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INDIAN OPINION

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Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



Time For Race And Colour Bar To End

RACE and colour were not the yardstick by which to measure greatness, the Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, the Right Rev. E. F. Paget, said in his charge to the Anglican Synod in Bulawayo last Sunday.

"There is no place for patronage in Africa today—above all in the family of God," said Bishop Paget.

"Just as the iniquity of the Colour bar has to give way to the naturalness of cultural distinctions, so must patronage give way to the provision for partnership between races."

The church, he said, should provide opportunities for cultured Europeans and Africans to meet together—and eat together—on equal terms.

Human relations, racial, national and international, were in the forefront of men's minds, and were the main cause of tensions, frictions and fears, said the Bishop.

Future race relations in Southern Rhodesia and in Central Africa might well have a great influence throughout the whole continent, and it was the duty of the Christian church to give a firm and unflinching lead.

"All alike must behave as Christian gentlemen, one towards the other," said the Bishop. "Contempt of others or of other groups of persons is sin. And to promote and foster hatred towards persons or groups of persons, nations, races or religious bodies is sin. It is anti-social and anti-Christian."

Friends!

*It is too late now to slay
in those houses,*

*It is too late to make or even
count what has been made,
Count rather those
fabulous possessions*

*Which begin with your
body and your soul;*

*Measure your strength
as your wealth,*

An step smartly!

*Advance to rebel! And
remember that*

Right makes might!

*In that faith, dare to
do your duty*

As you understand it.

—Spender.



INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1952

Dr. Malan With Australian Journalists

A PARTY of Australian journalists had an interview with the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, on Friday, September 5, in Pretoria. The interview Dr. Malan gave should not be allowed pass without comment. This is how the South African Press Association has reported the interview:

"We are not anti-English or anti-England or isolationists," said Dr. Malan. The achievement of a Republic in South Africa was one of the aims of the Nationalist Party, but a Republic would not be forced upon the people, he said. "There must be sufficient support among the people to make it safe." Asked whether a republic would not be anti-British, the Prime Minister said a republic need not be anti-British. India had become a republic, and that was not regarded as anti-British. In his own view, a republic in South Africa would not and could not be anti-British because 40 per cent. of the population were English-speaking and had attachments for the country of their origin.

Asked what his reactions were to India's attitude towards South Africa, the Prime Minister said, India at the present time was not friendly towards South Africa and had been boycotting South Africa for a long time. South Africa had a large Indian population, particularly in Natal, and India wanted equal rights with the Europeans for the Indian population.

"Australia is very closely situated to India. I ask you what would Australia's attitude be if India demanded free entry for Indians into Australia, with equal rights with the Europeans?"

We fail to see how Dr. Malan can compare South Africa with India on the republican issue. Firstly, India spoke for the whole of India while South Africa speaks for three million Whites and totally ignores the nine million non-Whites, who form the bulk of South Africa's population. On that score alone the formation of a republic in South Africa must be ruled out.

Secondly, a republic in South Africa would undoubtedly be anti-British because the question of republic has sprung up from an anti-British feeling. The word British seems to stink in the nostrils of the sixty per cent Afrikaans-speaking population.

Were it not so the constitutional issue which has caused so much commotion in South Africa would never have arisen. Dr. Malan claims that a republic in South Africa would not and could not be anti-British because 40 per cent of the population were English-speaking and had attachments for the country of their origin. But then Dr. Malan has no time for them. He does not respect their wishes. He is trying his level best to outvote them.

Thirdly, India has been and is on the friendliest terms with England and the rest of the Commonwealth excepting South Africa. South Africa cannot honestly claim that she is friendly towards England.

India is and wants to be friendly towards the whole world and is making her contribution in the best possible manner.

Fourthly, Dr. Malan says South Africa is not isolationist but all her actions and her apartheid policy, which is condemned by the whole civilised world, and her sheer obstinacy to hold on to that policy at all costs proves that she prefers to live in isolation.

All this goes to prove that South Africa cannot compare herself with India.

With regard to the relations between South Africa and India Dr. Malan was not stating the fact when he said that India was not friendly towards South Africa. The fact is to the contrary. South Africa's unfriendliness towards India is betrayed by her very action. She would certainly not treat India's nationals the way she is doing if she were friendly or cared to be friendly towards India.

Dr. Malan did not tell the Australian journalists that the "large" Indian population did not form more than two and a half per cent of the total population of the Union, and that the reason why there was a large population in Natal was because it was confined by restrictive legislation to that Province and not allowed to spread out.

Dr. Malan asked the Australian journalists what Australia's attitude would be if India demanded free entry for Indians into Australia with equal rights with Europeans. But Dr. Malan did not inform the journalists that a ban on free entry for Indians into the Union was placed in 1914 and agreed to by the Indians in good faith that Indians already domiciled in the Union would have no further restrictions imposed on them. That the Union Government has broken faith shamelessly can be proved by historical facts. The Australian journalists should have enlightened Dr. Malan if he was unaware of the fact that though Australia has a "White Australia" policy it applies only in regard to new immigrants and that there are no apartheid laws against Indians domiciled in Australia.

Untouchability.

WE non-Europeans in South Africa are all untouchables in the eyes of Whitemen. Much is being said about untouchability as was practised in India. Dr. Malan referred to it only the other day stating that thousands of untouchables in India were not enjoying equal rights. The statement was refuted by the High Commissioner for India in London by quoting authoritative facts. Untouchability is a thing of the past now in India. It is strictly forbidden by law and any breach of the law is treated as a criminal offence.

But the thing to be remembered about untouchability in India is that it was based upon the low birth and low occupation of a person, never upon the colour of one's skin as is the case in South Africa. It was a social evil not sanctioned by law but encouraged by an unsympathetic Government of the day. Here in South Africa nine million non-White people are declared untouchables by law by three million White rulers.

There are numerous instances in India of how individual untouchables have gained their freedom by passive resistance. One of them was Nandanar, a great saint in Chidambaram in South India.

