nothing less.

Dr. Eiselen talks of "Bantu enterprise." If the White ruler had the slightest consideration for Bantu enterprise he would not have debarred him from the opportunity of becoming a skilled worker and from placing his talent in the open market.

In trying to justify the Apartheid policy, Dr. Eiselen says: "This is merely in accordance with normal, healthy, human feelings. We naturally prefer to be with our own kind, and from experience we know how easily any departure from this golden rule leads to friction."

All these years we have never heard of any friction being caused by the various races working together. The coming into existence of Apartheid has caused friction. And might we ask why this "golden rule" is not observed in times of trouble, and is only thought of in times of peace?

Dr. Eiselen talks of the "abolition of Passes Act." "All movement or travelling from place to place is to be free and unrestricted. There will no more be such a thing as a travelling pass," says Dr. Eiselen. Can this not be described as "a white lie?" What is this "reference book" which replaces the passes. Can any Bantu move about without that book without running the risk of being arrested?

Dr. Eiselen refers lightly to "social evils existing in the locations." If anybody should feel ashamed of the existence of these locations and social evils attached thereto it is the White ruler and nobody else.

Referring to the Group Areas Act, Dr. Eiselen maintains that it is not a new thing in so far as the African was concerned. Any system of compulsory segregation and that too based on the colour of one's skin is an unmitigated evil which no enlightened people would tolerate. It is not only unjust but immoral. The enlightened African wants to see progress, not retrogression and the Group Areas Act is a retrogressive step. It has been condemned by all as an impracticable measure. No one but the bigoted among the White people likes the measure which bears the seeds of the worst racial animosity the world has ever known.

The same can be said about the Bantu Authorities Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act.

The racial problem of South Africa cannot be solved by harsh, unjust and crude measures offending the sentiments of the people concerned. A good Government will always explore and find decent and civilised ways of regulating the affairs of the country causing the least possible annoyance to any body. Where there is a will there is a way. It is unfortunately the will that is lacking in the present Government.

A Weighty Statement

ONE of the very hopeful results of the present Passive Resistance campaign is that a weighty statement has been made by liberal-minded distinguished Europeans appealing to the European public to make an approach to the non-Europeans by "offering them a reasonable status in our common society."

"Otherwise," they state in their statement, "we foresee a progressive worsening of race relations and an even deeper bitterness that is already visible in our country in the relations between the people."

The non-Europeans will no doubt gratefully appreciate this friendly gesture and will readily co-operate in any honest attempt to bring about a solution of this vexed question. But before anything of this nature can be profitably done it is desirable to create a proper atmosphere for it. That atmosphere can only be created by a sympathetic Press, which, we regret to have to state, is lacking, particularly in so far as Natal is concerned.

The Bhegus who are playing in the hands of the Government are given more prominence than those brave men and women among the non-Europeans who are quietly suffering for a cause, which no sensible person can deny is a righteous one. Methods of threats and intimidation will only stiffen the resistance movement and get us nowhere.

The non-Europeans should not, nor have they expected that their struggle will be so easily won. They will have to undergo tremendous sufferings and sacrifices before they can reach their desired goal, and they will have to be fully prepared for all that.

In Passive Resistance we must always have an open mind receptive to any gesture of goodwill coming from any quarter. If the distinguished signatories to the

statement referred to above have therefore a concrete proposal to make they must be given the fullest consideration from the side of the non Europeans

Huddleston, Ambrose Reeves, A. M. Keppel-Jones, Julius Lewin, D. M. Malcolm, J. S. Marais, Leo Marquard, Donald B. Molteno, Mabel Palmer, Hugh Parker, Alan Paton, L. I. Rabino-witz, Saul Solomon, J B Webb."

selves bound in conscience to oppose them. The second point made by Mr. Bierman challenges the right of Christians in this country to ask for moral and material support for the passive resistance movement on the grounds that this would be political intervention in the domestic affairs of another State. Unfortunately, the racial policies of the South African Government today have repercussions throughout the whole world and effect world peace. Bishops of the Roman Communion in South Africa have from time to time made statements which have shown them to be uncompromisingly in favour of a race policy which aims at

NOTES

Mr. Pirow's Warning

THE day is rapidly approaching when even a just solution of the colour problem will be too late, Mr. Oswald Pirow, Q.C., says in his latest news letter. Europeans may find themselves in the position of the Whites in the East, who, when they awoke to the fact that the problem had to be solved, had no alternative but to get out. Mr. Pirow pleads for co-operation between the two main political parties as the only way to solve the problem: If division between the European sections, and agitation inspired overseas, continued for another ten years, he says, even the most just solution might not satisfy the non-Europeans. The present crisis threatened to make the division between the two European sections an abyss, but if their leaders showed statesmanship, it could lead to reconciliation and co-operation, if only on this one point. "Generals Hertzog and Smuts would have found the way to meet each other, and, indeed, did so under far more difficult circumstances; what about their successors?" the article concludes.

Appeal For New S.A.

