

# INDIAN OPINION

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## NOTES AND NEWS

### Mr. Hofmeyr Says There Is No Segregation In Transvaal Bill

**W**E referred only briefly in our last week's issue to the warning given to Indians by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr. Speaking at the monthly meeting of the Empire Group, Mr. Hofmeyr said, "The Indians see segregation lurking behind the Asiatics (Transvaal) Land Tenure and Trading Bill now before Parliament although this was not actually so." Only a short while ago Mr. Hofmeyr made a public statement to the effect that politicians in South Africa think that they can achieve their purpose by calling a thing by another name. Is this not a case in point? Mr. Hofmeyr's only defence in favour of the Bill is that what the Minister has stipulated in the Bill is nothing more than what is actually existing under the administration of Provincial and Municipal measures. But surely that does not justify the establishing of a racial stigma, even if it be for a temporary period, by an Act of Parliament? And the Minister of the Interior himself has not denied the fact that it is a segregation measure. However the very wording of the Bill signifies plainly enough that it is a segregation measure, and we cannot by any stretch of imagination understand how Mr. Hofmeyr can try to convince us to the contrary. It will be very difficult indeed for Mr. Hofmeyr to prove that this Bill does not 'badge the Indians with inferiority,' a term which is used by Mr. Hofmeyr himself.

### Fear Of A Non-European

#### United Front

Mr. Hofmeyr further states that Indians were divided into two groups. "There was the moderate section which was prepared to co-operate with the Government and the extremists who intended fighting the measure and co-operating with the Coloured and Native people in forming a non-European united front against the European section."

In being so fear-stricken about the formation of a united non-European front is not White South Africa frightened of its own shadow? The remedy would be to recognise the signs of the time and to alter the repressive administration

to a much more liberal one. But we are not so much concerned at present about a united non-European front. While we have not yet been able to form a united front among ourselves how can we think of a united non-European front? Indians have sufficient troubles of their own to cope with to be able to meddle with those of others. We must not aspire for bigger things when we are lacking the ability to do the small things. If we are able to fight our own battle with clean weapons and in a dignified manner we will have rendered the best service to the whole country. We must set an example worthy of emulation. The mere talk of a united non-European front has no meaning. We would, therefore, not advise other communities to plunge in the dark nor would we advise our own brethren to mislead them to do so.

### Mr. Hofmeyr Decries Passive

#### Resistance

Mr. Hofmeyr referred to the danger of Indians again restoring to passive resistance and civil disobedience as they did 25 years ago, and "for their own sake he hoped this would not happen as it would not be in their interest." We have always admired Mr. Hofmeyr for speaking from a higher plain—of higher things in life—of the real life man should aspire for. As such we ask Mr. Hofmeyr what he actually means by saying what we have quoted above. Does he mean the material interests of the Indians? Does Mr. Hofmeyr, who sacrificed his lucrative post as a Cabinet Minister for the sake of a cherished principle, advise us to submit to all the humiliations that may be imposed on us as a race and to crush under our feet our cherished principles for the sake of paltry material interests and to lead the life of semi-barbarians? Surely we expect better guidance than that from Mr. Hofmeyr.

### Chinese Seek Exemption From

#### Transvaal Measure

The Chinese Consul has communicated with his Government, and is making diplomatic representation to the Union Government, concerning the "serious effects of the Asiatic Land and

Trading Bill on the Chinese population in South Africa." The Transvaal Chinese Association representing all Chinese traders in the Transvaal, has sent a telegram to the Minister of the Interior appealing to him not to enforce the provisions of the Bill in so far as the Chinese are concerned.

"The proposed Bill," stated the telegram, "will be analogous to a death sentence, as we Chinese have already suffered most seriously from the restrictions imposed on us, and as nationals of a friendly nation of the Union, we ought to have enjoyed better rights than we now have."

"We strongly oppose this Bill, as we are included in the definition of 'Asiatic' or 'coloured people.' We earnestly beseech you to effect modification of the definition so as to exclude the Chinese from the application of the Bill, or to introduce an amendment that will have the same effect as the exemptions granted by the Government to other Asiatic people, such as the Japanese, and Syrians."

"We humbly beg you to understand that we have been peaceful and law-abiding people for many years in the Union and have done nothing encroaching on the rights of the European population. We pray that justice will be done to us by your Government."

"The Transvaal Chinese Association asks the Minister to consider their petition sympathetically and the granting of an audience to a Chinese delegation at Cape Town."

### Should Evils Be Copied Or Virtues?

In the course of its comments on the Transvaal Bill, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue, the *Natal Mercury*, has the following passage:

"No race in the world is more conscious of caste distinctions, or more scrupulous in observing them, (than is the Indian)."

People are apt always to see the mote in the other man's eye but not the beam in one's own. While caste distinctions among Indians in India are fast disappearing, there is no denying the fact that they are taking deep root among the white races in

South Africa. Are not the distinctions between the English and the Afrikaans and the Jews—leave alone the White man's prejudices against the black, brown and yellow races—becoming more and more accentuated? Is this something else than caste distinctions? And does the intelligence of the White man in South Africa teach him to take pride in imitating the dying evils of other countries than in imbibing their virtues? If so they are not the ways of a civilised people.

#### Friendly Foes

Allen Nash writing in the *Cape Times* under the caption "The World Goes By" gives the following interesting paragraph:

In the course of an address to the

Empire Group, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr recalled the long struggle between General Smuts and Gandhi some 25 years ago. As a result of his civil disobedience campaign, Gandhi was several times imprisoned, for which General Smuts, in his capacity as Minister of Justice, was responsible. Two years ago Mr. Hofmeyr was visiting a native reformatory outside Johannesburg. The Official accompanying him said that the building had been a prison. He then pointed out the little room where Gandhi had spent his incarceration. "I was magistrate in Johannesburg at the time," the official told Hofmeyr, and well I remember being given books on philosophy and kindred subjects to take to Gandhi from General Smuts."

the report received in the Union, the *Rand Daily Mail* had described it as "cool cheek" that,

"because South Africa has a prejudice, it is proposed that every other part of the Empire should go to great lengths to accommodate her; because she finds Indian labour less useful than formerly, the Indians she brought to her shores are to be shipped off to the unhealthiest regions of the earth. The Report does the Committee little credit. What would its members say if other parts of the Empire tried to foist off unwanted sections of their population on the Union without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants, or, indeed, to anything but their own convenience? This attempt to use the Empire as a dumping ground is, of course doomed to failure. But it is certainly a piece of cool cheek."

After this compliment from its own press what did the Committee expect from the Indian press and the Indian Government? The Inquiry was a failure and if the Government of India, in the circumstances, suggested, as has been stated by the Minister of the Interior, it has surely given the most sensible advice. Those who cannot grasp the sense in it must have lost their mental equilibrium. If all the money that has been wasted on commissions to inquire as to how the rights of Indians could be restricted and as to how they could be driven out of this country and the money that would be needed for any successful scheme of driving them out could have been and could still be spent on measures of uplift, which would enable the resident Indian population to conform to western standard of life, there would be no such thing as an Indian problem left in this country.

Such questions put by Mr. Nicholls in the House of Assembly and some of the debates on the Indian question in which so many inaccurate figures have been quoted and unfounded allegations made both in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council by persons like Mr. A. T. Allison against Indians about their penetration into purely European localities, only go to prove the shallowness of their case against the Indian in this country and how they are poisoning the minds of the public against a section which has not the equal opportunity to retaliate. Anything more cowardly is inconceivable.