When Mahatma Gandhi once visited Chidambaram, these were the words in which he paid a tribute to that saint:

"I have never claimed to be one original Satyagrahi. What I have claimed is to have made the

application of that doctrine on an almost universal scale, and it yet remained to be seen and demonstrated that it is a doctrine which is capable of assimilation by thousands upon thousands of peoples in all ages and climes. I know, therefore, that mine is an experiment still in the making and it, therefore, always keeps me humble and rooted to the soil and in that state of humility I always cling to every true example of Satyagraha that comes under my notice as a child clings to its mother's breast. And so when I heard and read the story of Nandanar and his lofty Satyagraha, and his great success, my head bowed before his spirit, and all day long I have felt elevated to be able to be in a place hallowed by the holy feet of Nanda, and it will not be without a wrench that I shall be leaving this place in a few minutes' time.

Nanda broke down every barrier and won his way to freedom not by brag, not by bluster, but by the purest form of self-suffering. He did not swear against his persecutors, he would not even condescend to ask his persecutors for what was his due. But he shamed them into doing justice by his lofty prayer, by the purity of his character and, if one may put it in human language, he compelled God Himself to descend and made Him open the eyes of his persecutors. And what Nanda did in his time and in his own person, it is open to every one of us to do today in our own person.

Mischief-Mongering Should Stop

THE 'Natal Mercury' has once again given prominence to Mr. S. Benghu, president general of the so-called Bantu National Congress. From what we have been able to gather Mr. Benghu holds no position worth the name in his own community and is obviously acting as the stooge of the Government. He discredits his own people by saying that they were ignorant, that they were being led by the Indians, and that the African National Congress had betrayed their people and had sold themselves to Indians. Our experience is quite to the contrary. We have found to our amazement that not only are the African people intelligent but they have proved their organising capacity and the disciplined manner in which they can carry on their affairs and the

wonderful way in which they have grasped the principle of non-violence. It is a pity that Mr. Benghu and his associates should act as traitors to their community. The Africans are bravely fighting their own battle unaided. If Indians are able to help them even a little in that they are surely doing no disservice to the African people. What ends have Indians to achieve in the campaign of the Africans against unjust laws? Have not the Indians to fight their own battle? Mr. Benghu is entirely wrong in making the insinuation he has made against the Indians. The defiance campaign is based on truth and truth shall ultimately triumph. False and lying propaganda will not stop the campaign which has come, we hope, to stay. Such propaganda may succeed in creating confusion and cause delay in any prospect of a settlement and prolong the campaign, which will only cause harm to the country as a whole. We would therefore earnestly suggest that this irresponsible mischief-mongering should cease and the problem should be tackled more seriously.

The Passing Of Kishorlal Mashruwala

BY the passing of Mr. Kishorlal Mashruwala which was announced over the All-India Radio on Tuesday night, September 9, has removed from the life of India yet another great soul India could ill-afford to lose. Mr. Mashruwala was little known in the outside world yet he was an all-India figure in the sense that he was a right hand man of Mahatma Gandhi. If Prime Minister Nehru were Mahatma Gandhi's mantle in the political field Mr. Mashruwala wore it in the spiritual field. After the passing of Mahatma Gandhi if there was one person who was able to truly interpret the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi it was Mr. Kishorlal Mashruwala. When Mahatma Gandhi had gone it was a question if the organ 'Harijan' which was the soul of India would live. It was Mr. Mashruwala who kept it truly alive. What the fate of it will now be remains to be seen. If God deems it essential that it should live He will provide a suitable person for it. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Mr. Mashruwala spent the last drop



The Late Mr. Kishorlal Mashruwala.

of his blood (if he had any, because he was just a mass of skin and bone weighing hardly more than 60 lbs) on 'Harijan.' He should have retired long ago but no one was prepared to shoulder the responsibility and he was determined not to let it die as long as there was life in him. And so he breathed his last in service.

Sixty-two-year old Mr. Mashruwala had the true qualities of the saint and 'yogi' as described in the Bhagavad Gita. However much he would be suffering (and he suffered tremendously as he had chronic asthma from his young age) he was never known to have lost his temper. It was marvellous to see him smiling and full of humour in the midst of agony and acting child-like when among children and yet as grave when among the grown ups and among the learned. He is the author of many books in the Gujarati vernacular on deep philosophy. He has also translated the Bhagavad Gita from Sanskrit of which he had a deep knowledge. He led a life of renunciation from the early days of India's struggle for Independence. He was among the first to give up his practice as a pleader in the Law Courts after having come in touch with Mahatma Gandhi. He was a strict disciplinarian having mastered it himself. The reason why he did not come in the lime light was because of his chronic ailment. But he has played a unique part in the intellectual and spiritual life of Gujarat in particular and India in general.

He was able to interpret Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of Truth and Non-violence because he lived up to it in every sense of the term. In him India has indeed lost a great soul she could ill-afford to lose at the present time. But God alone is the giver of life and also the taker of life. He alone knows what the future of India and the world is to be. We have but to surrender to His will.

Mr. Mashruwala leaves behind his sorrowing widow who was wholly dedicated to him. Both lived a celibate life in the service of God and humanity. May God bless the both with peace.

MANILAL GANDHI.

NOTES

Government Would Not

Negotiate

THE Government would not negotiate with the non-European resistors who were breaking the apartheid laws, said Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior, at a National Party rally at Nigel, last week. The United Party had suggested that the Government should start negotiations with the non-Europeans, but there was no representative body to negotiate with, said Dr. Donges. The non-Europeans taking part in the defiance campaign wanted no concessions but complete surrender by the Europeans. Dr. Donges asked the people, irrespective of their party political loyalties, to support the Government's actions against the resistance campaign. The Europeans should see to it that the defiance campaign should not succeed.

A ray of light in the dark political future was the attitude of the Leader of the United Party in Natal, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, who had said that if the defiance campaign should succeed, all Europeans would stand by the Government.