Racial Policy

An appeal for South Africa to adopt a policy "that will attract the support of educated, politically conscious non-Europeans, by offering them a reasonable status in our common society," was made in a statement signed by 22 people in Johannesburg last Sunday. They include four Native Representatives in Parliament, eight university lecturers in Johannesburg and Durban, an Anglican Bishop and three other religious leaders, and a former judge. The statement, which comments on the non-European passive resistance campaign, says: "We have watched with dismay the situation that has developed from the growth of the non-European movement of passive resistance against unjust laws. This movement clearly is no sudden impulse. It bears all the signs of careful thought and planning over many months by men who are acknowledged leaders of Africans and Indians, and who have organised it with a full appreciation of all its implications. The movement has met with a very remarkable response both from the mass of the people and from those to whom it appeals for voluntary personal support and for substantial courage and sacrifice. We Europeans must frame an answer and adopt an approach to the movement that holds within it constructive possibilities. Otherwise we foresee a progressive worsening of race relations and an even deeper bitterness than is already visible in our country in the relations between its peoples. We believe that it is imperative that South Africa should now adopt a policy that will attract the support of educated, politically conscious non-Europeans by offering them a reasonable status in our common society." The statement calls for a "revival of the Liberal tradition which prevailed for so many years with such successful results in the Cape Colony." The statement was signed by: "Margaret Ballinger, W. G. Ballinger, Edar H. Brookes, Herbert Coblans, George W. Gale, H. J. Hanson, Ellen Hellmann, A. Winifred Hoernle, Trevor

Non-European Reply to

Dr. Eiselen

The African National Congress has issued a statement in reply to an interview with Dr. Eiselein, Secretary for Native Affairs, published last week. This states that the laws condemned by non-Europeans as unjust are vital only insofar as they are vital for the continuance of White supremacy. "An African need not have a high-school education to have come to understand through bitter personal experience what the pass laws mean to his people," the statement continues. "The land poverty of the Africans is the basis of the whole system of race exploitation. Men deprived of land are forced by poverty and pressure of the poll tax to leave their homes for the mines and farms." The only evidence the Union had of Natives being enabled to develop in spheres of their own was "the existence of poverty stricken, denuded reserves, too small to support their populations and which act as reservoirs of labour for the mines and farms. Positive apartheid has remained a hollow promise and shows no signs of ever being anything else. "There is one fundamental point that Dr. Eiselein and the Nationalist Government will not recognize; that the Africans are no longer prepared to acquiesce in their oppression and accept their inferiority just because those who benefit from their inferiority say they are inferior."—Sapa

May Drive Whole Africa

Towards Communism

Canon John Collins, Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, who attacked the South African Government for refusing a passport to Chief Hosea Kutako, also replies to remarks made by Mr. H. Bierman, Director of Information at South Africa House about the canon's recent sermon in St. Paul's. He writes in 'The Times': "Are we to suppose that a policy necessarily becomes less 'liberal' because it is supported by the opposition as well as by the Government? It is precisely because all attempts, whether by Dr. Malan and his associates or by anyone else to preserve the 'traditional social structure in South Africa in its entirety, and to perpetuate a state of affairs which is in direct contradiction with the Charter of Human Rights, are contrary to Christian insight that Christians find them-

Publisher's Notice

OWING to Deepavali festival and annual holidays due to our employees under the Industrial Legislation there will be no issue of 'Indian Opinion' on October 10. The October 17th issue will appear as our Deepavali Number and there will be no issue on October 24 and October 31. The next issue after October 17 will appear on November 7.

Ministerial Threats

Speaking at Lichtenburg last week the Minister of Labour, Mr. B. J. Schoeman is reported by Sapa to have said, the defiance campaign was a serious matter, but the Government would "get it under foot." Many law-breakers were being arrested, but the Government could only act under existing laws and could not get at the instigators of the campaign. The Minister said he had good reason to believe that the instigators were Indians. The Minister added: "An instrument will have to be created whereby these instigators can be brought to book."

The Minister of Lands and Nationalist leader in the Transvaal, Mr. J. G. Strydom speaking at the party's Transvaal Congress in Pretoria is reported to have said, if the defiance campaign continued, the Government would be forced to take steps, not only against those who defied the law, but against those who encouraged to do so. They might follow the example of Kenya, where the Government was considering taking extraordinary powers, including the power to control to Press, he said.

freedom and equality for Black as well as White. On the Protestant side the South African Council of Churches, and the World Council of Churches, as well as many individual church leaders, have made weighty pronouncements against the policies of racial discrimination in South Africa. Are these Christian bodies and Christian leaders to be dubbed Communists just because Communists also protest against racial discrimination? Christians must not allow the Communist bogey to hinder them from following the dictates of their conscience in this matter of race relations. In fact it is a policy based on race prejudice which may well drive the whole of the African continent towards Communism.

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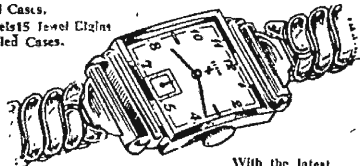
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NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

DR. NAICKER RELEASED

DR. G. M. NAICKER, President of the Natal Indian Congress, was released on Saturday September 27 from the Central Jail in Durban, where he, as the leader of the first Natal batch of resisters, had served one month's imprisonment. Also released were Mr. Fanyana Majosi and Mr. D. V. Chetty.

