

INDIAN OPINION

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Indian Opinion

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Round Table Conference

THE problem of Asiatic residence, trading and ownership, particularly in the Transvaal and Natal, it is reported, is likely to take a new turn shortly as a result of the intervention of the Government of India. The suggestion of a round table conference similar to that of 1927 and 1932 has been put forward through the Viceroy of India, and the principle of consultation between the two Governments has been agreed to by the Union Government. The form which consultation will take—whether it will take place between the two Governments through the Agent-General for India or whether representatives of both the Governments will sit at a round table conference in Capetown—is not yet disclosed. In the meantime there is a possibility, we are told, of the proposed segregation measure not being proceeded with and any action in regard to the Feetham recommendations or the recently published report of the Asiatic Land Laws Commission being deferred until after the consultation. It is also suggested that a temporary measure to prevent further penetration by Indians into European areas might possibly be passed. If this happens surely no earthly purpose would be served by proceeding with the proposed consultation at all. For it would amount to nothing short of an insult to the whole Indian community, who would be made to appear as being intent on wilfully invading the so-called European areas just for the sake of provocation, thus creating an entirely false impression.

We feel, therefore, that no legislative measure directed against Indians should be proceeded with nor should the Feetham Commission recommendations, which are opposed both by Indians as well as Europeans be passed before the consultation between the two Governments takes place.

As to the form in which consultation should take place we feel that a delegation from India should come to South Africa to be able to see things on the spot which is always essential in forming a true judgment.

We would deprecate a sickly delegation that visited South Africa in 1932, the leader of which was laid up most of the time in a nursing home, two were suffering from high blood-pressure and one with severe heart attack. The important question again will be what line the delegation will adopt. For that we would have to briefly review the past.

The first Round Table Conference took place in 1927 as a result of strong agitation on the part of Indians in South Africa against a segregation measure introduced in Parliament in the form of the "Areas Reservation and Immigration Further Restriction Bill." As a result of the labours of that Conference the Capetown Agreement was made which was described as a "Gentlemen's Agreement," though the very basis of the Agreement was ungentlemanly. It was the policy, as dictated by the Union Government, of reducing the Indian population to an irreducible minimum by means of the assisted emigration scheme, a flowery

name given to the repatriation scheme which had begun to stink in the nostrils of the Indian community owing to the evils perpetrated under it. We do not wish to enter into the history of the scheme here. Suffice it to say that it amounted to bribing Indians to sell their birth-right in this country and the principle behind it was the bartering away of the rights of our poorer brethren in order that those who remained may be able to live in peace and happiness.

That part of the Agreement was, however, implemented in that over twenty thousand Indians had left these shores and a steady stream has been flowing ever since. But in return for this the Union Government promised to devise ways and means for the uplifting of the permanent Indian population to the full extent of its capacity by providing educational and other facilities, and not to allow it to lag behind any other sections of the people. This part of the agreement, excepting a few crumbs in the matter of Indian education in Natal, has not been implemented. On the contrary the repressive policy of the Government has incessantly continued by tightening up existing laws affecting Indians and introducing fresh legislation. One such measure was the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act which we maintain forms a complete breach of the Capetown Agreement. This measure was responsible for the second Round Table Conference which was held in Capetown in 1932. What did the Government of India Delegation do? The Indian community was vehemently opposed to the assisted emigration scheme and the Union Government contended that the scheme had worked itself out and asked for another scheme to reduce the Indian population

before anything could be done. The original terms of the Capetown Agreement were once again reaffirmed with the addition of a scheme to explore other countries where Indians could be colonized. The Government of India also, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Indian community, excepting a few interested members, against the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill on principle, agreed to accept the measure with certain modifications. There is a strong feeling among the Indians in the Transvaal to refuse to accept the Feetham recommendations and to fight against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act as a segregation measure. The Congress as representing the Indian community has committed itself by its own resolution to reject the measure *intoto* and to fight against it if it is put into force. But to proceed further, the upliftment part of the Capetown Agreement has not been implemented to this day but on the contrary the policy of segregation which has been opposed by Indians in South Africa from the very commencement has been introduced by piece meal under the Slums Act and it has now culminated in another contemplated segregation measure affecting the whole of the Union. Thus the position has not improved but it has deteriorated. Before deciding the fate of the Indian community the Union Government have graciously accepted the principle of consultation and a third round table conference is suggested. If such a conference is to meet we would urge upon the leaders in India to see to it that a strong delegation composed of the best men is sent out. There should be no patch-work as has been done in the past. The interests of the community as a whole should be considered and not of a few who may have created interests by evading the laws. India's representatives can only deal in matters of vital principle. The time has now come when the status of Indians in South Africa should once for all be decided.

INDIAN OPINION

India cannot acquiesce in anything that may be derogatory to her national honour even if Indians in South Africa are wanting in courage to stand up for it.

If Indians in South Africa wish to only safeguard their material interests even at the cost of their honour and self-respect they must fight their own battle. India and the civilised world can and will help them only if they are prepared to stand up as civilised men to uphold their national honour at any cost.

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St. John Ambulance Brigade And Indians

WE reproduce elsewhere in this issue a memorandum submitted to the First-Aid Training sub-committee of the Durban, City Council by Dr. G. D. English, Deputy Medical Officer of Health for Durban, threatening disciplinary action against Indian divisions in Natal by the South African Commandery of the Order, "even to the extent of disbanding them," because they have objected to differentiation based on race in regard to the uniform. We also publish a letter addressed to the Town Clerk, Durban, by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association protesting against the attitude of Dr. English. To be consistent with South Africa's policy of racial differentiation, the South African Commandery of the Order has provided four distinctive uniforms for Europeans, Coloureds, Natives and Indians. The Indians, while anxious to participate wholeheartedly in First-Aid and Ambulance work as has been evidenced by the interest they have already taken, refused to submit to any differentiation in the uniform based on race. As the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association have pointed out the uniforms of the St. John Ambulance are the same the world over unless for climatic reasons a Division wishes for a different uniform. There is no justification therefore for the Commander of St. John Ambulance in South Africa to make this invidious distinction bet-

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ween race and race in this humanitarian work. The stand taken by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association in the name of the Indian community is in keeping with our national self-respect and if the Natal Indian Congress have acquiesced in the differentiation in the uniform they have committed a grave blunder and their action must receive the severest censure of all civilised and self-respecting people. Dr. English belongs to a race which takes pride in its national honour and is prepared to shed its last drop of blood to uphold that honour. It therefore ill-becomes him to dub the objectors in the present instance as "misguided" and "more concerned with the shadow than the substance," and as "appearing to be concerned more with the nebulous sectional interests and failing lamentably to appreciate the spirit and principles underlying this movement." The adjectives are rather applicable to Dr. English himself for failing to appreciate the principle for which the Indian community has taken a firm stand. The Indians are anxious and willing to serve under the banner of St. John Ambulance if they are accepted without offending their national honour. If not, as the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association have very rightly said, they will form their own organisation to do First-Aid work.