Will No Longer Be Satisfied With Concession's

It is common knowledge that the defiance campaign was launched only after all other avenues of approaching the Government were closed. The Government is entirely responsible for the present embarrassing situation it finds itself in. The defiance campaign must now go on, and we hope it will go on, until the sufferings of the innocent succeed in changing the heart of the Government. Non-Europeans will no longer be satisfied with concessions. They want the removal of unjust laws under which they have suffered too long. If the non-European people allow themselves to be subdued by repression and threats of repression on the part of the Government they will deserve to remain in their present condition. If they want to be treated as self-respecting human beings they will have to be prepared to die for it.

Mr. Naude Discloses His Contempt

It was time the Government decided whether it was right to take taxpayers' money and give some of it to help such an institution as the Witwatersrand University, Mr. Naude, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, said at the Nationalist Party rally in Pretoria East last week. There was no social segregation at this university and 'White girls went about with 'Kaffirs' and carried placards carrying slogans such as 'away with Apartheid'. Unlike other universities in the country, Witwatersrand University mixed Black and White people together and even on the tennis courts they were not separated. This was not in harmony with the policy being followed by the ordinary people of South Africa. The non-European defiance campaign, he said, was a warning and a danger not only to the Nationalist Government but to every White person in the country.

Stop Being Offensive

Mr. Naude and those who think like him would be well advised to get over using offensive terms while referring to non-Europeans. Mr. Naude evidently suggests that the taxpayers are only the White men and the non-Whites pay no taxes. It should further be remembered that the defiance campaign is not the cause but effect. If you want to get rid of a malady the wise course would be to first find out the cause and then take steps to remove it.

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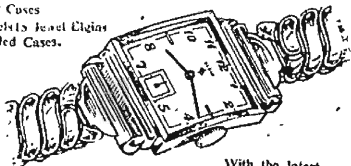
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THE VOICE OF LIBERAL SOUTH AFRICA

By C. W. M. GELL

THE Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas, which was appointed in 1950 to study the rehabilitation of the Reserves, asked the South African Institute of Race Relations to give its views on "Economic integration of the Natives in the European economy eventually leading to (a) economic equality; (b) social equality; (c) equal political rights; (d) miscegenation."

In its answer (1) the Institute has taken the opportunity to

(1) THE LEGGIO OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. (S.A. Institute of Race Relations), July 1952, 1/6.

state "its own philosophy of principle and action." Coming from one of the most important centres of reasonable and liberal thinking on racial subjects, this little booklet deserves close examination. The Institute will expect it to be judged by the very high standards of factual and moral integrity which the Institute has set for its own work. The Institute is not a party political body. It does not, therefore, have to consider whether its views are electorally palatable. While it has, as the booklet says, "realised the importance of recognising the limits of the practicable at any one time," it has had an honourable record of putting the ethical issues first and supporting them with the facts which white South Africans are all too reluctant to face.

Before tackling the Commission's four questions, the Institute states its general position. It bases its philosophy upon "the fundamental principles of Christian living and the values basic to Western Civilisation"—viz. the intrinsic value of the individual personality and its right to be allowed to develop, belief in democratic values and rights (defined later) for all race groups and "acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation." In a multiracial society, some of whose members are Jews, Hindus, Muslims or pagans and many of whose nominal Christians differ very greatly over basic values, the Institute should have defined what it means by *Christian*. I think, however, it is fairly clear that what is intended is that liberal and ethical attitude which is supported by the higher spirituality of all the great religious traditions. But in a world where the dogmatists of Christianity too often stand over against the "heathen," where Calvinist and Catholic too frequently forget the gospel of love in the vigour of their sectarian strife, a philosophical statement *must* define its

use of *Christian*, if that is one of its basic postulates.

The Institute goes on to concur with Dr. Malan that total racial segregation is quite impracticable. It also considers that "a policy aimed at total assimilation (physical, political, economic, and social) is not acceptable and equally impracticable." "Basic cultural assimilation" is, however, both possible and desirable. I am not quite happy about the words I have italicised, nor about the distinction between *total* and *cultural* assimilation. The mental reservations, which appear to underlie this distinction, come to light later when the Institute deals with social equality and miscegenation.

The Institute proceeds to define "the fundamental rights of the individual which have been generally accepted in the 20th century." I take it that these are meant to be the same as the "democratic rights" mentioned earlier. But the "right" of the State and other organs of the collective society (e.g. trades unions, racial bonds and societies, churches, political parties etc.) to interfere with or impose upon the individual is also more or less passively accepted over large areas of the modern world, and not merely behind the Iron Curtain! While it would be unreasonable, perhaps to expect a full vindication of these individual democratic rights as against the "rights" of society in so brief a booklet, we may wonder whether our massive racial antagonisms will ever be resolved until the philosophical implications of the rights we Europeans expect for ourselves are brought home to those of us who accept them as a matter of course. The case against anti-Semitism or any other form of racial intolerance among Europeans is exactly the same in principle as the case against the *baasskap*—that it is a denial of the intrinsic value of the individual personality.

Moreover, there is one obvious omission from the Institute's catalogue of rights—the right to acquire, occupy, enjoy and dispose of property. In the light of what is later said under "Social Equality," I am a little fearful that this omission may have been deliberate.

The Institute concludes its philosophical statement by accepting that economic integration is a fact which is irreversible—there is no European economy; that integration demands the equalising of rights and duties as the ultimate objective; but that this cannot be achieved at once, since

large numbers of our population are not yet capable of responsible conduct. The Institute believes that, unless the Europeans accept this liberal concept, unless they cease "to regard their survival as being possible only at the expense of other race groups, they will destroy themselves and Western Civilisation in South Africa. "The only true, realistic policy is... that which aims at self-preservation by placing right and justice first." The Institute, therefore, exhorts us "to go forward in faith."