From early hours of the morning Africans and Indians gathered outside the jail waiting for the release of those resisters. At 9 a.m. there was a huge crowd when Dr. Naicker and his colleagues were released and were welcomed outside with the cries of 'Afrika!'

From the jail the resisters led by the flags of the campaign marched at the head of a procession which wound its way from Pine Street to Field Street and then into West Street. As the procession made its way thousands of spectators witnessed an orderly march with Africans and Indians singing the resistance songs of Mayibuye Africa.

Before the procession dispersed Dr. Naicker briefly addressed them outside the Congress Offices in Saville Street.

Later in the morning Dr. Naicker issued the following statement:

"To the African and Indian people of Natal and to all those who stand for democracy and progress, the forces of oppression may appear to be strong but with our determination we can and must succeed in winning our freedom. The

aggression of the Nationalists is due to their fear for they realise that their fascist policy is opposed by the vast majority in each and every racial group in the Union and as far as the non-Europeans are concerned they are to-day more united than ever in their history in opposition to all that is unjust in our country."

On Sunday September 28 a public meeting was held at Nicol Square to accord a welcome to Dr. Naicker and the first batch. After the meeting 14 resisters went to defy the apartheid regulations at the Berea Station. The huge crowd of thousands present formed themselves into a procession and marched with the resisters to the station singing National songs.

The resisters were immediately arrested and taken away to the charge office.

Grahamstown

Thirty non-Europeans, of whom 22 were women, were sentenced at Grahamstown Magistrate's Court on Monday for defying curfew laws.

Six of the women, stated to be second offenders, were each fined £10, with an alternative of three months' imprisonment. The others were fined £2, or one month's goal.

At Peddie, 87 passive resisters were arrested on Sunday night.

Seventy-four were each fined £2 or a month. Another 13 youths, found to be under age, were each sentenced to six cuts.

NON-EUROPEAN MEDICAL BURSARIES

The following Press statement has been issued jointly by the African National and the Natal Indian Congress:

"We do not see how the South African Medical and Dental Council can say that there is "nothing unethical" in the condition in non-European medical bursaries granted by the Government in which the Government stipulates that every non-European bursar, upon qualifying, would practise only among non-Europeans, and in the area approved by the Government.

"The Council knows full well that this clause in the agreement is in keeping with the policy of apartheid which the Government is determined to force down our throats in utter disregard of our feelings in the matter. The Council has, by its decision, compromised the noble tradition

of the medical profession. The conditions imposed by the Government is akin to a condition which a private bursary may impose, such as that the bursar must, upon qualifying, practise his profession and minister to the sick of, say members of the Catholic Church only.

"We are told that the clause does not preclude a non-European doctor from attending to White patients "in emergencies." If so, why should he be precluded from attending to White patients in normal cases? Of course, we know that there is no law which forbids a black man from going to the assistance of, and saving, a drowning White man. Indeed, such cases have occurred on our beaches. Yet it is quite a different thing, and there is a law which says that a

black person cannot ordinarily bathe on the same beach as a White man!

The South African Medical and Dental Council employs the same perverse reasoning to arrive at its remarkable conclusion. They have impliedly given their assent to the Government's

policy of apartheid. Perhaps they will now express themselves on the Minister of Education's threat to withhold funds from the University of the Witwatersrand because White girls went around with "Kafirs" and carried placards with slogans such as "away with apartheid."

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON DEMOCRACY

Speaking in New Delhi on September 16, the Vice-President, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, said:

"If we believe in democracy so far as our internal problems are concerned, we also believe in democracy as far as international problems are concerned. We believe that it is our duty to solve international differences by negotiation, by discussion, by agreement, by honourable compromise on varying points of view. If we are truly democratic we shall not believe that we are perfect and incapable of improvement and that others are imperfect and equally incapable of improvement. If there is one lesson that has entered our bloodstream by the teachings of our tradition, it is this: that when we approach other individuals or other nations, we must deal with them in a spirit of humility and integrity. These are virtues which we should manifest when we approach even international problems. Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending men and nations, however powerful they may be. That is the lesson which Gandhiji has taught and this is the lesson which we shall remember when we approach these problems.

"We believe in the United Nations however unrepresentative it may be; whenever any question arises in the United Nations, you may be sure that our opinions are given not because they are supported by this or that Power group but

because we believe in them and in the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter itself.

"We judge every question on its merits and we give our views. We are aware the full-scale war in its present concept will mean destruction and desolation. We wish to avoid it at any cost. It is not a question of our forsaking our moral principles for the sake of consequence of which we are afraid. We believe that the United Nations is established for the purpose of negotiating agreements by methods which are short of war. We believe that the nations of the world are not practising what they profess.

"We want the United Nations unequivocally to declare itself against race inequality and say that race discrimination is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the United Nations. By compromising with these evils, democracy is losing its hold on the millions of this world. If these democracies decide to be democracies, choose to adopt democratic principles in all their daily actions and in their national attempt, you will realise that the world would be a much cleaner place than what it happens to be to-day. Are we working for a world in which nations are united together in peace, prosperity and freedom, or are we working on lines of either this or that and bringing about a catastrophe which will mean destruction of the very human liberties which we prize so much today?