The step taken by the Association is a correct one and should receive the unanimous support of the Indian community in refusing to submit to this insult to their self-respect. This is the thin end of the wedge of South Africa's segregation policy and if we are opposed to that we must consistently oppose this attitude of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade.

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Fountain of Wisdom

It is good to battle, to suffer, to be thrown overboard and left to save ourselves. What we lose in comfort we gain in energy.—CHARLES WAGNER.

—o—

Necessity is the argument of tyrants, it is the creed of the slaves.—WILLIAM PITT.

—o—

Nothing would be done at all if a man waited until he could do it so well that no one would find fault with it.—CARDINAL NEWMAN.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S BROADCAST SPEECH

ON Monday April 10, Sir Radhakrishnan broadcast the following speech from the Durban station:—

"I should like to take this opportunity and thank most cordially the Indian community of South Africa for their gracious welcome and hospitality to me during these three or four weeks. I am greatly delighted that it was possible for me to accept the invitation of my friend the Agent-General and the Indian community to spend a part of my Easter vacation in this beautiful country. The good wife of the Agent-General, Mrs. Rama Rau, by her devoted care and attention to my fads and idiosyncracies, has made me feel quite at home in this distant land. In all the centres I visited the European community treated me as a welcome guest. The civic receptions in all the chief centres, the University functions at Capetown and Johannesburg, informal meetings with distinguished representatives of the different communities including members of the Government, all marked with great courtesy and consideration, have given me a memorable experience. It will be invidious to mention names, nor would it be possible, but let me express my gratitude to all those high and low, young and old, who have made my stay here so pleasant and enjoyable.

European Situation

"During the whole time I have been here the European situation has been one of acute tension and anxiety. No intelligent Asiatic can help admiring and reverencing the great races that live in Europe and their noble and exalted achievements. His heart is wrung when he sees dark clouds massing on the horizon. Hate is spreading like a vast black cloud. Terror is becoming the technique of states. Fear is over the world and our hearts are failing us—we cannot help asking why we are unable to save ourselves; why this incomprehensible world is so savage and stupid and suffering; why we make ourselves responsible for such queer happenings and monstrous contrasts. We have great forces for increasing the general welfare, for removing the evils of poverty and the injustice of national abasement and racial humiliation, for bringing about a more equitable organisation of human society, but the leading nations of the world still cling to the belief that power is the end and object of national life for which all principles of truth and freedom can be sacrificed. The world of nations is like a nursery, full of perverse, bumptious, ill-tempered children, nagging one another and making a display of their toys of earthly possessions thrilled by mere size.

Competition For Material Wealth And Domination

The desperate competition for material wealth and domination, coupled with the vastly increased capacity of the human brain for utilising the forces of nature, and the technique of propaganda has intensified the general anxiety and oppression, the regime of greed and fear. We measure the greatness of nations by the wealth of their possessions, by the extent of their armaments. Anyone who has not £500 a year is a figure of fun, to be sneered at; any nation which fails to convert her corporate manhood into a military arm is to be despised. A wrong system moulds our minds and makes it difficult if not impossible for even the best and most enlightened men to act fairly. The greatest impediment to the advance of civilisation to-day is the old familiar institutions of race and class to which we are emotionally attached. They have always brought disastrous consequences. In spite of her great contributions of democracy, individual freedom, intellectual integrity, the Greek civilisation passed away as the Greeks could not combine even among themselves on account of their loyalty to the city states. Their wealth, their pride, their glory, their literature and art, had for the shadows the slavery of large masses, their poverty, their shame. The Roman gifts to civilisation are of outstanding value, but the structure of the empire of Rome had completely ceased to exist by A.D. 500. The Pax Romana reigned but it was the peace of the desert, of sullen acquiescence and pathetic enslavement. The fall of Rome is not to be explained solely by the barbarian invasions. Treason from within was its cause quite as much as danger from without. In the letters of Sidonius we hear of censorship, of bribery and corruption, of the persecution of Jews. Modern civilisation is exhibiting to-day all the features which are strangely similar to the symptoms which accompany the fall of civilisations, the disappearance of tolerance and of justice, the insensibility to suffering, love of ease and comfort, selfishness of individuals and of groups, of the segregation of men on grounds of blood and soil. A social order, directed to the good, not of mankind as a whole but of a powerful privileged few among individuals as well as nations, is essentially unjust and can only be defended by the force of arms.

Security Confused With Civilisation

To protect our security, which we confuse with civilisation, we place our trust in outward unspiritual things, in accumulated wealth and death-deal-

ing weapons. We persuade our young men to wound and kill, to maim and destroy as our protection against the victims of our injustice and greed. If there is not a drastic change in our thoughts and practice our race may die, not of natural catastrophe or dread disease, but of so-called civilisation, which is a compound of human cupidity and scientific genius. Man as he is, is not the last word of creation. If he does not, if he cannot control his passions of greed and egotism, if he does not and cannot abandon the worship of the fictional abstractions of race and group, class and nation, he will yield his place to a species more sensitive and less gross in its nature.

Turning To The East

"To-day our civilisation with its military and forceful mode of living, faced by the possibility of racial suicide, is turning to the East in a mood of disenchantment. The Indian civilisation is not great in the high qualities which have made the youthful nations of the West the dynamic force they have been on the arena of world history, the quality of ambition and adventure, of nobility and courage, of public spirit and social enthusiasm. But it has lived long, faced many crises and preserved its identity. Its age suggests that it has a sound instinct for life, a strange vitality, a strange power which has enabled it to adjust itself to social, economic and political changes. Perhaps one needs a good deal of suffering and sorrow to learn a little understanding and tolerance. A spiritual attitude to life has nourished it a little more persistently. Is it too much to hope that a proper orientation, literally the values derived from the Orient, the truths of inner life, of humility and love, will bring healing and true love to this sorely distracted and diseased world in which we find ourselves?

"I am an optimist. I have faith that the spirit of man cannot be permanently entombed. The secret solidarity of the human race cannot be abolished by the passing insanities of the human world. The peoples of the different countries are anxious to live in peace. They are unwilling to indulge in hate, suppression and fear of others which their leaders inculcate. It is not in them to gloat over the sufferings of others simply because they do not belong to their race or country, but their social nature is distorted into queer shapes by the poison poured into their blood by jingoism in their country. We want leaders who will cut across the artificial ways of living which seduce us from the natural springs of life, to recognise that our inhuman attitudes to other races and nations are no more than artificial masks, sedulously cultivated by long practice in dissimulation. Racialism and nationalism which appeal to our

baser passions, which require us to bully and cheat, kill and loot, all with the feeling that we are profoundly virtuous and doing God's work are abhorrent to the free man. For him all races and nations lie beneath the same arch of heaven. Every human being who is not a sadist, is a great deal happier when he or she is merciful than when he or she is cruel. It is our nature to be decent and just, but our laws and institutions exert a steady pressure on us to become worse than we are. We have to fight for humanity; that is what we are losing to-day; the sense of human relationships with our fellow-men, of human responsibility, of human life.