I suppose the Institute's Executive Committee thought the origin of this phrase—and some others in the booklet—too well known to require acknowledgement. But, since the words may be read by some who are unacquainted with the late J. H. Hofmeyr's Hoernle Memorial Lecture, I think the original passage deserves to be quoted in full:

"The right course to take is, while facing the facts, all the facts, to refuse to abandon the firm ground of principle, to maintain the essential value of human personality as something independent of race or colour, to provide facilities for Native development, and, since no one can say with certainty to what in the long run the policy of development will lead, to go forward in faith. That is the issue—faith against fear. A policy based on fear must lead to disaster. The outcome of a policy based on faith may be unpredictable in detail, but there is more than a reasonable chance of it leading to success. And the Christian approach is the approach not of fear, but of faith."

Turning to the specific questions asked by the Commission, the Institute stands unequivocally for equality of economic opportunity for all race groups—it has earlier pointed out that "economic equality" (the Commission's phrase) is inapplicable; no one suggests that it is possible or desirable. The Institute recognises that equal opportunity will mean that the more able and industrious of the non-Europeans will go ahead of the more incompetent and indolent of the Europeans. "Any such individuals will be provided for through the general services of the State and should such services be inadequate, the European group itself must help to take care of its own inadequates."

Under "political equality" the Institute stands for the goal of a common citizenship for all races. It does not appear ready as yet to suggest what steps should now

be taken towards realising that goal (apart from increased participation of non-Europeans in local government), nor what form of political representation will best meet the needs of our multiracial state. It is certainly essential to proclaim the objective of ultimate political equality, whatever the form of representation may be. But it is hardly less necessary to begin moving now, however gently, towards that objective. Such immediate action is the only earnest of our good faith which will appeal to the imagination and loyalty of our non-Europeans, especially after the recent breaches of faith. It is, therefore, much to be hoped that the Institute will soon be able to clarify its position in this respect.

On the remaining two heads, it seems to the writer that the Institute's thinking is rather less clear than it ought to be. "Social equality" is defined as the meeting of black and white with mutual respect and the equality of public services provided from public funds. The Institute goes on to point out that social intercourse between the races must develop naturally without compulsion. It does "not involve residential integration, nor any social mixing which any one group does not wish. Racial or group prejudices finding expression in social customs which limit social intercourse in a society in which there is equal opportunity for all involves no derogation from human dignity and mutual respect."

Now these sentences seem to me inadequate and the use of the word *group* open to objection. The matter is surely one for individual decision—that is the implication of the basic premise of Western Civilisation, as defined by the Institute earlier. I altogether deny the right of *group* to say whether or not I shall mix socially with people of another group. In all fairness, I think the Institute does (to). But it has not made itself clear on the point. Nor is the issue of residential segregation squarely faced. Here, I must recall my uneasiness about the omission earlier of the right to acquire and enjoy property. For in this country we have to start from the position of the European group owning and occupying well over three-quarters of the land and property. Now if this group does not "wish" residential integration, and for as long as it retains political control, it is in a position to perpetuate a thoroughly unethical state of affairs. I can conceive of conditions under which residential segregation could be applied by the voluntary agreement of the various race groups in a manner

consistent with the Institute's philosophical premises. But the conditions would be very difficult to achieve and would demand great sacrifices on the part of the European community. This makes it all the more desirable that the Institute should be more explicit about its attitude, and about the alternative courses which its philosophy would require, if those sacrifices were not forthcoming.

Finally, on *miscegenation*, what the Institute says in unobjectionable but insufficient. It rightly points out that the responsibility for racial purity (should not this most misleading term have been examined?) rests primarily with the group that demands it; that the answer to the hackneyed question "Do you want your sister to marry a black man?" is "Does my sister want to marry a black man?" But, while this latter question puts the emphasis properly on the *individual* decision, there is too much talk about *groups*, *group identity* and *group purity*. Now I think the Institute has missed an opportunity to take its stand uncompromisingly on the ethical unit, the individual. A law like the Mixed Marriages Act is altogether immoral, because it imposes a group majority decision on an essentially personal matter. It is a fact that, before the Act, less than one-third of one per cent of the Union's marriages were mixed, which proves how little real demand there is by anyone for inter-racial marriage. Nevertheless, the Act is unjust to that minute minority. The Institute might further have considered what reasonable grounds there are behind the emotional resistance to *miscegenation*. Scientifically, I believe, the emotion is completely unjustified.

The moral degeneration, which sometimes accompanies mixed marriages, is primarily the result of our social system which outcasts the couples and their children. Very many—far more than are admitted—of our leading European families have coloured blood in their ancestry and evidence is available from many other countries to suggest most strongly that inter marriage leads to no deterioration, if society accepts these very occasional events as natural. No one certainly should be compelled to mix or marry, who does not wish to; but there should be no legal discrimination and no group taboos against those who do.

These criticisms of the book, let should not obscure my very wide measure of agreement with its philosophy. But it is disappointing to find the Institute being less than precise on those very issues which arouse the strongest emotional reactions among Europeans and which are, therefore, habitually exploited by politicians for their own ends. It is on these issues that there is the greatest need for precise and objective thought. And it is the more necessary to demarcate the sphere of individual morality in a country, a large part of whose ruling race group too readily accepts an authoritarian ethic. To go forward in faith is admirable. But it must not be the sort of faith to which the United Party adheres—a desperate hoping that nothing will turn up to resolve the antinomies of its policy. This country needs a positive ethical faith. The Institute of Race Relations is nearly ready to provide it, if it would only grasp a little more firmly some of the nettles with which our way is strewn.

"Afrika" after being sentenced in Court would in future be charged with contempt of Court.

Before the batch went to get arrested thousands of non-Europeans assembled outside the Curries Fountain Sports Ground to bid farewell. The gathering was addressed by Mr. J. N. Singh, of the Natal Indian Congress and Mr. M. B. Yengwa, secretary of the African National Congress (Natal). Mr. Yengwa said that the second batch was defying the Pass Laws, the most unjust of all the unjust laws in the country. "The African people," he added, "have been showing their opposition to the pass laws for many years now. Every year thousands of innocent people have to go to prison

in contravention of the Pass Laws, laws which, make criminals out of our African people. In this campaign we have decided to defy the Pass Laws and this second batch is giving a concrete lead to our resolution of defiance."