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## Strange Are The Ways Of The Congress

**A**T a Committee meeting of the Natal Indian Congress held on Monday evening the following resolution was passed:

(1) This Committee of the Natal Indian Congress, while expressing its full agreement with its Transvaal brethren in the condemnation of the Transvaal Land and Trading Bill now before Parliament appeals to them not to precipitate matters by isolated action, pending a decision after mature consideration by the forthcoming South African Indian Congress to be held in Capetown this month.

## Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, MAY 19TH, 1939

### False Accusation

**M**R. STUTTAFORD, replying to Mr. Heaton Nicholls (U. P. Zululand), in the House of Assembly, said that "as far as the Union Government were aware, the Indian Government took no action during the 12 months following the round-table conference of 1932, with the object of giving effect to the following resolution: 'That the Government of India co-operate with the Union Government in exploring the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries, which should take place during the present year.' At the end of that period, namely, in April, 1933, the Union Government decided to appoint a committee on Indian colonisation." Asked what proposals were made by the Government of India following the receipt of this Committee's report, the Minister replied that "no proposals were made by the Government of India, except to suggest that the Union Government might prefer to devote the funds that would be needed for any successful scheme of colonisation to expenditure in the Union on measures of uplift, which would enable the resident Indian population to conform to western standards of life."

We do not think Mr. Stuttaford's reply to Mr. Nicholls is quite accurate. Of course from the very terms of the resolution it would appear to any intelligent reader that the initiative was to be taken by the Union Government and the India Government would co-operate with it. There was therefore no question of the Indian Government taking the initiative. The Union Government appointed the Colonisation Inquiry Committee in June 1933 and record

prove it to the hilt that it was appointed with the consent and co-operation of the Government of India and of the local Indian Congress, as a preliminary to a larger step to be taken later on. A simultaneous announcement was made at the time by both the Governments of the appointment of the Committee, the terms of reference of which were:

"to undertake a preliminary investigation in South Africa in connection with the proposals set forth in paragraph 3 of the Capetown Agreement for the exploration of the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and South Africa, to other countries, and to report as to the country or countries in which further investigation as to the successful operation of such a scheme might advantageously be made, having regard to the political, climatic and economic conditions in such country or countries, and the extent to which Indians would participate therein."

In making a statement in Parliament at the time, the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, stated *inter alia* that "the proposals now made had been discussed with the Government of India and it had expressed its concurrence. The Government of India has also stated, and for this I wish specially to express the gratitude of this Government, that its Agent in South Africa is being requested to place himself and his staff entirely at the disposal of the Ministers here, and of the Committee, for giving such informed help as might be in his power."

The second question asked by Mr. Nicholls was, "what proposals were made by the Government of India following the receipt of this Committee's report." Mr. Nicholls himself stated during the debate on the Transvaal Bill that the report had received a very poor press both in the Union and in India. To quote just one instance of the reception

(2) This meeting appeals to the leaders of the Transvaal Indian Congress, inclusive of the Nationalist wing, to work in unison in face of the common danger.

It is strange that the officials of the N. I. C. did not consider it of importance to call a mass meeting of Natal Indians to condemn the Transvaal Land and Trading Bill which has now passed through the Committee stage, and that it only occurred to them at a committee meeting which was called to appoint delegates to the forthcoming Conference of the S. A. I. C., to pass the above resolution asking their Transvaal brethren not to precipitate matters by isolated action.

This resolution amounts to a vote of censure passed by the committee of the Natal Indian Congress on their Transvaal brethren for what they have been doing. We cannot describe the action as anything but impertinent. The Transvaal Bill chiefly affects Indians in the Transvaal and while it may give a seeming relief and a sense of security to a few it is a vicious measure calculated to spell ruin to the whole community. It is moreover a measure establishing the principle of segregation and as such is as condemnable as Mr. Stuttaford's proposed Servitude Bill. It is therefore nothing but right that our brethren in the Transvaal should with one voice express their strong protest against the Bill and prepare to offer resistance to it should it be passed in the teeth of the community's opposition.

It is up to our brethren in the other Provinces to take a warning of what they may soon expect to come at their own door and to give their moral and material support to their brethren in the Transvaal.

That the Transvaal Indian Congress is not bestirring itself when the Bill is being rushed through Parliament, and is yet to convene its meeting to express its decision, leaving the Nationalist wing to act alone in a matter which is to detrimentally affect the whole Province, is regrettable enough, but for outsiders to offer pious advice not to precipitate matters to those who are organising to offer supreme sacrifice in order to vindicate the community's national honour is condemnable.

This sort of advice in the past of not to precipitate matters has ultimately resulted in the community submitting to measures it has not only strongly opposed but have rejected *in toto*. The Transvaal Land Tenure Act is a case in point. At the S.A.I.C. Conference in 1932, held in the Transvaal, it was solemnly resolved to resist the measure, but at the conclusion of the Conference it was announced by the President that no action would be taken against the measure until after the Feetham Commission had completed its inquiry. This was a pious advice "not to precipitate mat-

ters," and, keeping the community in the dark, the Congress officials played in the hands of the Government of India and their Agent-General in South Africa, who were anxious at all costs not to endanger the so called friendly relations between the two Governments, and were finally led to compromise with the Government on the Act, thus going against their own solemn resolutions.

Once again when a dangerous piece of legislation has been introduced and when the whole being of every Indian with any sense of self-respect should shake with indignation the cool advice not to precipitate matters comes from those who should have a better realisation of their responsibilities.

If anything is required to be fought strenuously it is this policy of drift, which will lower us to such depths of degradation that we will no longer be living in this country as human-beings.

If a measure is condemnable there cannot be any submission to it. It must be fought and those who have resolved to fight are determined to do so with clean weapons, by self-suffering, to which no one on earth can take exception. We are confident that even if the whole of our community is composed of cowards and are so engrossed in their material interests not to be able to think of anything higher and that if even a dozen will be prepared to suffer death rather than submit to humiliations imposed on them as a race, the honour of India will have well been vindicated. Our brethren in the Transvaal must therefore fear only God and march forward on their righteous path.

## S. A. I. C's High-handedness

It has been our unpleasant duty to, time and again, pass harsh criticism on the Congress officials, and we have to perform that duty once again. Mr. V. S. O. Pather, President of the South African Indian Congress, has issued a statement on the present political position of the Indian community, which we publish elsewhere in this issue. These are the questions that arise from Mr. Pather's statement:

What did the S.A.I.C. do to cultivate public opinion on the Transvaal measure that was introduced on May 5 and has already reached the report stage?

Why has it occurred to the S.A.I.C. to hold their annual conference at this late hour and why was it not possible to call an emergency conference much earlier if the matter was admittedly so vitally urgent and why was it not called in the Transvaal, the seat of the trouble?

That the Conference has had to be postponed at the request of the Transvaal members shows that the Transvaal was not consulted before the decision to hold the conference was taken. Why was it not consulted?

The President of the Congress argues like some M.P.s when he lays it down that the present measure is only an interim measure and therefore the S.A.I.C. is the only body competent to decide the line of action to be taken.

Because the Bill is an interim measure, does it make it any the less dangerous? And when it is realised that another of a worst character is to follow it was surely unwise on the part of the Congress to allow the community to live in a fool's paradise?

Though the Bill is an interim measure it is the Transvaal Indians who are the sufferers and as such it seems nonsensical to suggest that the matter should be left entirely in the hands of the S.A.I.C. for them to take action at their will and at their convenience and at a place that suits them.