"What we would, that we cannot do. The machine has made powerless the human will. We have become conscious or unconscious slaves of necessity of the established atmosphere. We have to recapture our humanity. These are stirring times when the earth seems to tremble and the future big with unknown things. It depends on each of

us what it will be like. Our effort counts. There are many who are persuaded by despair that there is no remedy against the follies of the modern world but to escape or destroy. It is not true. There is another within the reach of all, the principle of love, which has upheld the spirit of man through many tyrannies, and shall uphold it still. Let us prefer to be human. Leave fighting to animals and let us suffer, if need be, as men for our conscience and for humanity.

"I shall not be truthful if I do not say that my Indian friends in South Africa are smarting under disabilities and restrictive measures, and feel that the tallest of them have to submit to indignities on account of their colour. A more generous handling of the problems, which are in all conscience, difficult, is essential. We must have faith in the capacity of every normal human being, if given a fighting chance, to become a self-sustaining, self-respecting happy member of society. To weld together into an organic state the Euro-

pean and the Native, the Coloured and the Asiatic is a formidable task, but it is not insuperable. The differences need not be fused, but they need not conflict. So long as the wealth, pride and power of one community are based on the shame, subjugation and poverty of another, we will have insecurity and fear. No State can acquiesce in maladjustments of wealth and labour, leisure and opportunity and endure for long. To make the different communities feel that they belong to South Africa, to stimulate in them a pride in the country, to enable them to rise to their full manhood under its laws and institutions should be the aim of far-sighted and liberal statesmanship. I have found leaders of such conviction who feel that moral principle, peace and tranquility, safety and stability of the State alike demand a re-ordering on the principles of freedom and justice for all. It is my earnest hope and prayer that they may succeed in building up a just and prosperous South Africa, for prosperity without justice is like a house built on sand."

THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE AND INDIANS

DR. G. D. English, Deputy Medical Officer of Health for Durban, in a memorandum to the First Aid Training Sub-committee of the City Council states: "Unless Indian units of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade undertake to wear the uniform provided for them, disciplinary action will be taken by the South African Commandery of the Order, even to the extent of disbanding all the Indian divisions in Natal."

There were four distinctive uniforms in South Africa. One for Europeans, one for Coloured units, one for Indians and another for Natives.

Dr. English points out that the uniform prescribed by regulation for Indian members has been the subject of grievance for many years. The Indians maintain that they should be entitled to wear the same uniform as the European members of the Brigade, instead of the khaki uniform prescribed, despite the fact that Indian divisions in India and East Africa wear khaki. Indian units of the brigade have therefore not worn their uniforms.

Recently the local Brigade Staff asked for an assurance from all Indian divisions in Natal that they would comply with the dress regulations. The Municipal Indian divisions stated that they would wear the uniform provided the public divisions set an example.

"Latterly the attitude of passive resistance displayed by the public divisions appeared to be breaking down, but the latest information indicates

that no change in the attitude of the public division can be seen. In these circumstances it is evident that the Municipal divisions will also refuse to comply with the regulations, not because they are individually opposed to the uniform, but through a disinclination to act in opposition to the wishes of their compatriots and possibly also fear of boycott."

Dr. English says that it is difficult to see how the Commandery can take any action but to disband Indian units if they do not comply with the regulations.

"In an organisation such as the Brigade, the maintenance of discipline and the ready compliance and obedience to all order is essential to its very existence.

"It is believed that the agitation springs from a few misguided members of the Indian community who are more concerned with the shadow than the substance, but it must be evident that the South African Executive of the St. John movement and, in directly, the Council, cannot allow themselves to be dictated to by a few who appear to be concerned more with nebulous sectional interests and who fail lamentably to appreciate the spirit and principles underlying this movement.

"If it becomes necessary to disband the Municipal Indian divisions, it will be a matter for general regret as the divisions have attracted members of a

fine type and good stamp who throughout have displayed keen and intelligent interest in their work. In fairness, it must be added that the officials of the Natal Indian Congress have met my representations of the question of Indian uniform with every degree of support."

Dr. Stanley Copley, Assistant Commissioner of the St. John Ambulance for Natal, told a representative of *The Natal Mercury* that the only way to deal with offenders was to disband them. The controversy had been in progress too long and must now cease. He did not know that disbandment would become necessary.

"When men join the Brigade," he said, "they are told the regulations and one of these governs uniform. If they accept the regulations and then refuse to wear the uniform, it is a breach of discipline."

Colonial Born And Settlers' Indian Association's Reply

The following letter dated 17th April 1939, has been addressed by the Secretary of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association to the Town Clerk, Durban:—

Dear Sir,—From a newspaper report which appears in this morning's paper and from other information it would appear that the question of uniforms of the Indian members of divisions of St. John's Ambulance is being brought before a Sub-Committee of your Council

by Dr. English, in so far as it affects your Indian employees, although, as Dr. English knows, that differentiation in uniforms has not the support of the Indian community notwithstanding his having the support of the Natal Indian Congress.

My Association regrets that this is being made a Council matter when it is a question between the Commander of St. John's Ambulance and the Indian community.

My Association will oppose any differentiation based on race so far as the Indian community is concerned.

It is needless to say that my Association supports and encourages first-aid and ambulance work among the members of the Indian community and if the Commander of St. John's Ambulance uses the big stick of disbandment on its Indian members because they stand for a principle, they will be helped to form their own organisation to carry on

the work of first-aid.

We understand that the uniforms of the St. John's Ambulance are the same the world over unless for climatic reason a Division wishes for a different uniform. Once again South Africa wishes to make the differentiation compulsory.

We hope, however, that the Commandery will view the matter in the spirit of its ideals and make it possible for Indians to be members.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

WILLIAM JAMES was not only a great psychologist but he was also a great man. He loved mankind and hated war. But he also knew that war had certain merits: it developed the sense of responsibility and discipline, comradeship and courage as hardly anything else could. But he recognised that the advantages of war were more than offset by the sufferings and degradations which came inevitably in its train. So he tried to find some "moral equivalent of war" which would influence human character beneficially in the same way as war, but for which we would not have to pay as dearly as in the case of war. The phrase quoted above was probably of William James's coinage, and in an essay written many years ago, he suggested that instead of making war itself taboo, we should rather change its direction. Instead of allowing men to waste their lives in fighting against one another, we should rather train them to battle with forces of nature so that human life may be made richer and happier.