Grahamstown

From Grahamstown, the South African Press Association reported that 39 resisters who defying the curfew laws were each sentenced to fines of £2 (or one month) when they appeared in the Magistrate's Court on Monday.

Eighteen of the resisters were men, and they were each sentenced to an additional fine of £1 (or 30 days) for being in a proclaimed area without valid documents.

GROWING SYMPATHY OF THINKING EUROPEANS

MR. JULIUS LEWIN, Advocate and Lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the Witwatersrand University, has written the following letter in the 'Rand Daily Mail' dated August 29:

Sir,—The non-European campaign to defy unjust laws has raised a new political issue and, with it, a moral question.

No one who knows even a little of what Africans and Indians have endured, especially in recent years, can be surprised that this campaign was undertaken or that it has received such a significant response. The thought of so many people going joyfully to goal cannot fail to stir even men and women hitherto indifferent to the sufferings of non-Europeans.

What matters most of all just now is the attitude taken up by Europeans. It is quite clear that the campaign is not intended to injure white people as such or their interests. It is obviously designed as a moral protest against continuing injustice, and those taking part in it have behaved with notable discretion and dignity.

In these circumstances may I make an appeal to all white men and women of goodwill? We must surely demand of the Government that it at least refrain from further repression. Those who are going to prison in their hundreds are not common criminals. They are political offenders who are entitled to the treatment that Nationalists in the past have always been quick to claim, for men on their side who broke the law for political reasons.

I appeal now for some sign of sympathy and understanding on the part of Europeans.

I hope that the Opposition is not going to echo the Government's angry words and endorse its attitude. To do so would be to pave the way for a common white front against non-white people, and I can think of no more disastrous development in our country than that.

If, however, leaders of the Opposition, for base reasons of assumed political expediency, fail to provide, in this critical hour, the leadership required, surely religious leaders will not keep silent on this question of conscience? Will moral precept by non-Europeans not evoke from some Europeans a moral gesture of equal significance? —JULIUS LEWIN.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

SECOND BATCH OF 20 GOES TO GOAL

A second batch of 20 African resisters was arrested in Durban on Sunday night September 7, in Broad Street, for defying the pass laws by not carrying special passes. The group included three women. They spent the night in the cells and appeared on Monday in the Durban Magistrate's Court before Mr. C. E. Russell. They were sentenced to a fine of £3 (or 30 days) each. The resisters were charged with being in the streets after 11 p.m. without night passes. In a statement to the Court one of the resisters, Samuel Mtimkulu, said the law under which they were charged denied the people the basic human right of movement. Their only crime was to walk in the

street after 11 p.m. "Every day of the week hundreds of Africans are sent to goal because they are found in the street, some of them after visiting friends or attending some function," he said.

Giving judgment, Mr. Russell said, his sole duty was to administer laws, and not to comment on them.

"You have admitted deliberately contravening this by-law, so I must differentiate between you and others who have some excuse for being out."

After sentence had been passed many of the accused Africans as well as observers, raised their right fists, and with thumbs in the air shouted "Afrika."

A warning was given by Mr. Russell that Africans shouting

Reply To Mr. Mitchell

We are tempted to quote from the same paper, with apologies to the Editor, the following letter appearing over the non-Je-plume 'Right Is Right':

Sir,—According to a report in Wednesday's 'Mail,' Mr. D. E. Mitchell, leader of the United Party in Natal, says he 'fears the success of the non-European defiance of unjust laws campaign. If this disobedience campaign is completely successful the White people of this country will rally behind the Government.'

Does this mean that the non-Europeans will be subdued by violence?


Many Europeans feel, in fact, that these laws are unjust.

Is Mr. Mitchell quoting the official United Party view?

If he is, the party will certainly not get my vote in the next election.—RIGHT IS RIGHT.


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THE only weapon of a Satyagrahi (Passive Resister) is God by whatever name one knows Him. Without Him the Satyagrahi is devoid of strength before an opponent armed with monstrous weapons. Most people lie prostrate before physical might. But he who accepts God as his only Protector will remain un-bent before the mightiest earthly power.

'Black legs' will be found in every struggle. The men who have gone to gaol are not noted men. This is no loss, rather it is a gain in a Satyagraha struggle which requires no prestige save that of truth, and no strength save that of self-suffering which comes only from an immovable faith in one's cause and from a completely non-violent spirit.

The volunteers must not be impatient. Impatience is a phase of violence. A Satyagrahi has nothing to do with victory. He is sure of it, but he has also to know that it comes from God. His is but to suffer.

Let the Satyagrahis understand that they have to use every penny they get as a miser uses his hoards. I suggest their getting a man of note to take charge of their moneys and a philanthropic auditor to audit their accounts free of charge. Strictest honesty and care are necessary in the handling of public funds. This is an indispensable condition of growth of a healthy public life.

A Satyagrahi's appeal must contain moderate language. We wish to injure no man. And we wish to gain our object by enlisting public opinion not excluding European opinion in our favour by self-suffering. Here there is no room for the language of anger and hate.

The public have a duty to the volunteers. They may not go to gaol but they can supervise, control and guide and help the movement in many ways.

So long as the Satyagrahi volunteers fight the battle in a clean manner and strictly in accordance with the conditions applicable to Satyagrah they deserve public support and sympathy.

The underlying idea of our struggle should not be to embarrass the Government.

A Satyagrahi relies not upon embarrassment but upon self-

suffering for securing relief. Satyagraha movement is not started with the intention of embarrassing the Government while ordinary political agitation is often started with that object. If a Satyagrahi finds his activities resulting in embarrassing the Government, he will not hesitate to face it.

A Satyagrahi does not regard the force of numbers as necessary in a just cause.

A Satyagrahi depends only on truth and his capacity to suffer for truth.

A HEARTENING MESSAGE

[We publish below a heartening letter received from Mrs Ella B. Elder, hon. secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (South Africa) We have no doubt it will gladden the hearts of all non-Europeans and that they gratefully appreciate the sentiments expressed therein.—Ed. I.O.]