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TREASON AGAINST TRUTH

By C. W. M. GELL

"The fact that the intelligentsia in modern Europe no longer possesses a higher spiritual principle is one of the main causes of the instability and restlessness of contemporary society, and it has produced the accusations of the *trahison des clercs* which have been so often heard in recent years. For the intellectuals who have succeeded the priests as the guardians of the higher tradition of Western culture have been strong only in their negative work of criticism and disintegration. They have failed to provide an integrated system of principles and values which could unify modern society, and consequently they have proved unable to resist the non-moral, inhuman and irrational forces which are destroying the humanist on less than the Christian traditions of Western culture."

I was reminded of these wise words of an eminent European historian by some disquieting tendencies in our own affairs.

I am referring to the various rumours of *loosening* between sections of the Nationalist and United Parties. With so little dividing them in principle on questions of colour policy there is always a possibility that a large majority of the white population will "rally behind the Government," to use Mr. D. E. Mitchell's unhappy phrase about the Defiance Campaign. And nowhere is that more likely than in Natal, many of whose Opposition M.P.'s have a most equivocal voting record in regard to the Group Areas Bill and the Native Laws Amendment Bill, for instance. With considerable justice the Nationalists have alleged that the Opposition's stand against the Separate Representation of Voters Act is motivated more by fear for its electoral consequences than dislike of curtailing the rights of non-Europeans.

No reasonable person doubts that the U.P. is less militant in its racial ethic than the Nationalists, less arrogant in the way it seeks to apply discriminatory laws. These differences between the parties are important, but really not fundamental. Mr. Strana's 4-point colour programme, for instance, contains three points (residential and social segregation and no miscegenation) which in principle are pure Nationalism, and a fourth (the use of non-European labour "on our farms, in our kitchens, mines and factories") which the Nationalists in practice endorse, though verbally they are committed to reversing the process. As I argued in these columns on August 22nd, there is not much to choose between popular or partial *apartheid* and the U.P.'s economic integration with local segregation. Non-Europeans can hardly be expected to appreciate the fine distinction between perpetual trusteeship and the *baasskap*.

Despite this, it is still important to preserve the slight differences between the main parties, if only that they may later be enlarged. First, because if all Europeans "stand together," all non-Europeans will be compelled eventually to do likewise and the possibility of reasonable compromise between moderate men on either side of the colour bar will finally disappear. Secondly, because "purified" Nationalism wholly excludes the possibility of compromise. *Hartenvolk* must either conquer or perish; they cannot reach accommodation. Did though the prospects yet are, there remains under the U.P. a slight possibility of right and reason winning out. It is just this faint possibility which drives the Nationalists to fanatical extremes in order to obviate the Opposition's return to power.

Now, this possibility depends almost entirely on the small liberal element which lodges unasily (for want of a better political home) within the framework of the United and Labour parties. If there is to be honorable compromise between Europeans and non-Europeans, the views of these liberals must spread among the politically dominant white electorate. At present, it is a sad fact that they are an electoral liability to the U.P. and the bogey of the Nationalists, who will suppress them if they can. Everything, therefore, depends upon the integrity of the liberals. Small cohesive groups, pledged to principles and prepared to suffer rather than betray them, have been the dynamic factor throughout history. This truth is well understood by the Communist and the Broederbond according to their lights.

A Liberal Weakness

It has always been a liberal weakness that its very premises exclude the sort of rigorous external discipline which Communists and certain religious and racial pressure groups apply to their members. The essence of liberalism is the freedom of the individual conscience before God and men. More, therefore, than most other ideologies liberalism relies on the quality of its leadership and the individual character, since inspiration must do what discipline and excommunication perform for others.

Scattered thinly up and down the country, the European liberal intelligentsia necessarily lack cohesion. So-called realists refer to them scathingly as

Idealists or intellectuals, meaning to infer that they advocate impracticable policies which disregard the facts and are likely to lead to immediate social chaos. Idealists they may be—men and women who, having studied the facts, analysed racial myths and emotions, still believe that moral principles are the only way out of the mess. Intellectuals in the sense of being possessed of understanding, both of the facts and the eternal verities which must be applied to them. Hence, more realist than the "realists" whose policies are so obviously heading us for the precipice of racialism and the abyss of Communism.

So far so good. But what, if adopting a "holier than thou" attitude of intellectual arrogance, they should in their lives fail to practice the ethic they preach? Then surely they will betray the cause they profess, bringing it into deserved contempt and ridicule. This would, indeed, be a *trahison des clercs*—the treason of the intellectuals.