We fear that the S.A.I.C. officials have allowed themselves to play in the hands of the respective Agents-General and some of their European advisers and have had no mind of their own.

Their policy in recent years has been to lull the community to sleep in a sense of false security. This policy has brought about the moral and material deterioration of the community.

In conclusion might we ask the President of the S.A.I.C. who was one of the prime movers in the laudable step recently taken towards unity in Natal as to how far that matter has proceeded and why there has been such a long delay in a matter which required to be expedited especially at this critical juncture to enable the community to speak with a united voice rather than the Congress on the one hand claiming to represent the community and the Colonial Born Association doing so on the other?

We put the same question to the secretary of the S.A.I.C. who holds a dual position, being also the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, and we regret to state his reply was evasive. This is what he has had to say: "The steps taken to bring about unity concern only Natal. It did not affect the S.A.I.C." The rest of his reply consists of an argument, as to whether disunity actually existed, which is absolutely irrelevant when a definite step towards unity has already been taken.

Though this may be a matter directly of local concern we believe it affects the whole community for if one limb in the body is diseased the virus is bound to spread throughout and ruin the whole system.

# WOMEN AND "HONOUR"

IT becomes daily more evident that the way to stop war is not to fight. It is absurd to say in one breath that only a few people in any country want war, and then to assert that no way can be found to stop a threatened war. We should not grant such helpless stupidity. A way can be found. Soldiers must refuse to fight; men must oppose conscription; labour unions should refuse to make or ship munitions. Peace women should stage a spectacular anti-war crusade.

Our "statesmen" will not help us, stricken as they are by a paralysis of fear, or corrupted by munition makers and war profiteers. As a recent writer has said, "They flout and betray the spirit of man."

In order to stimulate resistance to conscription, women should take the most difficult step. They must define a new conception of "honour." They should announce boldly that the old-fashioned idea of "defending one's country" is nonsense. The life of a nation is no longer such a sacred thing that boys must face machine guns, tanks, bombs, and gas poisoning in order to "save" their country.

To the young man summoned by the government to go to war, we will say, "Give up now. Surrender. Go to prison and be called a coward. Endure suffering and ridicule, but cling to your own life for no government is fit to demand your agonizing death. Something much more important than one nation now demands your allegiance; in the name of Humanity you must refuse to kill."

The State—"that monster, the State," as Lin Yutang calls it—has taken on the proportions of such a hideous bloody Juggernaut that it will force its subjects to rebel. Few of us, if the truth were told, have ever really had a warm love for the abstraction called the State. If there had been such a warm devotion to it, there would be no necessity for states to do what they are all forced to do—conscript their boys' lives to fight a war.

It has been said that a national trial of non resistance has never been made; however, the case of Korea seems to provide such an example, for when Japan seized her she offered no opposition whatever. Her collapse may be compared with the case of Ethiopia. The Ethiopians were no more able to stand up against the Italians than were the Koreans able to withstand the Japanese, but the poor Ethiopians were egged on to make a pitiful attempt at resistance. Nothing was gained; many men died; women and babies were bombed and killed. In the end, their country was ruined and lost.

By  
JANE GARROTT  
In "Unity" (Chicago)

The Koreans did not try to "noble" and "brave" and to oppose the Japanese. If they had fought, they would have lost their lives and their country, too. As it was, they saved their lives at least

## Cable Messages From India

(From Our Correspondent)

OUR correspondent at Bombay sends the following cable message dated May 13.

Mahatma Gandhi has returned to Rajkot where the dispute between the Ruler and the subjects over the Reforms scheme has not yet been settled. Gandhiji will not leave Rajkot until the dispute is settled.

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Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has cancelled his recently reported East African tour.

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The President of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas has sent a message to the Minister of the Interior repudiating the statement made by him during the debate on the Transvaal Bill that the majority of Indians in South Africa were of the depressed class. The depressed classes in India has become a thing of the past and the message states that they are no longer suffering any civil or social disabilities.

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Public opinion in India is strongly opposed to the segregation measure which is at present Parliament.

and many of their countrymen's. But why do I say "at least"? I should say "at most" for their lives were the most valuable things in their country. We are still victimised by the foolish old ideas of "patriotism and honour."

We should learn something from the Koreans. It is clear that the western idea of "springing to the defence of the fatherland" is a false and cruel idea when it forces young men to bleed in a perfectly hopeless cause. We shall now go further and say it is a false and cruel idea when it forces young men to go out and kill other nationals on the assumption that their country is more

sacred than their own lives and can be "saved" by wholesale slaughter of other nationals called the "enemy." The whole idea of patriotism and honour as now accepted should be repudiated. The individual survival of young men who refuse warfare for the sake of humanity must be safeguarded from the supreme disaster of war. Not the death of one nation is to be dreaded so much as the destruction of civilization. Not the continued brutality of dictators nor the darkening shadow of totalitarianism could be worse for mankind than the recurrence of another world war. Indeed, it is clear that the evils of dictators and Fascists have sprung up as a direct result of the last war. How can we dare to risk another one?

How can we dare to risk our lives under our present governments? They are dominated by statesmen so bankrupt in mental resources that the only method they can think of to get us out of the miserable bogs of suspicion and fear into which we are now sinking is to build with ferocious zeal still larger pyramids of expensive munitions with which to kill each others' citizens!

It is clear that only the individual's rebellion against the military policies of our governments can save us.

And if our country is invaded? The counsel still is surrender and compromise. This is the only sensible and honourable course to pursue, the only way to protect the lives of our women and children. My young Chinese friend in Manila thinks he should go to help his countrymen fight against Japan. I say, "Don't fight. Stay out of that bloody horrible confusion. The 'victory' of either China or Japan cannot lead to a just or lasting peace. Nothing permanent can be gained by your killing a few Japanese boys. Just think for a moment what you will be expected to do. A young man who returned from the last world war refused to talk of his experiences till one day when his father insisted that he should break his silence—"I found myself face to face with one of the 'enemy'—a mere schoolboy. He was trembling with fear and so was I. We grappled but I was stronger than he and I beat him to death.....When I left the spot I was covered with the blood and brains of that boy, and he lay dead. 'Neither of us wanted to kill the other.' There's nothing brave or noble about war."

I have reached a point where I am filled with scorn and horror when I hear adults urge young men to get ready for warfare. Let middle-aged men and women, politicians and jingoists bear in mind the details of fighting—such details as the story gives above—and ask themselves if they would like to

take part in this picture. They should be ashamed to ask boys to do what they could never do themselves:

Prepare to "defend" your country!  
Get ready for shame and degradation.  
Get ready for brutality.  
Get ready for hatred and insanity and murder.

Get ready to turn yourself into a beast.

Get ready to do all these things and call this "protecting" your fatherland or saving democracy! How monstrously absurd!

The security of no nation on earth is worth this price: the wholesale degradation and slaughter of its young men.

Radical propaganda which has lured hotheads to state their heroic urges by "saving democracy" on the barricades is losing its appeal as it becomes clear that violence can only beget greater confusion and more violence, and that killing for a radical cause is no more lastingly effective than killing for any other kind of cause. Thus the last stand for the old conception of honourable fighting fades away.