SIR,—The remark in your editorial "Testing Time" of Aug. 22nd: "Not one word of encouragement has so far come from any quarter in South Africa to the men and women who are bearing the Cross for a righteous cause," has prompted me to write this letter.

For some time past I, for one, and, I am convinced, many of the members of the society I represent—the Fellowship of Reconciliation (South Africa), as well as many other members of various Christian Churches in this land, have followed with great interest, and a large measure (though perhaps of varying degree) of sympathy, the civil disobedience campaign. There are not wanting those of us who have felt a certain shame, that we have not expressed this sympathy openly. I take upon myself to write this without consulting my fellow-members in the absence of my chairman, Rev. A. W. Blaxall (at present in England) who has recently expressed the opinion: "We cannot much longer keep silent." We were held back earlier from sending messages of sympathy, partly, perhaps, because we shared your fear that the African people would not be able to keep to their policy of non-violence. Rightly or wrongly, we feared, perhaps, to become party to a movement, which might eventually lead to

Men of ordinary abilities can develop morality.

It is hot at all impossible for an absolutely illiterate man to imbibe the Satyagrah principle.

Most people do not understand the complicated machinery of the Government. They do not realise that every citizen silently but non-the-less certainly sustains the Government of the day in ways in which he has no knowledge. Every citizen therefore renders himself responsible for every act of his Government. And it is quite proper to support it so long as the actions of the Government are bearable. But when they hurt him and his nation, it becomes his duty to withdraw his support.

African resisters; and we pray that they may have strength and grace to continue in the way they have begun. Thus alone will they attain their ends, which are, as you suggest, only a logical extension of those democratic claims to which so many pay lip service.

To demand the revocation of unjust laws which have for many years been criticised by liberal opinion (e.g. the Pass Laws), and to protest against the fibing away of entrenched rights, can hardly be called "Communism." The intransigence of the police, and the growing severity of the sentences, are much more nearly allied to the methods which have earned for Russian Communism the fiercest condemnation of all freedom-loving peoples.

Yours faithfully

ELLA B. ELDER.

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

MR. BENGU AND THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

A number of people of all races have asked me: What do you think of Mr. S. S. Bengu's outburst against the resistance movement? I have invariably given two replies: First, Mr. Bengu has every right to have his own views on any subject under the sun. Second, history is full of instances where as the struggle against oppression gained momentum men rose who tried to slow it down or divert it into channels where the oppressor might have emerged victorious in the end. As everybody knows what the fate of these men has been in history, I never spend sleepless nights over the things Mr. Bengu says.

I do, however, find myself intrigued by the haste and enthusiasm with which almost the entire White daily Press will shout itself hoarse in efforts to give Mr. Bengu's statements on Indo-African relations the widest publicity possible.

His warning to the Africans to beware of being used by the Indian to advance his own interests is my excuse for setting the spotlight on him in this column.

We might do well to know precisely who Mr. Bengu is. He makes his living out of practicing as a nyanga—a traditional, tribal medicine-man. In public life he is president of the Bantu National Congress, which was formed only when Malan was in power. By all the generally accepted standards, whatever education he has is not worth talking about—for the reason that it is so limited. This, however, is no serious handicap because in his spare time he functions as the link between the Government and the illiterate tribal chiefs. Thus, when he says he has met almost every tribal chief in Natal, I, for one, would be quite prepared to accept the statement as true.

Mr. Bengu is known as the leading African advocate of apartheid. When he started, he shouted apartheid slogans all over Natal and went out of his way even to suggest—as the Malanites have always done—that the oppressive laws were for the good of the African. Apparently closer and wider contact with the chiefs has made him see a little better light, for, in his last statement he did make the qualification that though the chiefs do not like

all the laws made by the Malanites, they at least appreciate that some of these are for their own good. To me, this represents an important shift of ground—when an apostle of apartheid begins to admit publicly that there are cracks in his armoury; something he did not do before.

He started his political career by making virulent attacks on the Indian community and working himself almost to exhaustion-point trying to show to what extent miscegenation had gone between the Indians and the Africans. The campaign has been slowed down considerably in recent months, for the simple reason that the African has begun to realise that his true enemy and oppressor is not the Indian but the apartheidist—who makes evil laws against both the African and the Indian. The fact that the resistance movement is gaining momentum shows how far the African has gone in realising the danger of apartheid to his very survival. Incidentally, in proportion as thousands have turned up at African National Congress meetings, to hear African and Indian resistance speakers, I have not heard of one public meeting in which Mr. Bengu had the courage to tell his people what apartheid has to offer them. He promised the Africans of Natal a public conference some months ago. That has not come off, nor has any other. We are waiting eagerly for him to call the Africans of Natal, for there are burning questions which he must answer. And he knows what that means to a political figure in Natal.

It would be unwise for the non-white people to take Mr. Bengu as seriously as does the white daily Press. In the first place, he has no real following and is not likely to have any—for the simple reason that he comes to a long-suffering people with the message that oppression is a good thing. He has nothing better to offer. Second, the men who advise him—if there are any at all—have not the slightest chance to enable him to carry his message across to the masses of the African people, who have shown that they are now on the march, never to turn back again. The brain-power at his command can never, under any circumstances, be a match for

what the African national Congress has.

It is true that most of the chiefs might line up behind him. But anybody having a very hazy idea of political developments in the African community will know that the power of the chiefs in African politics to-day is not worth bothering about. Time and time again, on historic occasions, the African has shown that he will defy his chiefs and follow his political leaders. To-day, the true leaders of the African are not the chiefs; they are his elected leaders. And there is no indication that the African will turn against political leadership. He might change his policies from time to time; but he will never go back to the chiefs. If Mr. Bengu thinks that he has won the Africans people simply because 200 chiefs say to him that the resistance movement is bad—which, in any case and according to their own admission they do not understand—who should bother much about that?

