

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

Right Of Indians Abroad To Look Up To Motherland

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU issued the following message through a representative of the United Press of India on his way to Bombay en route to Ceylon: "I am going to Ceylon at a time when great problems face the Congress organisation and the international situation continues to hover over the brink of war. I feel I must carry out the directions of the A.I.C.C. My being sent to Ceylon is proof of the importance attached by the Congress to the status and conditions of Indians abroad. This question refers not only to Ceylon but in South and East Africa and elsewhere where it is of paramount importance and the honour of India is involved in it. Every Indian abroad carries a bit of India with him and he has a right to look to his motherland for help and protection in case of need. To-day we may not be in a position to give that help fully or to protect him as we should. But we recognise our obligation and will give full effect in time to come. Meanwhile I earnestly hope that my visit to Ceylon will bear fruit and will result in an amicable settlement of the problems."

'Madras Mail' On S. A. Indian

Question

The *Madras Mail* comments as follows on the South African Indian question. Its comments are specially worthy of note as coming from an Anglo-Indian paper which has no affinity with the so-called extremists of India: "If there is anyone thing about which all communities in India are united, it is the demand for just treatment for Indians abroad. Their spokesmen have left no doubt that each community, whether European, or Indian or Parsi, sympathises sincerely with the hardships of Indians abroad and demands that they be treated fairly.....The Union Government have failed entirely to realise either the seriousness of their proposals virtually to segregate Indians domiciled in the Union or the reaction on public opinion in this country of their general attitude towards such Indians. They seem to regard it as a purely domestic issue to be decided wholly without

consideration of Indian or world opinion. They are wrong, as sooner or later, they will discover."

All-India Congress Supports Passive Resisters

A Reuter's message from Wardha (India), dated August 11 states:—A working committee of Congress has

A Poem

Do not insult thyself by yielding
to diffidence.

Be not downcast at the menace
of danger.

Be free from fear.

Rouse thine own power to conquer
all peril.

Protect the weak, resist the evil-
doer.

Never own thyself to the poor in
spirit and helpless.

Be free from fear.

And keep firm thy trust in thine
own strength.

When duty sends her call to thee,
silently and humbly offer thine all.

Be free from fear

and prove thy manhood in diffi-
cult endeavour.

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

passed a resolution congratulating passive resisters in South Africa on their restraint and expressing the hope of an honourable settlement. Should all attempts at an honourable settlement fail, the committee assures the passive resisters that the whole of India would support them in their struggle.

Swami Bhawani Dayal On Non-European Front

Swami Bhawani Dayal, president of the Natal Indian Congress, in an interview with the Associated Press of India at Patna is reported to have said:— "The question of a non-European front

has repeatedly been discussed by the South African Congress and every time the proposal came up for consideration it was rejected after the fullest and freest discussion. The problems of the three races in South Africa, namely those of Bantu, coloured people and Indians had nothing in common he said. The interests of the three races were different and often antagonistic to each other. A united front of such diverse and even conflicting interests can only create confusion. For the Indian it could bring nothing but disaster."

Scheme To Increase British Settlers In Kenya

The Government of Kenya has been authorised by the Colonial Secretary to borrow £250,000 towards a settlement scheme with the object of increasing the number of British settlers in the Colony, so states a Reuter's message from Nairobi dated August 11.

There is evidently ample room in Kenya for an increase in the number of British settlers but there is no room for Indians, who have settled in that Colony for very many years and have made the largest contribution towards its development and prosperity, to be allowed to live there as self-respecting human beings. And the strangest of all things is that the British Government is a party to such a policy.

Protest Against Control Of The Press

The following statement has been issued by the provisional executive committee appointed by the conference of South African editors, which has been sitting in Johannesburg for some days: "In view of Mr. Stuttaford's speech on the question of Press legislation, it may be stated that the general meeting of editors of South Africa has completed the preliminary draft of the constitution of a new society of South African editors and newspapers, which is being established with the following declared objects:—(1) To promote, preserve and defend the freedom, status and integrity of the newspaper and periodical Press, and to resist any form of State control of the newspaper Press; (2) To discourage publication in periodicals or newspapers of matter which does not conform with the code of ethics laid down in the constitution."

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18TH, 1939

Unbecoming Attack On The Agent-General

IF we are not in favour of the existence of the Government of India Agency in this country it is because of its impotency in regard to protecting the rights and interests of the local Indian community and the honour of India. The Agency is obliged to fulfil no other purpose than that. It is not expected to indulge in partisanship. It is expected to take account of the voice of the majority of the people and to see that the organisation it recognises as representative of the community is truly representative and conducts its affairs constitutionally. This we fear has not been complied with in the past and to that extent, in our opinion, the Agency has not acted as it should have done.

It would, however, be entirely wrong on our part to expect the Agency to be our guide and mentor in all matters affecting us. There is a vast difference between the Agency of the Government of India and Ambassadors of other independent countries. In so far as India is concerned the Government is not the Government of the people. There is complete estrangement between the people and the Government. If it were not so it would not be necessary for the people always to goad the Government to act in matters of public interest.

