

PC 16/5/21/24
c/o Templer & Cranko,
334 West Walk,
Durban, March 22, 1961.



Dear Mr. Peter Brown,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th inst. which I read with care. Indeed there seems a general drifting towards violence by the non-europeans. Nobody can deplore this more than myself, since I know, not believe, that evil means towards whatever goal will defeat the good visible in that goal.

That the non-whites will drift into violence is only a following of the white's footsteps who have all through history, apart from some forgotten incidences, always believed that problems could be solved violently. Even dictators.

For your information allow me to quote from "The conquest of violence" by Joan V. Bondurant.

Fundamental rules.

1. Self-reliance at all times. Outside aid may, in the proper circumstances, be accepted, but should never be counted upon.
2. Initiative in the hands of the satyagrahis. Through continuous assesment of the conflict situation satyagrahis should, by means of constructive efforts where possible, by positive resistance where indicated, or by the tactics of persuasion and adjustment, press the movement ever forward.
3. Propaganda must be made an integral part of the movement. Education of the opponent, the public, and participants must continue apace.
4. Reduction of demands to a minimum consistent with truth. Continuing reassessment of the situation and the objectives with a view to possible adjustment of demands is essential.
5. Progressive advancement of the movement through steps and stages determined to be appropriate within the given situation. Decision as to when to proceed to a further phase of satvagraha must be carefully weighed in the light of the ever-changing circumstance. However, direct action is to be launched only after all other efforts to achieve an honorable settlement have been exhausted.
6. Examination of weaknesses within the satvagraha group. The morale and discipline of the satvagrahis must be maintained through active awareness (by members and leaders alike) of any deveopment of impatience, discouragement, or breakdown of non-violent attitude.
7. Persistent search for avenues of cooperation with the adversary on honourable terms. Every effort should be made to win over the opponent by helping him (where

this is consistent with the satyagrahi's true objectives) thereby demonstrating sincerity to achieve an agreement with, rather than a triumph over, the adversary.

8. Refusal to surrender essentials in negotiation. Satyagraha excludes all compromise which affects basic principles or essential portions of valid objectives. Care must be exercised not to engage in bargaining or barter.
9. Insistence upon full agreement on fundamentals before accepting a settlement.

As I have pointed out before, there is great need for instruction and teaching of non-violent actions. It is in itself a way of life which, to me personally, is highly satisfactory.

For the individual I quote from the same book, mentioned above the : Code of discipline.

1. Harbour no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent.
2. Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.
3. Refrain from insults and swearing.
4. Protect opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.
5. Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.
6. Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.
7. If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.
8. As a member of a satyagraha unit, obey the orders of satyagraha leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.
9. Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

I will close with the tentative steps for a campaign that may not be suitable for South Africa, but with a little modification might do.

1. Every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through established channels must be exhausted before further steps are undertaken.
2. Immediately upon recognising the existence of a conflict situation which might lead to direct action, motives are to be carefully examined, exercises in self-discipline initiated, and the fullest discussion launched within the group regarding issues at stake, appropriate procedures to be undertaken, the circumstance of the opponents, the climate of public opinion etc. This step often included, for Indian satyagrahis, purificatory fasting.
3. Agitation. This step includes an active propaganda campaign together with such demonstrations as mass-

meetings, parades, slogan shouting.

4. Issuing of an ultimatum. A final strong appeal to the opponent should be made explaining what further steps will be taken if no agreement can be reached. The wording and manner of presentation of the ultimatum should offer the widest scope for agreement, allowing for face-saving on the part of the opponent, and should present a constructive solution to the problem.
5. Economic boycott and forms of strike. Picketing may be widely employed, together with continued demonstrations and education of the public. Sitting dharna (a form of sit-down strike) may be employed, as well as non-violent labor strike, and attempts to organize a general strike.
6. Non-cooperation. Depending upon the nature of the issues at stake, such action as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile may be initiated.
7. Civil disobedience. Great care should be exercised in the selection of laws to be contravened. Such laws should be either central to the grievance, or symbolic.
8. Usurping of the functions of government. Shridharani calls this "assertive satyagraha." Fullest preparations are necessary to make this step effective.
9. Parallel government. The establishment of parallel functions should grow out of step 8, and these should be strengthened in such a way that the greatest possible cooperation from the public can be obtained.

I think that this fully answer your letter. I will soon be back from Rhodesia and shall then be able to explain further. If you should see Chief Luthuli in the meantime, ask him for my book by Gandhi: "The Science of Satvagraha". This will give you more information and probaly make it clear that non-violent action is an power with which. providing the suitable recruits can be found, is something that could break any government. That the system is not perfect should be manifest too. Nothing in this world is perfect.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

T. Kloppenburg.

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