But the real answer to Mr. Bengu is neither to waste time trying to make him see better light—for he is caught in a vortex of forces which he does not understand—nor to be depressed each time learned newspapermen on the White side splash his racialistic attacks on the Indian. On the African side the proper thing to do is to work harder and strengthen the resistance movement. On the Indian side, it is time the Indian realised that on the whole the African has genuine grievances against him. It is time he did something tangible to remove those situations which lead to friction between the African and the Indian. The African, for example, feels that the Indian would gladly avail himself of the chance to oppress and exploit him and even discriminate racially against him—did he have the chance. It is for the Indian to show by word and by deed that he will not and does not oppress the African where he is free to act as he pleases. That and that alone is the only way to answer Mr. Bengu effectively and, incidentally, to take the sting out of his attacks.

The Indian almost invariably makes the mistake of imagining that African criticism of certain Indian things is inspired by the White people. It is time our Indian ally realised that the African feels he has a genuine case against him. Criticism, in this light, aims at reforming the relations between the oppressed and should be

seen as such. The moment that is done we shall have heard the last of men like Mr. Bengu.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Mr. P. S. Joshi delivered a lecture on the "significance of Passive Resistance in the struggle for liberation" at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on September 3, before the Progressive Forum, Mr. Ralph Martin presided. Mr. Joshi said that non-violence was the basis of every passive resistance struggle. It was mightier than the machine-gun; it never failed. It was creative. A genuine passive resister never hated or insulted the opponents. He sought goodness within the human heart. He was prepared to face death in the furtherance of a righteous cause, he said.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR 'INDIAN OPINION'

Sir,—May I put a few questions and request you to reply to them through your esteemed journal.

1. Did you receive a letter addressed either to you as editor or in your personal capacity as Mr. Manilal Gandhi by the 'Spark'?

2. Did you see the letter in the 'Spark' dated September 5?

3. Do you propose taking notice of it?

4. From your articles in your paper which I read with interest regularly and appreciate them very much I gather you are in full sympathy with the present defiance campaign. Do you intend to actively participate in it?

5. If so when?—Yours etc,

INQUISITIVE
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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Nagpur, September 1.

S.A. DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN GETS COUNTRY-WIDE SUPPORT

THERE is country-wide support for the peaceful struggle now being carried on in South Africa by Indians and Africans for securing their rights. Not only from the main centres, but from every nook and corner of India are coming reports of support to the struggle, and in the press are appearing articles vindicating the stand adopted by Indians and Africans. The Government of India is keenly watching the situation and they have reached the decision to bring up the issue at the next session of the U.N. General Assembly. It is pointed out that the passive resistance campaign now in progress in South Africa is a development of the highest importance from the point of view of peace of the entire African continent and of the whole world.

The Government of India will raise this as an independent issue apart from the South African Indian question which has been before the forum of the United Nations for the past six years.

For this objective India will seek the co-operation of the Asia-Africa group at the United Nations and India's permanent representative, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, was directed to bring up this issue at the next meeting of this group.

Development Of Backward Countries

Disparities in the standards of living between the developed and the under-developed countries of the world were a source of nuisance, said Mr. G. L. Mehta, Ambassador-designate. He was addressing a gathering of Indo-American economic relations at the Delhi School of Economics this week. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Institute, presided over the meeting.

39 rich countries of the world with 16 per cent of the world's population, it was estimated, had about 66 per cent of the world's income, while the 15 poorest countries had just over half the population and less than one-tenth of the income, observed Mr. Mehta. Development of the economically backward countries was, therefore, a matter of international obligation, since prosperity like peace was indivisible. Assistance

to under-developed countries, whether through loans from organization like the International Bank, investment of equity capital or technical aid was not only essential but desirable inasmuch as backward countries could not develop without adequate capital and technical resources.

Question Of Land Redistribution

Addressing a Press Conference at Indore this week Mr. Shankarrao, Sarvodaya leader, sounded a note of warning to the Planning Commission. No longer the Planning Commission, he said, can afford to brush aside the issue of land redistribution in India as was done in its provisional report. If the final report by-passed it, the kind of welcome it will receive in India can be easily visualised.

Further, the Indian Government must squarely face the problems of landless labour in the country, affecting more than two third of their agricultural population, which stood at 24 crores. This problem was so urgent, said Mr. Shankarrao Deo, that it must be solved before the expiry of the term of present Congress Government.

Birth Control Due To Selfishness

Addressing a Conference of District Officers at Madras the Chief Minister, Mr. Rajagopalachari, ascribed the motive for birth control to selfishness. There was discernible now a movement to keep down fresh accumulation of human beings so as to possess more jewellery, saris, typewriters and motor cars in the family, he said.

"There is a great desire to have less children and more resources among the upper and middle classes," the Chief Minister observed. "They do not know what kind of children they keep out of coming."

People, he said, wanted more radios and less children and more motor cars and less human beings. It was the family planning. "I am not quite sure whether this is right, but I do not think I can stem that great tide," observed Mr. Rajagopalachari.

Kashmir Constituent Assembly

A resolution embodying the abolition of hereditary rule and making the office of the head of State elective, sponsored by Mirza Afzal Beg, was passed this week by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly.

The implementation of the resolution involved consequential adjustments in the Indian Constitution, declared Sheikh Abdullah while dealing with the resolution. This process will entail delay in the election of the head of the State.

THE BALLET IN INDIA

Just as in Europe and America, a great wave of interest in the ballet and a phenomenal development in this form of art are now sweeping India.

India is currently full of balletomanes, and tens of thousands of boys and girls are learning, for the mere love of it, the steps of classical Indian ballet dancing.

There are two main tendencies that dominate the ballet stage in India today. On the one hand are the purists, the lovers

of unpolluted tradition, who desire no change, and who wish the ancient art of ballet dancing, according to the text-book of Bharata, to be kept and preserved. These protagonists of traditionalism have done a great deal of good by unearthed ancient treatises. But their cause is, in the long run bound to remain unresponsive. More and more, the most famous companies realize that the demands of the modern stage, its artificial lighting, are different from the temple courtyard or the palace grounds; and there are hardly any great dancers left now, except a few in Madras, who do not introduce innovations.