And it is just this sort of betrayal for which evidence has recently been accumulating. It would not, perhaps, be fair to cite the S.A. Medical Council's very tepid resistance to the terms of the Government's proposed bursaries for non-European medical students. Doctors do not as a profession espouse one ideology or another and their present anxiety about "emergencies" may be left to their consciences and the Hippocratic oath. But dramatic and artistic societies which accept money from the Government on conditions about mixed audiences which they do not approve, are quite another matter. And, worse still, communal bodies of enlightened opinion who adjust their tone to the prevailing official atmosphere. These are group decisions among intellectuals, each one of whom has to make an individual decision in a matter that is primarily personal and only secondarily social.

Fine And Large

Now it sounded fine and large of Mr. Strauss and Mr. Lawrence to say that the Opposition would meet force with force, if the Government tried to impose invalid legislation. Without involving myself in an argument as to whether soul-force or physical force is preferable, I hope they meant it—for such resolution to resist illegal measures to the very uttermost is the only ultimate safeguard of constitutional rights and the rule of

law. Without the will of steel which faces calmly the final appalling decision, if that is forced upon it, Acts of Parliament and legal compacts, however binding, are mere scraps of paper which any pocket-knifer can tear up with impunity.

But if this determination on the part of the main body of the European Opposition be demanded in the cause of liberty, no less is asked of the liberal intelligentsia in all its personal and group-social decisions. If in their personal and social life the intellectuals betray the principles they preach, no one will respect them or their principles. Then, indeed, their cause is lost and with it, I believe, the hope of South Africa. True liberalism of course, a religious and philosophical foundation without which it cannot be sustained. Like all religions and philosophies it must, if it is to survive, inspire its devotees with the spirit of dedication and self-sacrifice. Today the state of South Africa demands a living response from every liberal man and woman, challenges them to prove the integrity of their ideals by their personal devotion to them, come what may. Only within our own hearts lies the unconquerable answer to the totalitarian threat.

I have written so far exclusively of liberalism among white South Africans. But there is a different and no less testing challenge to liberal non-Europeans. In conception and (so far) in execution the defiance campaign is a liberal reaction to illiberal circumstances and a moral challenge to those who are responsible for them. But it is no secret that among non-European leaders there are some who preach the way of civil disobedience and non-violence because of its immediate tactical advantages and who would not scruple to abuse their position of leadership and the trust of their followers if they thought it likely to advance a particular socio-economic dogma.

I am not thinking of the famous Mr. Bhegu with his 400,000 mythical supporters and all his allegations, whom some Europeans delightedly echo, that the Indians are exploiting the Africans for their own advantage. Indians would indeed be mad to think they could sow that sort of hurricane without reaping a tornado. But I am thinking both of genuine Communists and racial extremists who teach race-war. The task of the non-European liberal is to retain his sanity and his right of individual decision—not to be stampeded by excitement or passion or taunts of cowardice or fear of seeming less patriotic than the most extreme—to believe in tolerance, patience and reason, even in the face of provocation, humiliation and

possibly ill-treatment, until the 59th minute of the eleventh hour—to seek to overcome hatred with love, selfishness with selflessness, fear with faith, pride with humility, violence with non-violence.

The most urgent task of the liberal is to inspire enthusiasm without invoking fanaticism. If, as a European, I have written mainly of European liberals and only briefly of non-European liberals, it is because in their very different circumstances one feels diffident in seeming to preach to others whose burdens he does not share. It ill becomes those on the more comfortable side of the colour bar to pontificate to their less fortunate fellows. But this all liberals have in common: that they must practise and suffer for their principles even unto the end, seeking only the compulsion of their example and leaving their cause in the hands of God.

GANDHI FILM

The Gandhi Films Committee of the Gandhi National Memorial Trust recently held in Bombay a private show of three provisional documentary films prepared under its supervision. The show was attended among others by the Hon'ble G. V. Mavalankar and Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa.

The films shown were:—

1. 'The Voice Of India': A graphic 35 mm 4000 ft. film composed of material drawn from nearly a dozen sources, completing a historical narrative of Mahatma Gandhi's trip to Europe in the winter of 1931. This contains the most delightful close-ups and sound-versions of four single-sentence informal speeches made by Gandhi in England and France in response to requests by newsreel men and a brief political speech made at Geneva. His voice is clear and authentic.

2. 'Seaside Prayers': A 16 mm 400 ft. colour film made from eight sources showing a prayer meeting at Juhu, Bombay, in 1944.

3. 'Noakhali': A 16 mm 400 ft. colour film of Gandhiji's trek in the Noakhali District in 1947. One of the three films has background music and commentary. The other two have detailed captions. The Gandhi Films Committee expects to be able to release shortly these three films for exhibition in different parts of India.

The full programme of the Gandhi Films Committee includes the preparation of nearly a dozen short documentaries with commentary and music, or

with titles in both Western and Indian varieties, and also a full-length life-story consisting of the best amateur and professional news-reels in chronological sequence. The shorter films, apart from the above mentioned three films which are nearing completion, are expected to be ready at intervals of a few months, and the full-length film will follow.

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Book Review

THREE GOOD BOOKS

"Natal Regional Survey" Vol. I—Archaeology and Natural Resources (30/).

"Natal Regional Survey" Vol. II—Trades Unions in Natal (12/6). "Monopoly And Public Welfare" (cloth cover 16/-, paper cover 12/6).