The man-made conception of honour must yield to a more exalted type of devotion. Mothers should proclaim the new ideal that calls for protection of humanity first. Such a new woman-made idea of honour may yet save the

world. Young men should answer the challenge and rise to it. They must have the courage to refuse warfare, They should say to their legislator, to industrialists seeking investments to pugnacious army officers, and to hysterical radicals who would see the world drenched in blood in an effort to vindicate some new revolutionary theory. "We will no longer kill for you!"

It is a hopeful sign that the old conception of nationalism upon which has been built all the elaborate rituals of modern patriotism and state worship is under fire from the best minds in most countries. How much longer shall we allow our youths to be sacrificed to moribund sentiments?

## TRANSVAAL BILL COMMITTEE STAGE

THE House went into committee on the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill on Thursday May 11.

The first clause, which extends the protection hitherto afforded to Asiatics who are illegally occupying premises in proclaimed areas until April 30, 1941, was approved.

The Minister of the Interior (Mr. R. Stuttaford) moved an amendment to Clause 2, which prohibits the grant of certificates for issue to Asiatics for new trading licences in the Transvaal until May 1, 1941, except with the Minister's permission. Mr. Stuttaford said his amendment included hawkers' licences in the protection afforded by Clause 1. The amendment would not prevent old licences from being renewed.

Mr. L. Blackwell (U.P., Kensington) said under the Transvaal Ordinance of 1931 governing the issues of licences, Asiatics had to obtain a new certificate if there was a change in the personnel of the management of the business, if the premises in which the business was carried on were changed, or if the name of the business was changed.

In terms of the clause, any Asiatic who perhaps moved into better premises would be refused the necessary certificate, as in the case of a new application.

The Bill was introduced as a "pegging" measure, but in this instance it would go further and put people out of business. He moved an amendment specifying new licences.

Mr. B. J. Schoeman (U.P., Fordsburg) moved as an amendment the addition of two sub-clauses which, he said, would prevent the hiring of licensed premises by a European to an Asiatic and also prohibit European nominees from obtaining certificates and licences on behalf of Asiatics.

### Mr. Hofmeyr Moves Amendment

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr (U.P., Johannesburg North) said he hoped the Minister would not accept Mr. Schoeman's amendment, which would neutralise Clause 4, giving the Minister powers of exemption.

He moved an amendment which, he said, would be more satisfactory than Mr. Blackwell's.

Mr. B. B. Molteno (Native Representative, Cape Western) said he supported Mr. Hofmeyr's amendment, which was more succinct than Mr. Blackwell's but had the same effect—to enable Asiatics to interchange their licence.

Mr. Molteno moved an amendment deleting the paragraph dealing with removal to new premises.

Mr. Stuttaford moved an amendment to the new sub Clause 3 moved by Mr. Schoeman, which, he said, should meet Mr. Hofmeyr's objections.

The legislation dealing with licences insisted that when businesses changed their managers, names or ownership they should go to the authorities for a new certificate.

Mr. Stuttaford said he followed that advice and its equivalent was that new licences should not be granted except by the Minister's authority.

Mr. Stuttaford said he could not accept Mr. Hofmeyr's and Mr. Blackwell's amendments.

Mr. D. C. Burnside (labour, Umbilo) said the Minister had told the House during his speech on the second reading that he wanted to produce a Bill which he was satisfied the Indian would not be able to evade in the spirit. They were entitled to ask him that the Administration should not be allowed to evade the spirit of the Minister's second reading speech.

Mr. Stuttaford had said that this was interim legislation aiming at the pre-

vention of further penetration, but from this clause they saw that during the two years during which the Bill would operate it would be possible to take away some of the existing licences.

### Mr. Blackwell On Vested Rights

Mr. Blackwell said about 80 Indians had vested rights on the Rand and were protected by the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. That part of the agreement which affected them had been translated into an Act of Parliament in 1919 and had not been repealed.

Mr. Blackwell moved a new sub-clause which exempted those Indians from the provisions of Clause 2.

Mr. Stuttaford said he would try to make clear his attitude to the 1919 Act. In the view of the ordinary man, law and justice were not synonymous terms. He based his argument on justice.

In 1919 there had been a number of people who were illegally on the Reef. In 1919 their occupation was condoned.

Mr. Blackwell's argument was that in this Bill the Minister had taken the power to prevent any Asiatics in the Transvaal from leaving their business without his express consent. All other Indians who had had businesses in 1919 outside the Reef had been there legally.

Mr. Blackwell asked that the people who had committed a crime and had it condoned should be better treated than these others, who had committed no crime. Mr. Blackwell had referred to about 80 cases out of ten times the number in the Transvaal.

He was to apply this treatment, which Mr. Blackwell had himself described as very harsh, to 700 people who had never acted illegally and not to the 80 others, whose crime had been condoned.

"I say, as a matter of justice, that is very unjust indeed whether it is legal or not," declared the Minister.

Mr. Hofmeyr wanted him to say whether he would carry out clause 4 in the spirit of the 1927 agreement, as confirmed by the 1932 agreement. That agreement was rather meaningless in the sense that the ordinary man did not know what all its words meant.

What it meant in effect was: "You shall give these fellows a fair deal, provided that in doing so you do not give anybody else a bad one." That was the spirit in which he would carry out this clause.

Then there was the question of management. Management did not connote exactly the same as manager. In the paragraph under discussion management was referred to.

He could appreciate why the Provincial Council had insisted that if "funny" changes took place the Indian firm should go back to the people who had granted the original certificate and ascertain if they were prepared to renew it. This prevented abuses. He could not accept either Mr. Hofmeyr's or Mr. Blackwell's amendment.

Mr. Madeley appealed to the Minister to accept Mr. Hofmeyr's amendment, which would help to "peg down" present conditions.

Mr. Hofmeyr, referring to the "Minister's attitude to agreements," said: "He has said in effect that he cannot be worried by agreements. This is a

very unfortunate statement. As regards the round-table agreement, he said that if he could interpret it as meaning that he must be generally fair to Asiatics, "fair to Asiatics without being unfair to anybody else," he could act in that spirit.

"But the agreement is much more definite than that in regard to trading licences—its spirit is not one of restriction, but rather of expanding facilities."

Mr. Hofmeyr said the Minister had also apparently no respect for Smuts-Gandhi agreement. He had been at pains to distinguish between law and justice. Mr. Blackwell was basing his case not on law, but on justice, which demanded that when rights had been conceded in terms of an agreement those rights should be honoured and not taken away arbitrarily.

It was said that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement had not been observed by Asiatics between 1914 and 1919. In what way? In any case, Parliament in 1919 had accepted that agreement as not having been broken and given effect to the European side of the bargain.

Mr. G. H. Nicholls (U.P., Zululand) said Mr. Blackwell attached an extraordinary amount of importance to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement as though it had some international sanctity. He

suggested that Mr. Blackwell should consider the conditions under which the agreement was entered into, with all due regard to the welfare and well-being of the country.

Mr. Hofmeyr's amendment exempting Asiatics from having to obtain new licences, due to change of personnel except where a European was involved or the nature of the business changed, was defeated by 76 votes to 11. Those voting in the minority were the Native and Labour Party representatives and Messrs. Hofmeyr, Blackwell, Alexander, Kentridge, E. C. Hooper (Dominion, Durban Berea), J. A. Bowie (U.P., East London City) and Dr. Shearer.

Mr. Madeley and Mr. Bowie left the House before the division on Mr. Blackwell's amendment, the minority vote being decreased to nine, so that a count was not taken. The amendment was thus rejected.