William James died four years before the great European War, in which America later on joined to take her due share. It was proof that the lesson of the great psychologist had fallen upon stony ground even in his own country. It would certainly have been very good if all human beings had taken his lesson to heart, but unfortunately they did not do so. And one of the principal reasons of the failure was that the proposed "equivalent" did not in any way help to solve the quarrels and antagonisms of mankind where they actually existed. If all men had already possessed the sense of human brotherhood, if they had realised from the start that it was in the welfare of the whole that the welfare of each part also lay, then they might have turned their energy to a better purpose than wasting it in war. But when that sense itself was lacking, when groups of men rather hoped to hold for themselves all the good things of the earth with the aid of the sword, when selfishness was burning fiercely within, the highly moral lesson of

By

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

In "The *Visva-Bharati Weekly*"

William James sounded more like an Utopian's dream than any ideal capable of practical realization.

It is just here that the method of non-violent non-co-operation steps in as a really effective substitute of war. It does not propose to do away with war, it does not charm men away from the reality of worldly conflicts; but it raises the quality of those very conflicts by bringing into operation a spirit of love and a sense of human brotherhood. Satyagraha is not a substitute of war; it is war itself shorn of many of its ugly features and guided by a purpose far nobler than what we generally associate with destruction. It is itself an intensely heroic and chivalrous form of war.

The first article of faith with the Satyagrahi is the need of recognising and of loving all mankind as one. The Satyagrahi also holds that love is never consistent with exploitation in any shape or form. Exclusive possession can never go together with love. If we have love in us, we can only possess when everyone else can also possess the same thing if he needs it. In accordance with this fundamental belief, the Satyagrahi holds that whenever there is a conflict of interests in human society there must be something wrong somewhere. And if we can look into the situation with patience enough, a way can surely be found to restore the sense of human unity, and, at the same time, to serve the best interests of humanity taken as a whole. It will be a way illumined by love and one in which there would be no room for exploitation of any human being.

The Satyagrahi also believes that such a solution can be best arrived at if he himself and his adversary can somehow put their heads together. But the adversary can hardly be made to

realize the injustice of his position by mere talking and argumentation. If we shoot him dead or cow him down by violence, it does not help the cause very much. Fear demoralizes and raises fresh barriers to better understanding in the hearts of men in authority to-day. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back, and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair play. The Satyagrahi has therefore to devise some means of dealing with them effectively; and it is through self-suffering that he proposes to do so.

Let us explain what the Satyagrahi exactly understands by self-suffering. It has already been said that the first law of the Satyagrahi is the law of love. The second law, which follows from love, is that the way to the adversary's head is not through the head but through the heart. He believes that it is only through suffering, voluntarily and cheerfully endured, that the way can be opened to better understanding and a due recognition, on the part of the adversary, of the injustice of his own position. The Satyagrahi knows that all systems of exploitation thrive in the world because both the exploiter and the exploited co-operate in their maintenance. The exploited do so through fear, but they co-operate with the exploiters all the same. It is just here that the Satyagrahi sees his best opportunity of voluntary suffering. He tries to wreck the system of exploitation by refusing to co-operate with it, and thus draws upon his devoted head all the repression his adversary is capable of administering. If he stands unmoved through the shower of repression, his sufferings heroically endured are likely to touch the heart of the oppressor and thus pave the way for mutual discussion and a joint effort to build up a social system without the injustices of the present. It may also happen that the Satyagrahi fails to touch the heart of the exploiter with all his suffering. But even then his endeavours need not go in vain. For continued non-co-operation will bring about the downfall of any system, whether the Satyagrahi

eventually succeeds in gaining the good will and co-operation of the exploiter or not. No system can endure with non-co-operation all the while cutting away the ground from under it.

The suffering which the Satyagrahi voluntarily endures must not be endured mechanically. All through the struggle it must be illumined by a sense of human love. If that love does not remain steady but grows dim, then there is surely something wrong with the Satyagrahi in this intellectual side. Only when love grows, and the conviction also grows that all mankind is after all one, can one be sure that one is on the right path. For the faith in the essential unity of man is not merely the starting point of Satyagraha, its complete intellectual and emotional realization is also the aim of the process. It is only when that realization is complete that the Satyagrahi can claim that he has done his utmost for the

increase of human happiness. Resistance shorn of love only degrades, and love shorn of understanding never succeeds in elevating mankind.

One may, however, object that the path of resistance thus chalked out is an endless one, and requires almost superhuman patience for its due performance. Why should we waste our efforts in redeeming those who exploit mankind, they who have very little of the better stuff of humanity left in them? May we not then use the minimum amount of violence, just enough to capture the State, and then build up a better humanity through better education? Once we have the State within our grasp, we can train people up in unselfishness and also place legal and constitutional checks upon the exercise of selfishness. Gandhiji agrees partly with his socialist critics when they argue in this way. He would say, Yes, we have to capture the State and that

is why we are fighting for the attainment of Swaraj in India. But the process by which we can wrest authority from those in power need not be one of violence. Non-violence is more than enough for that purpose. And in that process of non-violent non-co-operation, we start to educate ourselves as well as our opponents in unselfishness from the very beginning. We need not have to wait until the battle is over. Satyagraha blesses him who uses it as well as him against whom it is used. It was a process of self-purification for the Satyagrahi, while it also stimulates the latent human qualities within his opponent's breast. The non-co-operating warrior thus steals a march over his brother who uses violence by being able to employ the educative process from the beginning of his fight for power.

(To be continued)

PATH TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

A CONSIDERABLE number of young men and young women of India think that the panacea for India's ills lies in copying the West. To be equal to Europe we must banish God and religion from life. The idea is that to be considered sane one must share the insanity of his neighbour. Some leaders of Indian thought believe that we must import to our country the European brand of Communism. These new-fangled ideas are still in the stage of experimentation in Europe. For hundreds of years they tried in Europe to establish the Fatherhood of God without the brotherhood of man. As this scheme failed they are now trying to establish the brotherhood of man without the Fatherhood of God. The Christian Communists believe that they are following in the footsteps of their Saviour. But there is an important difference. Christ admonished his followers to be dissatisfied with themselves whereas the Communist leaders ask their devotees to be dissatisfied with their neighbours.

If Communism aims at giving people, especially the neglected masses, food, clothing and other amenities of life which are theirs by birth-right and at the same time allow them the completest self-unfoldment which is their divine heritage, then we approve of it. But if it promotes class hatred, if it resorts to violence and oppression in order to silence those who honestly differ with its method, if it destroys one class in order to further the interests of another, if it aims at creating a dead uniformity in society on the basis of materialism alone, and if it interferes with man's legitimate freedom in thought, speech and action, then

By

SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

In "Prabuddha Bharata"

I submit in all humility that it will not help us in our struggle to emancipate the nation from its present stage of degradation. No civilization or culture can be created or developed on the basis of class hatred or class prejudice alone. Have we not learnt this lesson from the history of India's downfall? I think Communism as practised in Europe to-day is a bad way of doing a good thing. But through bad means one can never achieve a good end. It is the means which is transformed into the end. India's ideal is not to drag down everyone to the level of the Sudra, assuring him complete creature comforts, but to raise all to the height of the Brahmin who represents an exalted spiritual state. I do not deny the fact that many radical changes shall have to be introduced in our society to clean up the Augean stable. But in order that these reforms may be conducive to our national welfare, they must be in tune with our inherited instincts and racial traditions. Any scheme of reforms in India which is not in keeping with our spiritual ideal must fail and if it ever succeeds it will certainly destroy our society.