The University of Natal is fast making a name for itself by the quality and extent of its economic researches. Readers of these columns will remember especially the work of V. Sirkari Naidoo, Professor H. R. Burrows and others in the Institute of Race Relations pamphlets *The Indian Citizen or Subject?* *Indian Imbroglio* and now (published in July) *Indian Life and Labour in Natal*.

The first two books under review, which have been published by the Oxford University Press, are part of a comprehensive survey undertaken by Natal University at the request of the Social and Economic Planning Council to provide a factual basis for development programmes. Other volumes to be published soon will deal with the population of Natal, the Zulu people, electricity in Natal. Additional reports already published cover the Edeudale experiment with special reference to non-European food expenditure and nutrition, the African factory worker and the labour resources of Natal; Durban housing, Natal's smaller towns and the Dunn Coloured Reserve are to be the subject of further reports. To judge by the standard of these first two books the whole project, when completed, will be something quite new in South African factual analysis.

Mr. Ringrose's book on the trades unions is addressing primarily to those concerned with labour relations. The first 30 pages summarise the history of labour organisation in the province and the remaining 80 pages discuss the position in 1948 (when the book was finished) and future possibilities. The uses and abuses of Indian and Native unions receive full and sympathetic consideration. Mr. Ringrose especially emphasises how very greatly South African labour has contributed to its own weakness by parochial jealousies between city and city and by the inability of Africans, British, Coloured, Indian and the various Bantu working men to recognise a common loyalty and a single purpose. The ineffectiveness to which this balkanisation and sectional selfishness lead becomes daily clearer with the attack of the

Government on the independence of labour organisations.

Only the other day Mr. Schoeman reiterated that he found the tentative proposals of his own Government's Industrial Legislation Commission for the creation and recognition of Native unions "quite unacceptable." He, therefore, proposes to create regional committees of Natives under the chairmanship of Europeans appointed by the Minister and a national board of Europeans appointed "in consultation with the committees." The Minister expects that the Native will have confidence in getting a square deal from this arrangement. No reader of Mr. Ringrose will share that belief and, if the white labour movement for base reasons of expediency acquiesces in this refusal of elementary labour rights to one section of the working classes, it will only have itself to thank when its turn comes.

The first volume of the regional survey is by various hands and is undeniably expensive for its 140 pages, although it is beautifully produced on art paper with an abundance of fine photographs, maps, diagrams etc. It also seems to fall somewhat between two purposes—a longer, more detailed book for the expert or a less technical, general exposition for the lay reader. Its justification, no doubt, is that of outlining the physical wealth and problems of the province with which later volumes will deal more fully. Physical features, geology, climate, vegetation, animals, soils, water and mineral resources form the main headings.

The third book, published by the Natal University Press, is also by several hands. It, too, suffers from uncertainty as to what audience it wishes to address. In his preface Professor Burrows stresses that intelligent citizens need the assistance of professional economists in their quest for greater welfare. This is unquestionably true. But on their side the economists must learn to express themselves in language readily comprehensible to the untrained layman. As a link between business practice and academic doctrine this book may just serve its purpose. But, as an appeal to the interest of the intelligent layman, something a little less formidable is required. As a treatise for experts the book is, however, obviously of the first importance, covering history, the experience of other countries in dealing with monopolies, theory and proposed legislation for South Africa.

All three books would be greatly improved by the addition of an index.

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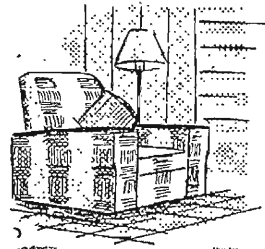
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

WHITES BEGIN TO THINK

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

A few prominent South Africans on the white side have issued a manifesto in which they plead with the rulers of South Africa to open up citizenship avenues for the advanced classes of the non-white peoples. This has been given immediate support by the Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, together with a number of prominent White churchmen. It follows a recent announcement that the Dutch Reformed Church, whose sympathies are with the Government on the colour question, plans to convene a national conference of all the racial groups of the Union to see if a middle-of-the-road solution to the colour problem could not be found—something which would be acceptable to all. These two moves, coming as they do from the two extremes of white opinion, are as significant as they bring to the fore the problems which the strength of the resistance movement has created.

On the one hand both are clear proof that sections of the ruling group have been impressed by the African response to the call to resist unjust laws. This is particularly noteworthy because the numbers of those who have already gone to jail are not by any means astronomical. But both the white liberals and the DRC are no doubt impressed by the popular support unmistakably shown by the masses whenever batches of resisters go to jail. One only has to be around the Nicol Square in Durban on Sunday afternoons to see thousands upon thousands of non Europeans congregated to give their moral support to the resistance campaign.

Thus, the liberal manifesto and the DRC convention plans are both an earnest effort on the part of sections of White opinion to find a workable answer to the questions raised by the non Europeans through their resistance campaign.