All Mr. Stuttaford's and Mr. Schoeman's amendments were approved. When the clause was put, as amended, Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger (Native Representative, Cape Eastern) called a division, but as only Messrs. Hofmeyr, Blackwell, Alexander, Kentridge, Hooper and Molteno and Mrs. Ballinger voted against the clause, a count was again not taken and the clause was approved.

## EUROPEAN PRESS OPINION ON TRANSVAAL BILL AND PROPOSED PASSIVE RESISTANCE

### 'Rand Daily Mail'

The *Rand Daily Mail* of Friday, May 5, writes:—

"Ever since 1885, when Asiatics were prohibited from owning fixed property in the Transvaal, one restraint after another has been imposed upon the members of this helpless and voteless community. In 1908 the Transvaal Gold Law added new disabilities, and the Licences Control Ordinance of 1931 had hardly tightened up the existing laws before the Land Tenure Act of 1932 brought additional restrictions. Even now, with the evidence of the Feetham Commission before it, the Government hesitates to grant exemptions from the Gold Law restrictions to a negligible body of Asiatics in Johannesburg and on the Reef.

"It would, indeed, be difficult to exaggerate the unfortunate lot of the Indian community under existing conditions. The fact that, unlike the natives and the coloured people, they have no say whatever in the government of the country is bad enough; but it is the economic hardship which presses most heavily on the Asiatic

people. Trade is practically their only means of livelihood; they have adopted it in response to the needs of the European community. Yet now, under the interim legislation proposed by the Government, trading licences for Indians are virtually being suspended for a period of two years, while the recommendations of the Feetham Commission are again being held in abeyance.

"A better way could easily have been found. On two previous occasions—curiously enough, under Dr. Malan's auspices—repressive legislation against Asiatics has been held up to permit of round-table discussions between the Union and the Government of India. Those discussions have produced the happiest results, and there is little doubt that another conference at this stage would have been equally fruitful. But by proceeding with interim legislation of a most drastic kind the Government may possibly bar the door to negotiations with India. From the point of solving the Indian problem, that would be a grave misfortune; from the standpoint of friendly relationships between two

parts of the British Commonwealth, it would be even more regrettable."

The *Rand Daily Mail* of Tuesday, May 9, writes under the caption "Passive Resistance Is A Blunder":—

"Rarely in its history has the Indian community of South Africa stood in such urgent need of wise leadership as it does to-day. Let us say at once that we recognise the grievances which have led up to the decision of Transvaal Indians to inaugurate a passive resistance campaign against the Asiatic Land and Trading Bill. Ever since 1885, the Asiatics of South Africa have had to endure one legislative indignity after another, their lot has deteriorated steadily until to-day they are among the most repressed races in the country. And now, under the Trading Bill, they are threatened with further disabilities.

"But, strongly as they are entitled to feel about this constant interference with their rights and economic opportunities, it is necessary that they should face the facts. The truth is that a passive resistance campaign can only do further damage to their cause. Conditions to-day are not the same as they

were thirty years ago. Then, the Asiatic question had not assumed the dimensions of a major political issue; the forces of reaction were weaker, and less vocal, than they are at present. Mahatma Gandhi succeeded because there was widespread public sympathy for his aims and ideals. To-day there may still be a certain amount of pious sympathy for the Indians of South Africa, but it is less articulate; reaction has gained the upper hand.

"In these circumstances, a passive resistance campaign by the Asiatics can only have one effect; and that is to strengthen the hands of those who are determined at all costs to oppress and ostracise them. At the same time, it will weaken those who, in the face of prejudice and obloquy, are still trying to help them.

"For the Indians of South Africa that would be a tragic misfortune. Passive resistance will not prevent the passage of the Asiatic Trading Bill, which, for all its faults, does not seriously interfere with rights already established. It may easily, however, hasten the adoption of the out-and-out segregation proposals which have been temporarily postponed. We do not suggest that, if the Indians accept the present Bill, they will avoid complete segregation in future; but there is at any rate a prospect that within the next two years the Asiatic question in South Africa will be approached from a more sane and liberal standpoint than has hitherto prevailed. The Indians of the Transvaal must not destroy that prospect.

#### 'The Star'

*The Star* (Johannesburg) of May 5 while not favouring the Transvaal Bill

says, "a situation has not yet been reached when the disciples of passive resistance are justified in advocating this course to their fellow-Indians." The paper advises Indians at this juncture to follow the lead given in the House of Assembly by Mr. Hofmeyr, who said he would support this interim measure, equally because it gives the Minister breathing space to tackle the problem in its wider aspects and because it did not commit the House to the acceptance of any principle of segregation based on legislative compulsion." In conclusion our contemporary writes:

"We have said many times that the Indian problem in South Africa is far from being an insoluble one. Indeed, once immigration ceased, there was every reason to claim that, by what Mr. Hofmeyr calls, 'co-operation, consultation and consent,' a fair and just settlement of the Indian status was always within reach of those anxious to achieve it. And surely a contented Indian community, no longer an immigrant menace to the Union, but eager to reinforce the elements of law, order and progress in the nation, is infinitely to be preferred to an Indian helotry, driven by persistent legislative oppression into the ranks of the politically dispossessed."

#### 'Natal Mercury'

The *Natal Mercury* of May 10, writes under the caption "A Foolish Decision":

"It is to be regretted that the Indian community of the Transvaal should have decided to reinforce their protest against the Asiatic (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill with a campaign of passive resistance. They have ample

cause for complaint, we admit, but surely they could have devised some better way of winning public sympathy and support than to threaten civil disobedience."

The paper gives the consolation that the measure is an interim one, and refers to the Union Government's preparedness to discuss their proposals with two or three representatives from India, and says: "Surely it would be wiser for the Indian community in South Africa to urge the early summoning of this meeting, at which the Government's proposals for segregation will loom large, than to do anything now to prejudice this issue." In conclusion the paper writes:

A possible solution that suggests itself is a trial period of voluntary segregation, during which definite areas could be set aside for the settlement of Asiatics. No race in the world is more conscious of caste distinctions, or more scrupulous in observing them. Surely then, it is not unreasonable to expect them to see the advantage of establishing themselves in their own exclusive area, where they can work out their own destiny as Indian South African. The question of granting Parliamentary representation to Indian citizens in South Africa will no doubt also be discussed, and we would urge the Government to put forward concrete proposals, preferably a plan for communal representation to the Senate. It is manifestly unfair that the Native people should enjoy indirect representation while the Indians are allowed to remain completely voiceless."

## S.A.I.C. ADVISES ITS TRANSVAAL BRETHREN

MR. V. S. C. PATHER, President of the South African Indian Congress, has issued the following statement on the present critical position of the Indian community:—

"Since December last year the Indian community has been greatly perturbed at the far-reaching restrictive measures proposed by the Minister of the Interior.

"The position has been forced with such rapidity that the Transvaal (Asiatic Land and Trading) Bill, which was introduced on May 5, has already reached the report stage. It is not surprising that the Indian community is bewildered to such an extent that isolated action has been taken by a group of members of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

"It is therefore my duty as President of the South African Indian Congress to clarify the constitutional position for the guidance of constituent bodies.

"Decisions involving policies affecting the Indian community in South Africa can be made only at a conference of the South African Indian Congress and for that reason a conference was convened to take place at Capetown on May 23 and 24. At the request of the Transvaal members, however, this conference has been adjourned, probably until the first week in June.

"The Transvaal Indian Congress has further intimated that a mass meeting under its aegis will be held on May 28 to decide the line of action to be taken against the Bill by Transvaal Indians.