Everywhere in the world the high water-mark of culture has been achieved by religion. Europe is no exception to this rule. The tall sky-scrapers of New York, the concrete roads in the Alps over which rumble on high-power-

ed motor trucks, the battle ships, the airplanes or the underground fortresses are not the indicators of European civilisation. Take away from Europe the great monuments of religion and it will appear bleak and desolate. The master-pieces of Raphael, Da Vinci and Michael Angelo have been inspired by religion. The *left motif* behind the creations of Brahms, Beethoven and Wagner has been religious. Take away the sculptural exhibits inspired by religion from the pillared museums of France and Italy and there will be nothing left to attract the world's attention. The cathedrals of Rheims and Milan, the flowering of the Gothic architecture, testify to the religious fervour of the middle ages. And in point of literary excellence, the Holy Bible still stands superior to Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth or Browning.

The Hindus, with the possible exception of the Chinese, are the oldest race in the world. They have survived many shocks of external aggression and internal disruption on account of their sticking to the spiritual ideals of life. All the social institutions of the Hindus have been inspired by spirituality. Take the case of the much-criticised caste system. I think it is the best organisation, ever evolved by the human mind, to eliminate friction from society and make the social machine run a smooth course. It has vindicated by its Brahmanical ideal the triumph of renunciation and service. Take the instance of the four Purusharthas or goals to be achieved in life as enjoined by the Hindu scriptures, viz. Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. These include all legitimate human aspirations. Econo-

mic security and artistic expressions are to be guided by Dharma and must lead to Moksha or ultimate freedom. Again take the division of life into four stages—Brahmacharya, Grahasthya, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa. These do not leave any room for inhibition or repression of any natural desire of man. These stages, properly followed, enable man to climb step by step to the highest peak of human evolution. Life in old age becomes serene and free from that tension which one sometimes sees in the Western society, where a mother tries to be the younger sister of her own daughter. Maybe these institutions are to-day covered with many

encrustations; but the ideals they represent form for this society, our social reformers must not forget, the spiritual ideal of the race.

The advent of Sri Ramakrishna has shown where the vitality of the Indian nation lies. It cannot be gainsaid that during the last millennium, Indian life has been at a low ebb in many aspects of its existence. Foreign ideas and ideals, coming in the form of tidal waves, have, again and again, sought here to sweep everything before them and wipe out the very word 'India' from the map of the world. But India producing a Ramakrishna during the nineteenth century, when the onslaught

from the materialistic West was perhaps the severest, shows where the strength of the Indian nation lies and through what channel its life current flows. When the light burns at the tip, it shows that the whole lamp is ablaze.

Spirituality has been the mission of India and always it will be so. There is no need for us to go to Moscow or Berlin for inspiration. We shall get it from the banks of the Ganges, caves of the Himalayas and the Vedas and the Upanishads. Above all, the eternal Lord, the indwelling spirit in us, will lead us from the unreal to the Real, from darkness to Light and from death, disease and suffering to Immortality.

India Letter

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

5th April, 1939.

Foreigners In India

THE Indian Legislative Assembly has adopted the Registration of Foreigners Bill as amended by the Congress Party. The Bill was published a few months ago and is intended to give the Government statutory powers necessary for the collection of information about the number, nationality and whereabouts of foreigners in India. No party in the Assembly was opposed to the measure but at the Select Committee it was recommended that the term "foreigners" should include the citizens of all the Dominions and Colonies in the British Empire where discriminating laws against Indians exist. The Government did not accept this suggestion because, according to them, it would not materially help India.

During the course of the debate on the Bill, Sir Syed Raza Ali, a former Indian Agent-General in South Africa, said that if anyone had reason to be angry with the treatment of Indians in the Dominions such as South Africa, it was he himself and he had no objection to give his vote to the amendment but he appealed to the House to make sure that South Africa would not see offence in it and their vengeance might not fall on the unfortunate Indians settled there. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai asked Sir Syed Raza Ali to learn lessons of his own experience in South Africa and join in framing legislation under which the Government would be compelled to treat South Africans in India as "foreigners." According to the Congress Party's amendment with which the Bill was finally passed "foreigners shall denote a person who is not a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom or a British Indian subject or a ruler or subject of an Indian State or a person duly appointed by a Foreign

Government to exercise the diplomatic functions or a Consul or a Vice-Consul." The Government, however, under a provision of the Bill, have power to exclude from the definition of the term "foreigners" persons from the Dominions and Colonies when they reverse their policy of persecuting Indian nationals."

Rajkot Dispute

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Judge of the Federal Court, in giving his award on the Rajkot dispute, observes that in his opinion the true construction of the documents is that the Thakore Sahib undertakes to appoint the persons whom Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel may recommend and that he does not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those whom he does not approve. He is no doubt entitled to criticise the recommendations and to urge reasons for reconsidering them but unless it can be shown that any of the persons recommended are neither subjects nor servants of the State, Mr. Vallabhbhai is to have the last word.

"It is true that the appointment of all the members of the Committee is vested in the Thakore Sahib alone even when they are recommended by Mr. Patel. A Committee of this kind, however, could scarcely come into existence in any other way and there is nothing inconsistent between the reservation by the Thakore Sahib of the right of appointment and an undertaking by him to appoint a certain number of persons who are recommended by another.

"Since a question appears to have arisen with regard to the appointment of the chairman of the Committee, I think it right to say that in my opinion the second paragraph of the notification of December 26 restricts the members

of the Committee to ten and that, therefore, the chairman who is to be appointed by the Thakore Sahib must be one of the ten and not an additional member.

"My terms of reference do not require me to decide the question whether the Thakore Sahib committed any breach of faith in contending for his interpretation of December 26 and I express no opinion upon it.

"I am satisfied that there was a concluded agreement between the two parties. It may well be that the Thakore Sahib by reason of the pressure of events, found himself compelled to concur in an arrangement for which he had, perhaps, no great enthusiasm; but that is a very different thing from the fraud or duress which in all systems of jurisprudence is held to vitiate a contract."

"The gist of Thakore Sahib's argument is contained in the following sentence in the written case submitted on his behalf: "It is obvious that the word 'recommend' itself clearly indicates that it (i.e. each name) is to be considered and it was open to the Thakore Sahib to reject any of the names on the ground, for instance, that any one of the names recommended was not a suitable person, was incapable or undesirable." No such proposition can be based simply upon the use of the word 'recommend', which in itself does not necessarily imply anything of the kind; it may take its colour from the context and accordingly all the circumstances of the case must be taken into account."