The form of these two answers shows that a limiting factor in the mind of the European is the fact that he does not know whether or not the leaders of the African people will be willing to sit down and talk things over. But as Dr. Moroka and Chief Luthuli have said, time and over again, the African people are not defying the unjust laws for the fun of just defying. They are doing it in an earnest effort to persuade the rulers that the time is gone when the black man shall be subject to the rule of conquest; when he can be dictated to by

the white minority and accept all that without question. The people who voluntarily go to jail—and they number thousands drawn from all walks of life—want to see their own representatives in parliament participating in the making of the laws which shall shape their lives. In short, they want justice and reason to be the guiding lights in the relations between the races. A genuine, reasonable and honourable basis for negotiation, inspired by the motive to reason and to be genuinely fair will evoke a positive response on the part of the African people.

Of course, the African people will reserve to themselves at all times the right to say what they shall consider a reasonable and honourable basis for negotiation. Secondly participation in a national convention with no power to change the constitution will, in African eyes, be largely a waste of time; it will be another political steam valve to let out hot air and, quite frankly, we are no longer in a mood to waste our time on that.

Against this background, although the conference sponsored by the Dutch Reformed Church is interesting, there is no reason to believe that its decisions might be taken seriously even by the pro-DRC Government to-day in power. Consequently, it might not be surprising to find the African people, through their recognised political leaders, feeling that to attend or to take part in its deliberations will be of little or no value.

One must, however, warn against reading into this a warning in advance that the leaders of the African National Congress will turn down an invitation to attend a conference of the type advocated by the Dutch Reformed Church. On the contrary, the intention is to enable all interested parties on the white side—and these are particularly badly informed on developments in the non-white group—to get a better picture of the position as we see it so that when they do formulate their basis for negotiation they should do so in the full knowledge of what is going on in the mind of the African.

At this stage, of course, both the liberal manifesto and the promised DRC convention are still isolated moves and if they develop as such, they might not produce the results they are intended to have on the white community. It is essential that when the white people make a

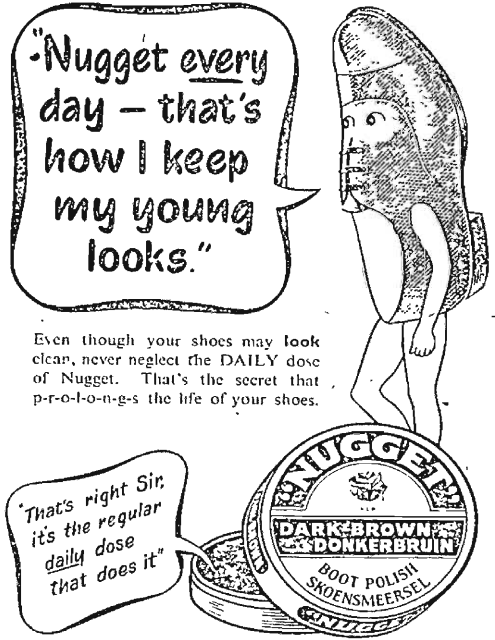
serious effort to solve the colour question, they should avoid giving the African the impression that they want to break the African peoples' will to resist or that they want to split the Indians and the Africans. Any move calculated to achieve any of or both these ends will fail. If we must solve our problems peacefully—and in the resistance movement we are determined that they should be—all sides must eliminate suspicion and distrust. Isolated groups might not be a blessing.

A second question in the minds of the Europeans is: What will happen if the United Party is returned to power next year? From the point of the non-European it does not matter much whether Malan or Strauss is in power so long as both refuse to realise that now is the time when the non-European must have the franchise, among other things.

Secondly, the success of the United Party will not make much difference if that Party continues to speak with two voices on the colour question. Take one example. Mr. Douglas Mitchell, Natal leader of the United Party, recently said that were it not for the constitutional crisis the whites would rally behind Malan against the non-European defiance campaign for no whiteman would tolerate what is happening. Later, at the provincial Congress of his

Party in Maritzburg last month he was very loud in saying that he stands for agreement through negotiation. Here is one United Party leader, assured of a cabinet seat if his party wins, who speaks with two distinct voices. The voices are not only his. Any intelligent listener can always hear them from the highest to the lowest in the ranks of the United Party. And this leaves us in the position not to know which is, in fact, the real voice of the United Party. To speculate on what will happen when these people rise to power might not do us any good at this stage.

The clear duty of every self-respecting non European in the present state of affairs is to give all possible moral, financial and other support to the resistance movement and be not swayed one way or the other by the isolated white moves which hoist the flag of negotiation at this stage. As long as the Malanites are in power there will be no one to negotiate with for they have told us plainly that they do not have the capacity to negotiate with us. Rather than do that, they have said, they would sooner intern our leaders. So, from the present Government we can only expect concentration camps and our only protection against this satanic evil is to ensure that we are stronger and always stronger through the defiance campaign.



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Sports Notes

By "RAJAH"

Stella Wins Natal Cup

STELLA beat Young Ortman's of Maritzburg 3-0 to win the Nataj Cup on Saturday, at Curries Fountain before a poor crowd. Klip River never turned up and scratched in favour of Durban for the Junior Inter-Town Final. Lightie Chinniah hit home the opening goal in the 20th minute and followed this up with another goal before half-time was taken.