"The Transvaal (Asiatic Land and Trading) Bill is, by virtue of its provisions, a Transvaal measure, and in terms of the South African Indian Congress constitution, which provides for Provincial autonomy, the Transvaal

Indians have the right to take whatever action they please.

"But the Bill is only an interim measure and the avowed intention of the Minister of the Interior is to introduce a comprehensive Bill involving the segregation of Indians throughout the Union.

"In this regard the South African Indian Congress is the only body competent to decide the line of action to be taken.

"I have, therefore, convened an executive meeting to be held in Durban on May 21, whereat the Agent-General for India, Mr. B. Rama Rau, will be present. This meeting will decide the issues arising out of the action of the Transvaal Indian Congress and will also arrange for the holding of the South African Indian Congress Conference."

# ALLEGED ASIATIC ENCROACHMENT

## CONGRESS PETITION AGAINST ALLISON'S MOTION

THE Natal Indian Congress has petitioned the Natal Provincial Council against its adoption of the motion of Mr. A. T. Allison on Asiatic encroachment. The petition was submitted on May 15.

Mr. Allison's resolution views with alarm the serious Asiatic encroachment in this province and supports wholeheartedly any legislation that will reserve areas for Europeans."

"The resolution the Congress has stated, 'is based upon conjecture and is not supported by facts, and is an attack upon the rights solemnly promised to us, and which rights we have enjoyed for the past 75 years.

"We submit the following extracts from records in the City Estates Department, Durban, showing the number and rateable value of properties transferred from Europeans to Asiatics in old Borough area between May 1, 1935, and February 20, 1939 :

	No. of Properties	Rateable Value
Ward I	3	£15,340
Ward II	30	38,110
Ward III	6	7,820
Ward IV	...	.....
Ward V	...	8,560
Ward VI	5	9,800
Ward VII	52	78,450
Ward VIII	6	6,430
	107	£164,510

This total acquisition divided by the number of years averages at £41,400 per year.

"The total Indian population of Durban, according to the census of 1936, was 18,226. Therefore the acquisition per individual Indian living in the Borough of Durban is less than 10 per cent. per annum.

"Wards II and VII in which 82 properties of a rateable value of £116,560 have been acquired, are the two wards in which the Indian has carried on his commercial activities and resided since he first came to this Province some 75 years ago. These two wards consist of the predominantly Indian areas such as Grey Street, Commercial Road, Queen Street, Prince Edward Street, Alice Street, Beatrice Street, North Street, Lorne Street and Mitchell Road.

"The total rateable property owned by 88,226 Indians after 75 years' residence in Durban is at a liberal estimate put down at £4,000,000, out of a total valuation of £48,998,500.

"The European population of Durban, according to the 1936 census, is 95,933. The percentage, therefore, of Indian to European ownership is 8.5 per cent. to

91.5 per cent., or £45 for every Indian against £475 for every European person resident in the city of Durban. We maintain that this possession by 88,226 Indians of eight per cent. of the total valuation of the city of Durban cannot

### Messages To Indians In South Africa

#### From The Motherland

THE following messages have been sent to Indians in South Africa through Mr. S. Muthray of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, who is on a visit to India:

Message from Mr. S. Satyamurti M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature and the President of the Indian Overseas Central Association:—"I have a message for the Indians in South Africa, especially to young Indians. Indians born or domiciled in South Africa should learn to look upon South Africa, as their home and fight for their just and legitimate rights of full citizenship. They must be united among themselves and establish friendly contact with other South Africans. There are many and serious difficulties in their way but they will win with faith and courage. I wish them all success."

Message from The Honourable Haridaynath Kunzru, Member of Council of State, and of the Servant's of India Society:—"I deeply sympathise with the Indians of South Africa in the crisis which faces them. Their position is a very difficult one, but they have faced similar situations in the past with courage and determination and succeeded in vindicating the honour of the country to which they belong. I trust that they will show the same unity and self-sacrifice on the present occasion as they have done many a time before. India can be proud of them and will give them her whole hearted support in their struggle to maintain her honour.

by any stretch of imagination constitute a danger to the European or any other section of the community.

"Allegations that Indians are acquiring properties in the select European residential areas of Durban and other

towns of Natal, have evoked considerable agitation to the detriment of the Indian community. These allegations are not borne out by facts. To our knowledge in the past 70 years only about six properties have been acquired by Indians in the Berea proper. In fact one of the most valuable properties owned by Indians in Innes Road has been resold to Europeans.

"By the powers of the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance of 1921, which principle was subsequently embodied in the Boroughs Ordinance and Townships Ordinance of Natal of 1924 and 1926 respectively, the local authorities of Natal have fully used the powers in them of inserting anti-Asiatic clauses in sales of unalienated lands belonging to the boroughs and townships of Natal. These powers have been drastically used to the harm of the Indian community, so much so that the acquisition of properties by Indians is limited to the old-established and alienated areas."

The petition concludes: "Your petitioners respectfully pray that the Honourable House be pleased to take this petition into consideration and to reject the proposed resolution, and for that purpose permit them to be heard through the medium of their representatives or through counsel at the Bar of the House, or refer the subject matter of the resolution for inquiry and report to a Select Committee or a Committee of Inquiry with powers to call for and hear evidence, both written and oral, from all interested parties, including your humble petitioners."

—:O:—

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.

### Piano Lessons

A respectable Indian lady is willing to give Piano lessons to Indian children in Durban. Reasonable fees. Perfect results guaranteed. Write to 'Piano Lessons,' c/o INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

Send your fruit and other produce to :

P. J. KOEN, Market Agent,  
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Rubber Stamps and Labels free.

# Things In General

## Farewell Reception To

Mr. A. P. Naidoo

THE Vedio Dharma Sabha Hall, Stanger, was well filled last Sunday, when the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Stanger Branch) accorded a farewell reception to Mr. A. P. Naidoo, its president, who, accompanied by Mrs. Naidoo and their children, are leaving for India on May 20, on a 6 months' holiday trip. Mr. Naidoo is also the president of the Stanger and District Indian Child Welfare Society. Mr. S. Roopsingh, the chairman, in wishing Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo bon voyage referred to Mr. Naidoo's invaluable services. Mr. Naidoo was garlanded and Mrs. Naidoo was presented with a bouquet. As a mark of appreciation for his many services Mr. Naidoo was presented with a walking stick by the Association. Mr. A. Christopher, who represented the headquarters, associated himself with the tribute paid to Mr. and Mrs. A. P. Naidoo. Amongst other speakers were Messrs. B. Veerasamy, S. Mohideen (Maldstone), P. Thomas, (President Natal Indian Congress, Stanger Branch), S. L. Singh, P. R. Pather, Mrs. G. Christopher (Durban), Messrs. K. Soobramoney, B. R. Naidoo (Pietermaritzburg), P. Luke, Ramsamy Padayachee, Chief A. Lutuli, R. Parmeswar, V. P. Thomas and A. G. Bux Stanger. Mr. Naidoo thanked the Association for the honour done to him and his wife which they greatly appreciated.