Mayor Of Bombay

Mr. B. N. Karanjia has been elected Mayor of Bombay. The Municipal Congress Party supported his candidature. Mr. Karanjia is not a Congress

man but he has expressed agreement with the Bombay Municipal Congress Party's programme. In his speech thanking the Corporation for electing him Mayor he said that the honour was not only done to him personally but also in his capacity as a representative of the Parsi community. The Parsi members took strong objection to his remark and asked him to withdraw because they did not look upon him as a representative of the Parsi community. Mr. Karanjia withdrew the remarks.

When Bombay Goes Dry

When the city of Bombay goes dry in next August, even the domiciled Europeans will not be allowed to possess or consume liquor. Only those Europeans who were born in Europe and were educated there and have their permanent homes in an European country will be exempted. An English business man who is on very friendly terms with the Indian commercial com-

munity, not long ago declared himself a domiciled European hoping that by his action he would improve his business with Indians by coming in closer contact with them. Probably his hopes will be realised but he is sadder and wiser to-day as he finds that as a domiciled European he will be deprived of his peg of whisky!

All India Congress Has No Working Committee

The country is still without a Working Committee of the All India Congress. Mr. Subash Chandra Bose in a recent statement said that the Tripuri Congress resolution asking him to select the members of the Working Committee in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi was *ultra vires*. It was hoped that Mahatma Gandhi would be paying Mr. Bose a visit in Bengal where he is still in his sick bed but delay in the Rajkot Settlement which kept Gandhiji in Delhi evidently prevented the meeting.

It is reported that Mahatma Gandhi has informed Sjt. Subhas Bose that it would be better for him to form his own cabinet and call a meeting of the A.I.C.C.

Gandhiji's reason appears to be that the recent statement of Sjt. Subhas Bose shows little in common between him and his erstwhile colleagues and that as he has already referred to Pt. Pant's resolution as unconstitutional there is no need for him to consult Mahatma Gandhi about its implications or the constitution of the Working Committee.

In effect Gandhiji's advice is that Sjt. Subhas Bose should take upon himself the responsibility of forming the Working Committee himself and face the verdict of the A.I.C.C. when it meets.

Late News

It is understood that the Viceroy granted an interview to Mahatma Gandhi on the 4th April. The interview lasted an hour and a half.

Things In General

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Farewell Message

IN a farewell message handed to the S. A. Press Association on the occasion of his departure for England in the *Winchester Castle* on Friday April 14, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, thanks most cordially all those who helped to make his stay in the Union so comfortable and pleasant. Referring to the fact that the Cape route to India was opened up by Vasco da Gama, whose ship was piloted by an Indian sailor, he says: "In more recent times Indians came to South Africa at the request of the Government here for working on the sugar plantations. It is admitted that they have made contributions to some extent to the building up of this country. I am convinced that they will make even more effective contributions to the general life of this country if they are given a chance to do so. If man as a political animal has not been much of a success it only means that we have to base our political relations on principles of fair play and equity. I have no doubt that with a generous handling of racial problems Indians will feel more happy and also helpful to the building up of a just and prosperous South Africa. To my Indian friends who have been extremely kind to me during the short period I have been here I should like to say that I will follow with keenest sympathy their progress in this country. I am anxious that those who are in more fortunate circumstances should realise

their responsibility to their poorer brethren. I recognise that the Indians of South Africa are at one with regard to their objective, though there are some differences due to the assertion of personalities more than principles. The strength of the honour of the Indian community lies in their united organised effort to improve their present position. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to hear that the South African Indians are working together as a single body for the improvement of their position and the betterment of South Africa, which is their adopted home, I must emphasise that they must do nothing to make themselves disagreeable or unacceptable to their neighbours."

Ventersdorp Supports Passive

Resistance

A meeting of the Indian community at Ventersdorp, Transvaal, addressed by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Messrs. S. B. Mehd and I. A. Caobalia, on April 17, endorsed the decision of the Transvaal Indian Congress, passed on March 1, advocating passive resistance. The meeting asked for another mass meeting to be called by the Congress to elect a council of action comprising 25 members to consider methods of passive resistance. The Land Tenure Act of 1932, and the Feetham Commission's recommendations were condemned because they were tantamount to segregation and benefited only a negligible number of interested Indians. Dr. Dadoo, in an interview, stated that apart from the contemplated legislation there was dissatisfaction with existing legislation. The Indian was quite ready

to take up the fight of passive resistance. If the Government introduced a temporary measure stopping the penetration of Indians in country towns in European areas before a round-table conference with the Indian Government, passive resistance would be adopted.

Indian Baby Show For Durban

Dr. Goonam is organising an Indian baby show to be held in Durban in July. The object of the show is to stimulate the care of the babies among mothers. It would draw attention to the development of Indian child from nutritive and other values; Indians, both men and women, would be able to take stock of the progress of the rising generation. There will be several classes for the entrants, from six months to three years, and there will be prizes in each division for the successful competitors. A well known European woman doctor will be asked to adjudicate. Entries will close on June 30, and forms are to be had from Dr. Goonam, 37, Bond Street, Durban.

A Silver Wedding Function

A very pleasant Garden Tea Party was held on Saturday, April 15, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Godfrey at Overport when they celebrated their silver wedding. A large number of friends and relatives both Europeans and Indians was present and Dr. Wm. Godfrey, the brother of Mr. J. W. Godfrey, had specially come for the occasion from Johannesburg. Prayers were offered for the happy couple in English, Tamil and Hindustani and hymns were sung. Tea, cakes, sweetmeats and ice-cream were served on the lawns and a wedding cake

that had come from the relatives of Mrs. Godfrey was cut. Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee acted as the M.C. and several speeches were made congratulating Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey and wishing them a happy and successful wedded life to be able to celebrate their golden wedding. Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey suitably expressed their thanks and a very delightful function terminated with the singing of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Sastri College Old Boys' Club

A grand social of the Sastri College Old Boys' Club was held in the Sastri College hall on Saturday, April 15, at 8 p.m., when a very large gathering of Old Boys and guests of the club spent a most enjoyable evening. There were close on 200 people present including Mr. Wm. Anderson, B.A. (Principal of Sastri College and Patron of the club), Mrs. Anderson, Miss Anderson, Mr. R. W. Martin, M. S.C., Mrs. Martin, Mr. A. D. Lazarus, B.A. and many others. There were indoor games, dancing and musical items. Refreshments were served by the ladies of the Dartnell Crescent Post Students' Union, whose presence was deeply appreciated by the Old Boys' Club. In the course of his address to the members, Mr. Anderson said that the Old Boys' Club had shown a great improvement, and the day was a red letter day for the club as it was for the first time that an old boys' soccer team played in the senior league. Such a club was of great value to the community and to the college in particular as the Principal would

be able to keep in touch with the many ex-students of the college and thus preserve a valuable contact. He saw in the future Sastri College becoming the University College for the Indians of Natal, and he felt that that would only be possible through the co-operation of the Old Boys' Club. It certainly was gratifying to him to see so many young men and their sisters in such a gathering. He promised the club his support and urged the members to get busy about their cricket and tennis clubs. Mr. A. N. Lazarus, the president of the club, called for the preservation of the splendid *esprit-de-corp* of the members in order to fulfil the aims of the club. Mr. M. Manjee acted as the M.C. for the evening and Mr. P. Nulliah was in charge of the catering. All the flowers on the tables were sold by American auction when a tidy sum of £1-0-6 was realised.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Works

The M. K. Gandhi Library Committee wishes to inform the general public that the following books by Sir Radhakrishnan are now available at the Library:— Indian Philosophy volumes 1 & 2; An Idealist view of Life; The Vedanta, according to Sankara and Ramanuja; Contemporary Indian Philosophy; The Philosophy of the Upanishads; East and West in Religion.