Free invention, based, no doubt, on ancient tradition, has added a great number of new dances to an old and magnificent repertory; and new subjects bring new solution, modern themes and modern choreographic ideas to the existing old ones. The scope of costume designing is limitless; and the Indian love for colour finds a wonderful outlet in this newly discovered art.—Vaz Dias

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Sports Notes

By "RAJAH"

INTER-RACE SOCCER CUP TIE

THE Natal Africans and Natal Indians clash ended in a 2-2 draw on Sunday, at Curries Fountain, before a large crowd. The Curtain Raiser between the Second Natal Indian XI and a Durban Coloured XI resulted in a 2-2 draw.

The Africans playing with the wind scored two goals quickly and played brilliantly in the first half but the Indians faltered badly. At half-time the Africans led 2-0.

In the second half the match became very interesting with the Indians going all out to score and then did succeed thanks to Rampath who scored two goals to even matters. The game reached to great heights with the score 2-2 and only few minutes left for close of play. Both defences were under pressure and mis-kicks sent the ball over the bar on several occasions. The final score was 2-2.

There will be a replay of this match and an announcement will be made to this effect at a later date.

Constals And Centrals Tie In All-India Cup

A record crowd saw Coastals and Centrals draw 1-1 what is reputed to be the match of the year played at Curries Fountain the previous week. There was an extra half played but no score. Coastals was a better side but Centrals were unlucky in not scoring for the forwards wasted valuable moves by dribbling when they could have easily taken a kick into the goal. After the final whistle the crowd surged into the ground and demanded for an extra half to be played and this was acceded to and there was no further score. This match is going to be replayed at a later date available.

Aces Are League Winners

Aces beat Young Stella 3-2 in the League finals on Saturday, after the latter had scored the first two goals. In the Divisional Final for the senior-Thajmoon's Cup Young Aces narrowly beat Cosmopolitan 2-1.

Sunday League Soccer Results

Kanhaye's Cup Finalists
Lake City Lads beat Manchester United 4-1 in the junior division for the Kanhaye's

Cup Final on Sunday at Curries Fountain. Other results were: Silverton beat Blue Dablias 3-2 in a League Cup Competition, while the wolves-Young Victorian clash for the Lake City Cup resulted in a win for the latter by six goals to one.

Divisional Soccer Results

The highlights of Saturday's fixtures include two divisional finals for the Thajmoon's Cup between Aces and Stella and Young Aces and Pirates which should be of big interest. On Sunday, two good Inter-District games in the senior and junior division has been set down which include Crimson Rangers vs Clare Estate and Lake City Lads vs Crusaders, respectively in addition to this there will be a junior match for the Lake City Cup between Manchester United and Blue Dablias.

Durban Liquor And Catering Indian Football Association

Hathorne (holders of the Robertson's Cup) were overwhelmingly defeated 6-2 by Balmoral for this coveted trophy.

The S. A. Liquor and Catering Football Association is holding an Inter-Provincial Football Tournament for the Cavalla Cup in Johannesburg on the 21st and 23rd September.

Two friendly matches have also been arranged by the Natal team to meet the Transvaal Teachers and the Witwatersrand Football Association. The Berridges Cup was won by the Durban Team when they beat Maritzburg 2-1 in the annual inter-town tournament.

Cricket

The Durban and District Indian Cricket Union will, officially begin its season on Friday, 10th October. The following office-bearers have been elected for season 1952-53.

President, Secretary & Treasurer; Mr. E. I. Haffjee, D. M. Mehtab and E. A. Motala respectively, re-elected.

Patron; Mr. M. S. Badat; H.L.V.P. Messrs. M. S. Badat, K. A. Chin and S. L. Singh.

Vice Presidents: Messrs R. Bijou, E. I. Moola, M. K. Naidoo, A. I. Timol and H. A. Kharwa, Record Clerk; Mr. R. V. Bhana. Auditor: Mr. C. I. Amra.

Boxing

The Natal Amateur Boxing Association will be holding a tournament on the 25th September. Five excellent bouts are included in the evening's programme.

There was an exciting finish for the Purbhoo's Trophy between P. Somasundram and G. R. Buckus who had registered a score of 68 and 69 net respectively, which the former had won over 18 holes. Other results were: Reggie Pillay 71-2 69; G. V. Naidoo 80-19-79.

Reggie Pillay won the best gross prize.

The "Kalideed Memorial Trophy" will be played over 36 holes. The first 18 holes to be played on Sunday, 14th September and continued on the following week. Play commences each day at 8.30 a.m.

DIVISIONAL FINALS

SOCCER

Currie's Fountain.

Saturday, 13 September 1952.

Senior—Thajmoons Cup,
"A"

Aces vs Stella
(Main) 3-30 p.m.

Young Aces "B" vs Pirates "C"
(Main) 2-0 p.m.

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SOCCER

INTER-DISTRICT

Currie's Fountain

Sunday, 14th September 1952,

Senior—Daniel's Gold Cup

Crimson Rangers
(Durban Indian Sunday League)

vs

Clare Estate
(Mayville District Indian Football Association)

Ref: Jackie Pillay
(Main) 3-15 p.m.

Junior—Natal Cup

Lake City Lads
(Durban Indian Sunday League)

vs

Crusaders
(Mayville District Indian Football Association)

Ref: S. Nabbie
(Main) 3-15 p.m.

Junior—Lake City Cup

Manchester United vs

Blue Dablias
Ref: V. J. Naidoo
(No. 1) 2 p.m.

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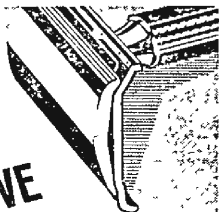
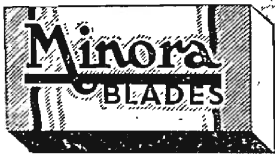
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