## Municipal Indian Employees Get Inadequate Rations

Following a report by Dr. Katherine McNeil, in which she expressed the opinion that the present rations supplied to Indian employees of the Durban Municipality were inadequate in both quality and quantity to be of any real use for health, the Child Health Advisory Sub-Committee has suggested, that they should have soya bean meal and a daily supply of milk added to their rations. It is also recommended that a room be set aside at each of the Corporation Indian barracks for health propaganda purposes and the daily distribution of milk to the families of employees. The Public Health Committee of the City Council decided to hold over these recommendations pending a report on the financial implications. Among other recommendations of the Child Health Advisory Sub-Committee which were also held over for the same reason included the following: That the subject of a reasonable basis for all non-Europeans in Municipal employment receive serious consideration by the City Council. That the subject of a milk supply at a price which can be paid by the most poorly-paid wage earner should receive the serious consideration of the Council.

That the Council represent to the Minister of education the urgent need of a system of health education in schools culminating in the subjects of biology, dietetics, physical culture and physical and mental hygiene, for both girls and boys, with a further course of instruction in mothercraft and general care of the health of the child for girls.

## Sastri College Tennis Courts

Opened

The "realisation of a six-year ambition" was the opening of the two tennis courts at Sastri College on Saturday, May 13, which was performed by Mr. W. H. Anderson, headmaster. Mr. W. R. Wariner, the president of the Sastri College Dramatic Society, the body that was responsible for the building of the courts, outlined the history of the society. "In

## Gandhiji Apologises For Seeking Aid Of Paramount Power

A CABLE message received from our correspondent at Bombay dated May 18 states, that Mahatma Gandhi has renounced the advantages accruing from the award given by the Judge of the Federal Court in the Rajkot dispute in favour of the people and states that in seeking the intervention of the paramount power in settling the dispute, he has committed an error and therefore apologises to all concerned. He appeals to the Ruler of Rajkot to fulfil the peoples expectations.

1934," he said, "we staged our first play, as an outcome of which, we decided to form a society. The next question was what to do with our funds, if we had any. We then had the idea of building these tennis courts. As a result of the annual dramatic festivals, in December last year we had just a little over £100. It was not enough to start, and we had visions of having to wait until July of this year before we could get the required £50. The headmaster, Mr. Henderson, however, said that he could arrange accommodation for £50 so that the courts could be started immediately after the summer vacation." The Mayor of Durban, Mr. Fleming Johnstone was also among the speakers.

## Birth Of The Prophet Mohammed

This being the month in which the Prophet Mohammed was born in 570 A.D., Muslims all over the world have been celebrating it. In Durban Mr. A. M. Mayet, a well-known merchant, gave

a grand feast at his residence in Victoria Street about 300 guests being present. Special songs in praise of the Prophet were rendered by the children which were greatly appreciated by those present.

## Lecture By Rev. H. W. Satchell

A public lecture will be delivered by Rev. H. W. Satchell, who recently arrived from India, on "My visit to India" at the Parsee Rustumjee Hall, 140, Queen Street, Durban, on Monday May 22, at 5.15 p.m.

On Monday, May 8, The Rt. Rev. Dean Palmer of Johannesburg, visited Covent Garden, Kimberley, and in the afternoon Dean Palmer, Dean Chignell and Mrs. Chignell were entertained to tea at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. G. N. Naidoo.

## WANTED

GUAVAS. Good sound fruit only. For information write to:—

C. & E. MORTON (Pty.) Ltd., Box 7, Rossburgh,

or see our representative, Mr. K. V. Govender, any morning at the Municipal Indian Market.

## NOTICE.

### The Kholvad Club And Kholvad Gymkhana

#### First Annual General Meeting

All Kholvadians are hereby notified that the first annual general meeting of the above will be held on the 24th May 1939 in the Patidar Hall, Terrace Road Fordsburg, Johannesburg. Commencing time 11 a.m.

Agenda: (1) Introduction of members list. (2) Constitution, rules and regulations of the Kholvad Club to be formed. (3) Election of office-bearers and members of the board of management. (4) Discussion on the erection of a Gymkhana in Kholvad, India etc. (5) General.

Only the enlisted members who have subscribed, and those who have made arrangements for the payments of their subscriptions as life-members on or before the 23rd inst. will be permitted to speak and vote in the meeting.

Those Kholvadians, omitted to be called upon to subscribe by the Committee, are kindly requested to dispatch their subscriptions to the Secretary: KHOLVAD CLUB, P. O. Box 6590, Johannesburg on or before the 23rd inst.

Organising Committee Kholvad Club: Messrs. H. M. M. Dadoo, M. E. Bhyat, I. S. Saloojee, E. H. M. Patel, E. S. Dangor, S. H. M. Moolla, E. A. Vania, H. E. M. Dendar, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo.

P. O. Box 6590. Phone 33-1918.

Johannesburg

# ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે  
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

ફીનીક્સ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૯ મે ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૨૦



મી. હોફમેયર કહે છે કે ક્રાંસવાલના બીલમાં સેક્રેગેશન નથી.

**મી.** હોફમેયર તરફથી હિંદીઓને આપવા માં આવેલી ચેતવણી વિષે મયા અફ-વાડીયાના અંકમાં અમે ટુકમાંજ સુચન કર્યું હતું. એમ્પાયર યુપની માસીક મીટીંગમાં બાપજી કરતાં મી. હોફમેયરે કહ્યું હતું કે “ક્રાંસવાલના હિંદીઓ એશીયાટીકસ (ક્રાંસવાલ) લેન્ડ ટેન્યુર એન્ડ ટ્રેડિંગ બીલ જે હાલ પાર્લામેન્ટ સમક્ષ આવેલું છે, તેમાં સેક્રેગેશન લટકતું જોઈ રહ્યું છે પરંતુ હકીકતમાં તેવું કંઈ નથી.” ટુક મુદત ઉપર મી. હોફમેયર એક જાહેર સભામાં બાપજી કરતાં બોલ્યા હતા કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના રાજદ્વારીઓ માને છે કે એક વસ્તુને તેના ખર્ચા નામે નહિ બોલાવીને તેઓ પોતાનો ધારેલો હેતુ સાધી શકે છે. અમે મી. હોફમેયરને પૂછીશું કે શું આ કામલામાં તેવું નથી બન્યું? મી. હોફમેયરનો આ બીલની તરફથી આ બાબ માત્ર એટલોજ છે કે જે પ્રતિબંધો તેમાં મુકવામાં આવેલા છે તે પ્રાંતિક અને ગુની-સીપાલીટીના કાયદા કાનુનાના અમલથી હસ્તિ ધરાવી રહ્યા છે. પરંતુ એટલા કારણથી એક પાર્લામેન્ટના કાયદામાં હિંદીઓ પર એક પ્રજા તરીકે હલકાપણનું કલંક લગાડવાનું વાજબી પાતું કરી શકતું નથી, પછી ભલે એ કાયદો ટુક મુદતને માટે હોય કે કાયમને માટે. અને મુલકી પ્રધાને જાતે તો નિપાલસપણે સ્વિકારી લીધેલું છે કે એ સેક્રેગેશનનો કાયદો છે. વળી બીલની ખુદ બાપાપરથી પણ રખડીરે સિદ્ધ થાય છે કે એ સેક્રેગેશનનો કાયદો છે. એટલે મી. હોફમેયર હિંદીઓને એથી વિરુદ્ધ સમજાવવાનો આ આધારે પ્રયત્ન કરે છે એ અમે સમજી નથી શકતા. આ બીલ હિંદીઓની ઉપર હલકાપણની છાપ નથી મારતું એવું પુરવાર કરવું મી. હોફમેયરને ધણુંજ મુશ્કેલ થઈ પડશે.