Indian Advisory Council At Nigel

At a fully representative meeting of property owners and residents of MacKenzie Township, Nigel, it was unani-

mously resolved that a council be formed to safeguard the interests of the township, to assist the local Town Council in the administration of the township, and to further the peace and harmony in the township. The council is perhaps the first and the only one of its kind existent in the Transvaal. The following officials were elected for the ensuing year: Chairman: Dr. S. Ismail; vice-chairman: Mr. Ismail Ajat; hon. secretary: Mr. M. S. Pillay; hon. treasurer: Mr. Jumna Das; committee: Messrs. Soma Budhea, D. P. Frank and H. Jacobs.

Sanatan Ved Dharma Sabha (Johannesburg)

A committee meeting of the above Sabha was held in the hall on Sunday, April 9. The secretary read to the sabha the balance sheet, and there was still a debt to be paid off. Mr. S. Ajoda, one of the trustees, undertook to take a few officials with him to Natal to collect funds. The sabha will appreciate any assistance given from Hindu brothers.

Nizamia Muslim Society

The third annual general meeting of the Nizamia Muslim Society (Maritzburg) will be held on Sunday April 23, at 2 p.m., at 449, Church Street, Maritzburg. Members, officials and friends are kindly asked by the secretary to attend. The following is the agenda:— Minutes, correspondence, secretarial report, financial report, election of office-bearers; general.

The Sporting World

Joe Louis Beats Jack Roper

JOE LOUIS, world heavyweight champion, in his fight at Los Angeles on April 18, had little difficulty in retaining his crown when he knocked out Jack Roper in the first round of a 10-round fight for his title before a crowd of 25,000, which included film stars and famous boxers of former days. George Blake, the referee, gave both boxers lengthy instructions before the opening gong and both made a cautious start. Roper opened with a left to the chin and Louis shot in a left to the body in reply. Then it was Roper's turn again and he scored with a smart left hook, both dropping back to cautious methods before Louis staggered his opponent with a stiff left. Roper seemed willing to make a fight of it and pummelled away for a brief period. The 'Brown Bomber' leapt in to attack, landing a stinging left and cutting Roper's left eye. He followed up with a terrific two-fisted attack, dropping Roper finally with a punch to the jaw. The challenger made an effort

to rise, but collapsed face downwards on the canvas. The referee counted the Californian out and the fight was over after lasting only 2min. 20sec.

Soccer Fixtures

The following are the soccer fixtures for Saturday—Seniors: Pirates v. Springfield, main, 2.30; Sydenham v. Daffodils, main, 3.45; Stars v. Collegians, No. 1, 2.30; Afritex v. Avondale No. 1, 3.45. Juniors: Rangers v. Stella, No. 2, 2.30; Sastri College v. Robertsons, No. 2, 3.45; Sons of India v. Warwickshire, No. 3, 2.30; Daffodils v. Victorians, No. 3, 3.45. Juveniles: Stella v. Sastri College B, No. 4, 2.30; Avondale v. Sastri College A, No. 4, 3.45.

All-In Wrestling Challenge

Mr. Shaik Mohamed, Manager, of 71 Prince Edward Street, Durban, reports that Rangasamy Vandeyar of Johannesburg, the bantam weight all-in wrestling champion of Transvaal, who has arrived in Durban is anxious to meet any

bantam weight wrestler in Durban—Durban champion preferable—for the South African non-European bantam weight wrestling title. As Rangasamy's stay is to be a short one, it is hoped that the Natal champion will take this opportunity of meeting the Transvaal champion.

Everything appearing in this issue of a political nature has been written and edited by Manilal M. Gandhi to express the views of INDIAN OPINION.

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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

ફ્રીડેડે, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૨૧ એપ્રિલ ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૧૬.

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૨૧ એપ્રિલ ૧૯૩૯.

રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ

આ સ ક્રીને ટ્રાંસવાલ અને નાટાલમાં હિંદીઓના વસવાટ, વેપાર અને જમીન માલિકીના સવાલના સંબંધમાં હિંદ સરકારના વચ્ચે પડવાથી નવી પરિસ્થિતિ ઉભી થઈ છે. ૧૯૨૭ અને ૧૯૩૨ માં મળી હતી તેવી રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ ભરવાની વાહસરોય મારફતે સુચના થઈ છે અને યુનીયન સરકાર તરફથી અને સરકારો વચ્ચે મસલતનો સિદ્ધાંત સ્વિકાર્યો છે.

એ મસલત કેવી રીતે થશે—અને સરકારો વચ્ચે એજન્ટ-જનરલ મારફતે મસલતો થશે કે પછી બંને સરકારોના પ્રતિનિધિઓ કેપટાઇનમાં કોન્ફરન્સ ભરશે—એ હજુ જાહેર આભુ નથી. દરમિયાનમાં યુનીયન સરકાર પોતાની સેક્રેજેશનની યોજના પસાર કરવાનું તેમજ શીધાન કમીશનની ભલામણો અને હમણાજ જાહેર પડેલા એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ લોઝ કમીશનના રીપોર્ટની રૂએ કંઈ પણ પગલાં લેવાનું મસલતો થઈ રહ્યા સુધી મોકુફ રાખશે એવું સંભવ છે. વળી એમ પણ જણાવાય છે કે હિંદીઓને યુરોપીયન લતાઓમાં પ્રવેશ કરતાં અટકાવવાને એક કામચલાઉ પ્રતિબંધ મુકનારો કાયદો કહાય પસાર કરવામાં આવે. જો આમ થાય તો પછી મસલતો કરવાનો કશો અર્થ જ નથી રહેતો, કેમકે હિંદી કોમનું તે એક હસહસતું અપમાન થએલું જણાય અને હિંદીઓએ કેમ જાણે યુરોપીયનોને ચીડવવાને ખાતરજ જાણી કરીને તેઓના હહેવાતા લતાઓપર ચઢાઈ કરવાનો સંકલ્પ ન કર્યો હોય એવી તેઓને વિષે ખોટી જાણ પાડવામાં આવે.