Kondiah, scored a grand second-half goal hitting the cross-bar and rolling into the net to make sure of taking the cup from Maritzburg.

Stella got to the ball first in almost every case, with the result that they controlled the vital centre of the field.

To Young Ortman's credit, they battled hard throughout, but it was not just their day.

Lake City Lads comfortably beat Pirates of South Coast 2-0 in the Junior Natal Cup Inter-District Semi-Final on Sunday and will meet Springboks of Maritzburg in the Finals on Sunday, 5th October.

Daniel's Gold Cup Result At Maritzburg

Frontiers of Maritzburg beat Clare Estates of Durban 5-1 in the semi-finals of the Inter-District game for the Daniel's Gold Cup.

Cavalla Cup Won By Transvaal

The travelling tired Natal Liquor & Catering team was trounced 8-3 by Transvaal for the Cavalla Cup on Sunday, at the Indian Grounds, Johannesburg. A report stated that the Natal team was very unimpressive and gave a poor display.

All-India Cup Re-play

In the Finals of the All-India Cup re-play Coastals will meet Centrals to be preceded by a Curtain-Raiser between a Durban Coloured and Indian Women's Hockey match at Curries Fountain, on Saturday 4th October.

This should be a big draw as both teams have a strong side and will go all out to win. Previously both teams played a draw game, after extra halves.

Natal Inter-Race Final Re-play

Two changes have been made in the Natal Indian Team to play the Natal Africans in the re-play of the Natal Inter-Race

Soccer match, at Curries Fountain, on Saturday, 11th October.

Lightie Chinniah and Biddy Reddy take positions as centre forward and Inner-left respectively. The team is as follows: V. C. Moodley (Goals), K. Mariemuthoo (R. F. Back) K. Rajcopaul (L. F. Back) Partab Singh (R. H. Back) Gansen Naidoo (C. H. Back) A. M. Govender, (L. H. Back) T. Rampath (Captain) (O. R. Forward) Bob Pillay (I. R. Forward) R. Chinniah (Centre Forward) Billy Reddy (I. L. Forward) and P. Somalingam (O. L. Forward).

The following players were selected to represent the Durban Coloured and Indians Juvenile teams to play as a curtain-raiser to the Natal Inter-Race Match:

Coloured team: Q. Rookes (Captain) N. Linderboom, L. Thompson, C. Hulley, N. Sissing, S. Saunders, S. Egehof, M. Abrahams, V. Campbell, N. Steinback, D. Saunders; reserves: K. rsten, S. Bonhamme, Manager J. Ritson.

Indian team: E. Royeppen, D. V. Naidoo, C. Vallabh, B. Jack (Captain) A. Kungaloo, C. Hooson, K. R. Naidoo, S. Morgan, P. Govender, N. Soobramoney, R. Mikadoo. Reserves: S. Kelly, S. Appalsamy, Boya and G. Mohammed,

Durban Indian And Coloured Women's Hockey Teams

Coloured X': M. Lee, D. Richards, W. Ogle, R. Moses, L. Dickens, M. Houston, S. Rookes, F. Blunden, M. Raymond, C. Williams and K. Clarke.

Indian X': A. Peters, E. Naidoo, M. Frank, S. Jacob, S. Pillay, M. Jacob, D. Singh, N. Abrahams, S. Moodley, E. Sullapen, T. Saunders. Reserves: R. Jacob, P. Jagesur and C. Abrahams.

Kalideen Wins Captain's 'A' Division Trophy

D. Kalideen who has recently shown consistent form on the golf links returned a score of 68 scr. played in a gusty wind on Sunday, to win the Captain's prizes in the 'A' Division. K. M. Moodley returned a score of 70 net to win the 'B' section.

The first round of the Club Championship in the 'A & 'B' division will be played at Curries Fountain, on Sunday, commencing at 8.30 a.m.

To Represent Natal In The S.A.W.L. & Mr.' S.A. Contest

The following have been chosen to represent Natal in the S.A. Weight-Lifting and Mr. South Africa Contest (E. H. Ismail's Trophy) to be held at Kimberley on the 3-4th October: J. Harvey, Alty Lindsay, R. P. Govender, J. Maistry, Stanley Naidoo, Kisten and K. Maharaj. Manager: Mr. M. K. Tommy.

In the Natal Amateur Weight-Lifting Championships held at the Premier Hall on Saturday night Mr. Tromp Van Diggelen acted as one of the judges. He is the holder of the world heavy-weight record in the one hand clean and bent press of 243½ lbs, the world record of chest expansion of 14 inches and a former judge for the Mr. Universe Contest. Results were:

Flyweight: First: P. Govindasamy 410 lbs.; second: C. Logan 385 lbs.; third: S. G. Naidoo 355 lbs

Bantamweight: First: Kisten 455 lbs.

Featherweight: First: Stanley Naidoo 535 lbs; second: Morgansamy 525 lbs; third: A. J. Naidoo 370 lbs

Lightweight: First: K. Maharaaj 560 lbs; second: M. Kize 540 lbs.

Middleweight: First: G. Moses 470 lbs; second: Jackie Pillay 460 lbs.

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