**બીન-યુરોપીયનોના સંયુક્ત બળનો ભય**

મી. હોફમેયરે વધુમાં જણાવ્યું છે કે હિંદીઓના જે વર્ગ પડી ગયા છે. એક વર્ગ વીનીત છે જે સરકારની સાથે સહકાર કરવા માગે છે અને બીજો વર્ગ ઉદ્ધામ છે જે કાયદાની સામે લડવા માગે છે અને કલહી અને તેડીવાની

સાથે બીન-યુરોપીયનોનું સંયુક્ત બળ ઉભું કરવામાં સહકાર કરી યુરોપીયન વર્ગની સામે થવા માગે છે. બીન-યુરોપીયનોના સંયુક્ત બળથી એટલા બધા ભયભીત થવામાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના ગોરાઓ પોતાના પડખાયાંથીજ ડરતા જણાય છે. જો તેમજ હોય તો તેનો ધ્યાન સહેલો છે, અને તે એ કે, જમનથી અમલ ચલાવવાની નીતી ને ઊડી જાને વધારે ઉદાર નીતી સ્થાપવી. પરંતુ હાલ પુરત બીન-યુરોપીયનોનું સંયુક્ત બળ સ્થાપવાની ચિંતામાં આપણે પડી શકતાજ નથી. હજી તો આપણે આપણી પોતાની કોમ-માંજ ક્યાં સંયુક્ત બળ સ્થાપી શક્યા છીએ કે બીન-યુરોપીયનોના સંયુક્ત બળનો વિચાર કરીએ. હિંદીઓને પોતાનીજ તકલીફો ધણી છે અને તેનેજ પહોંચી વળી નથી શકતાં. સાં પારકાની પંચાંતમાં ક્યાંથીજ પડી શકે. ન્હાની વસ્તુઓ કરવાનીજ શક્તિ નહિ ધરાવતા હોઈએ હારે આપણે મોટીની આકાશાઓ ન કરવી જોઈએ. જો આપણે આપણી પોતાનીજ બહત શુદ્ધ શરૂઆત અને માનભરેલી રીતે લડી શકીશું તો તેમાંજ સમસ્ત દેશની સૌથી ઉત્તમ સેવા થએલી ગણાશે. આપણે અનુકરણીય કામલો ખેંસાડવો જોઈએ. માત્ર બીન-યુરોપીયનોના સંયુક્ત બળની વાતો કરવામાં કશો અર્થ નથી. આથી અમે પ્રજાના અન્ય વર્ગો તે અધારામાં અપલાવવાની સલાહ નથી આપી શકતાં તેમ અમારા પોતાના બાપજીને તેઓને ગેરરસ્તે દોરવાની સલાહ નથી આપી શકતા.

**મી. હોફમેયર સત્યાગ્રહ વખોડી કાઢે છે**

મી. હોફમેયરે હિંદીઓ પચીસ વર્ષ પર ક્યું તેમ કરી પાછી સલામતની બહત અને સવીનમયગ કરશે એવો ભય દર્શાવતાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે “તેઓને પોતાને ખાતર હું આશા રાખું છે કે આવું નહીં બને કેમકે તેમાં તેઓનું હિત સમાયેલું નથી.” મી. હોફમેયર હમેશાં જીવનની ઉચ્ચ વસ્તુઓની, ઉચ્ચ આદર્શોની વાતો કરતા આવેલા છે અને તેથી અમે તેમના પ્રત્યે માન ધરાવતા આવ્યા છીએ. તેમની એ ઉક્તિઓનો ખ્યાલ કરતાં તેમની આ વાત અમારાથી સમજી શકાતી નથી. શું હિતનો અર્થ તેઓ હિંદીઓનું આર્થિક હિત કહી રહ્યા છે? મી. હોફમેયર, કે જેમણે સિદ્ધાંત ને ખાતર પ્રધાન મંડળમાં પોતે આર્થિક દ્રષ્ટિ ધણેજ લાભદાયી હોદ્દો ભાગવી રહ્યા હતા તેને પણ લાત મારી દીધી હતી, તેઓ શું હિંદીઓને એવી શીખામણ આપશે કે તેઓએ પોતાનાં અને પોતાની આખી પ્રજાના યથ

રહેલાં માનભંગને સહી લેવા અને પોતાના ટુંચ આર્થિક લાભોને ખાતર પોતાનાં પવિત્ર સિદ્ધાંતોને પોતાના પગ તળે કચડી નાખી અર્ધા જંગલીપણાનું જીવન ગાળવું? મી. હોફમેયરની પાસેથી અમે આ કરતા વધારે સારી દોરવણીની આશા રાખીએ છીએ.

**હુર્નુલેન્ડ અનુકરણ કરશે કે સહયુગો અલગ કરશે**

ક્રાંસવાલના બીલપરની પોતાની ટીકામાં ‘નાટાલ મરકયુરી’ એ એક સ્થળે આ પ્રમાણે કહેલું છે :

“જમતમાં ચાલી બેઠોનું વધારે જ્ઞાન અને તેના પાલન વિષેની ચુસ્તતા હિંદી પ્રજાનાં જેટલાં બીજ કોઈ પણ પ્રજામાં નથી.” મનુષ્યની ખાસીયત છે કે બીજના દોષ તેની પુરત નજરે પડે છે જ્યારે પોતાના દોષો તે જોઈ શકતો નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનમાં હિંદીઓમાંથી ચાલી બેઠો સવેગે નષ્ટ થતા જાય છે ત્યારે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની ગોરી પ્રજાઓમાં તે ઉઝા મુજ નાખી રહ્યા છે. કાળો, જૂરી અને પીળો પ્રજાઓ સામેના ગોરી પ્રજાના દેશભાવને બાજુએ મુકીએ તો પણ અંગ્રેજો, આફ્રિકાન્સો અને મલુદીઓ વચ્ચેના બેઠો શું આ દેશમાં દિન પર દિન વધારે તીવ્ર નથી થતા જતા? શું એ વસ્તુ ચાતિભેદ કરતાં કંઈ બીજન છે? અને શું દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના ગોરા ની બુદ્ધિ અન્ય દેશોના સહયુગો અલગ કરવા ને બદલે તેઓના સૂત થતા દોષોનું અનુકરણ કરવામાં તેને ગર્વ લેવાનું શીખવે છે? જો તેમ હોય તો સુધરેલી પ્રજાના એ લક્ષણ ન ગણાય.

**ક્રાંસવાલના બીલ સામે ચીનાઓનો વિરોધ**

એશીયાટીક બીલની બાબતમાં યુનીયનના ચાઇનીઝોમાં મહારાટ થયો છે. તેમના કોનસલ તરફથી યુનીયન સરકારને એક અરજી કરવામાં આવી છે જેમાં એ કાયદામાંથી ચીનાઓને બીજા એશીયાટીકથી બાદ ગણવાને માગણી કરવામાં આવી છે અને જેમ જાપાનીઝ અને સીરીયનને એશીયાટીકની બાબતમાં મજબૂતામાં આવતા નથી તેમ ચીનાઓને પણ તેમાંથી બાદ કરવાની અરજી કરી છે. ચીના અને જાપાન એક જાત તરીકે તો એક બીજના પીત્તાઇજ ગણાય પણ ફેર મોટા તરવારનો છે. અસારે તો યુરોપીયન પ્રજામાં આય તરવાર થી તોળાય છે. ચીનની પાસે લાંબી તરવાર આવશે હારે અરજીની પણ જરૂર નહિ રહે.