આથી અમે માનીએ છીએ કે જાને સરકારો વચ્ચે મસલતો પુરી થતાં સુધી હિંદીઓ વિરૂદ્ધ કોઈ પણ કાયદો થવો નહિ જોઈએ તેમ શીધાન કમીશનની ભલામણો, કે જેની સામે હિંદીઓ તેમજ યુરોપીયનોએ વિરોધ ઉઠાવેલો છે, તેના સંબંધમાં કંઈ પણ થવું નહિ જોઈએ. મસલતો કેવી રીતે થવા જોઈએ એ અખત

માં અમે માનીએ છીએ કે હિંદુસ્તાનથી એક પ્રતિનિધિમંડળે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આવવું જોઈએ કે જેથી તેઓ પરિસ્થિતિ નજરો નજર જોઈ શકે. ખરા મત બાંધવાને એ વસ્તુ આવશ્યક છે.

પરંતુ ૧૯૩૨ માં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા અવેલું તેવું આજની પ્રતીક્ષામંડળ નહી આવવું જોઈએ. એ પ્રતીક્ષામંડળના પ્રમુખ લમલમ આખો વખત નર્સીમ હોમમાં આજીરી પડેલા હતા, એ સભ્યો સખત બસક પ્રેશરથી પીડાતા હતા અને એક સખત હકમના દરદથી પીડાતા હતા.

એવું પ્રતીક્ષામંડળ કેવી વલણ લેશે એ પણ પ્રશ્ન વીચારવાનો છે. તેને માટે જરા છુટકાળપર નજર કરવી પડશે. પ્રથમ રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ “એરિયાલ રેઝરવેશન એન્ડ ઇમીગ્રેશન ફરધર રીસ્ટ્રીક્શન બીલ” ને નામે સેક્રેજેશનનો કાયદો લાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો તેની સામે હિંદી કોમનો સખત વિરોધના પરીણામે ૧૯૨૭ માં મળી હતી. એ કોન્ફરન્સના પરીણામે કેપટાઇન અમીમોન્ટ થયું હતું કે જેને “ખાનદાની ભયાં કરાર” તરીકે વર્ણવવામાં આવ્યું હતું, જે કે તેના મુજબ પાયામાંજ ખાનદાની જેયું કંઈ નહોતું. એ પાયો એસીસ્ટેડ એમીગ્રેશન સ્કીમ દ્વારા હિંદી વસ્તીને આ દેશમાંથી ઓછામાં ઓછી રહે તેટલે સુધી ઘટાડી દેવાની યુનીયન સરકાર તરફથી ફરમાવાયેલી નીતીનો હતો. આ એસીસ્ટેડ એમીગ્રેશન સ્કીમ મુજબ રીપેટીએશન સ્કીમ, કે જે તેની રૂએ અનેક અનિષ્ટો થયા હોવાથી હિંદી કોમના નાકમાં ગંધાવા લાગી હતી, તેનું નવું સ્વરૂપ છે. એ સ્કીમના ઇતિહાસમાં અમે અહિં નહિ ઉતરીએ. એટલુંજ કહેવું બસ થશે કે એ સ્કીમ હિંદીઓને આ દેશમાં પોતાનો જન્મસિદ્ધ હક્ક વેચી દેવાને એક લાંબ આપવા જેવી હતી અને તેની પાછળનો સિદ્ધાંત આ દેશમાં પાછળ રહેનેરાઓ સુખ શાંતિથી રહી શકે તેથી હિંદી કોમે પોતાના અરીખ ભાઈઓના હકો વેચી દેવાનો હતો.

જતાં એમીમોન્ટનાં એ ભાગનું તો પાલન થયું હતું કેમકે આ દેશમાંથી નીસ હાનર ઉપર હિંદીઓ હક્ક ઊડી ચાલ્યા ગયા અને હજુ થોડા થોડા ચાલુ જઈ રહ્યા છે. પરંતુ તેના બદલામાં યુનીયન સરકારે સ્થાયી હિંદી વસ્તીની તેઓને ફળવણી અને ખીજ સમવડો આપીને પોતાની સંપૂર્ણ શક્તિ અનુસાર ઉન્નતિ કરવાને માગ્યો અને સાધનો યોજવાનું અને વસ્તીના કોઈ પણ અન્ય વગોની પાછળ ધસડાવા નાહ દેવાનું વચન આપ્યું હતું. એમીમોન્ટના આ ભાગનું, નાટાલમાં હિંદીઓની ફળવણીને માટે થોડાક ટુકડા નાખવા ઉપરાંત, પાલન નથી થયું. તેને બદલે હિંદીઓને ભમતા હવાત કાયદાઓની સખ્તાઈ વધારીને અને નવા કાયદા કરીને સરકારે દમનનીતી સતત ચાલુજ રાખેલી છે. તેમનો એક કાયદો ટ્રાંસવાલ અશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્યુર એક્ટ છે કે જે કેપટાઇન એમીમોન્ટનો જ્યોક ભંગ કરનારો છે. આ કાયદાને પરિણામે ૧૯૩૨ માં ખીજ રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ મળી હતી. એ વખતે હિંદ સરકારના પ્રતીક્ષામંડળે શું કયું? હિંદી કોમે એસીસ્ટેડ એમીગ્રેશન સ્કીમની સામે પ્રચંડ વિરોધ દર્શાવ્યો હતો અને યુનીયન સરકારે કંઈ કે એ સ્કીમ હવે ધસાઈ ગઈ છે અને ખીજું કંઈ પણ થઈ શકે તે પહેલાં હિંદી વસતીને ઘટાડવાને ખીજ કંઈક યોજના સુચવવામાં આવવી જોઈએ. કેપટાઇન એમીમોન્ટની મુજબ શરતો ફરીથી કાયમ રાખવામાં આવી અને વધારામાં હિંદીઓને વસાવી શકાય એવા અન્ય દેશોની તપાસ કરવાની યોજના ધડવામાં આવી. વળી હિંદ સરકારે ટ્રાંસવાલ એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્યુર બીલની સામે થોડાએક જેઓના અમત લાભો સંડોવાયેલા હતા તેઓ સિવાય સમસ્ત હિંદી કોમે સેક્રેજેશનનો સિદ્ધાંત સ્થાપિત કરનારાં તરીકે સખત વિરોધ ઉઠાવેલો હોવા છતાં તેને થોડાક ફેરફારો સાથે સ્વિકારવાનું કબુલ કયું. ટ્રાંસવાલના હિંદીઓમાં શીધાન કમીશનની ભલામણો નો અસ્વિકાર કરવાની અને ટ્રાંસવાલ એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્યુર એક્ટની સામે લડત કરવાની મજબુત લામણી વર્તી રહી છે. હિંદી કોમનું પ્રતિનિધિત્વ ધરાવતી કોંગ્રેસ પોતે પસાર કરેલા ફરાવથી એ પમદું લેવાને બંધાયેલી છે.

પરંતુ એ વાતને પડતી મુશી આમળ વધીએ. યુનીયન સરકારે કેપટાઇન એમીમોન્ટની ઉન્નતિ