The Government of an independent country will make it its own business to see that its national honour is upheld. In regard to India the Government has shown no inclination to do so. It has always acted when pressure has been brought on it by the people, and then too, it has done so half-heartedly. That is the unfortunate position of India. The position of the Agency of the Government of India is, therefore, different to that of an Ambassador of an independent State.

It is entirely wrong, therefore, for us to expect that we can behave like spoilt and ill-bred children and that the Agency would minister over all our needs.

We notice that the blame for the murderous attacks that were made recently in Johannesburg by some hooligans on those who advocated passive resistance has been put on the shoulders of the present Agent-General. He is also blamed for failing to advise our people that the time for passive resistance had not yet arrived. The Agent-General can only offer advice, and he did not fail to do so. But in view of what we have said above it is questionable whether the people would believe him to be competent enough

to offer that advice. If Dr. Dadoo and his associates have postponed passive resistance, be it remembered, they have done so only because they have been advised to do so by Mahatma Gandhi, who has asked them to postpone it for a short time, as he is himself in communication with the Ministers and is hopeful for an honourable settlement. The present Congress leaders in South Africa have not won the confidence of the people to the extent that the latter could put their implicit trust in them to do the right and honourable thing. Their past actions bare ample proof of that.

It will therefore serve no useful purpose to fling mud at the present Agent-General or the Agency. The Agent-General has constantly been asking the community to unite and to speak with one voice. Have we taken his advice? If not why blame the Agent-General? The Agent-General did not ask us to demonstrate what wild beasts we are capable of becoming. Perhaps in his innermost heart he must be feeling ashamed of having to represent a community capable of such heinous deeds. The Agent-General has not given his blessings to passive resistance because the Government he represents has not recognised civil disobedience even in India. That does not necessarily mean that he can or should be capable of staying the hands of those who are advocates of that weapon as the only honourable means left for the community for the redress of their grievances.

What the Agent-General has not done, and what is certainly in his power to do, is to question the right of the Congress, which has been recognised as the representative organisation of the community, both by the Government of India and the Government of the Union, to function in the manner it is doing after the sorry disclosures of its unconstitutional working all these years. It was in his power to compel the officials of that organisation to forthwith put their house in order and to refuse to have anything to do with them until and unless they did so. For our misdeeds and misbehaviour we have to blame ourselves and not the Agency.

A vile and filthy attack on the Agent-General has been made by *Indian Views*, especially in its Gujarati column, which paper, only a few weeks ago, wrote a very congratulatory article when the knighthood was conferred on the Agent-General. Why this sudden change of front? Is it because the Agent-General has not lent his influence

in propping up the Congress edifice which is on the verge of being collapsed? We can see no other reason for this sudden, filthy and unbecoming outburst.

Permanent Solution Of Indian Problem

THE political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* states:—

A "permanent solution" of the Indian problem in South Africa is being sought at present by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford. Officials of his department, I understand, have advised that one of the essential aspects of the plan is the question of parliamentary representation for the Union's Indian population. The scheme is to give the Indians similar representation to that which is enjoyed by Natives through the medium of their three European spokesmen in Parliament and the Senate. If it is decided to have "Indian M.P.s," two of them will probably represent Natal and the third the Transvaal and the rest of the Union. The scheme is part of an even wider settlement that is being sought. Mr. Stuttaford has made it clear that there is not to be another round table conference, although he is willing to meet a delegation from India and discuss with them the line of Government policy which is decided upon.

The difficulties of the situation have been considerably eased by a change in Indian opinion in the country. According to opinion in two leading Indian newspapers, there is now a possibility that the community will agree to residential segregation, provided that adequate guarantee of commercial rights is given and there is an extension of political privilege. The political representation will probably be conditional on the Indians accepting the principle of residential segregation.

If Mr. Stuttaford is reported correctly we must make it once again quite clear that the Indian community is not going to accept Parliamentary representation on the same lines as has been given to the Natives. If political franchise is ever to be granted to Indians it must be on a common basis with the Europeans and no other. The Congress has rejected any other form of franchise and so has India. Liberal-minded Europeans are not in favour of the type of representation given to the Natives and the Natives themselves are not satisfied with it. Members like Senator Brookes have put up a strenuous fight for justice for the Natives but they have more than once realised that their voice is a voice in the wilderness.

The *Rand Daily Mail* correspondent refers to two leading Indian newspapers having expressed an opinion according to which there is a probability that the community will agree to residential segregation, provided that adequate guarantee of commercial rights is given and there is an extension of political "privilege." In so far as we are concerned we plead not guilty to having expressed any such opinion. Any basis for a permanent solution of the Indian problem can be conceived only when all anti-Indian legislation based on race or colour discrimination is altogether removed from the Statute

Book. It will be then for the Indians to prove their earnest that they do not wish to unnecessarily hurt the feelings of the White race nor do they aspire for any political ascendancy in this country. What they ask is merely the right to live as self-respecting citizens with equal opportunities for their upliftment.

Sorely the intelligence of the Europeans is not so dull as not to be able to understand that the Indian population forms only a little more than two and a half per cent. of the total population of the Union and that the door for any new immigrants is entirely closed and that whatever increase that may take place in the

Indian population would be only due to the natural causes of births which are always balanced by deaths and the increase in the European population both by births as well as by a continuous flow of fresh immigrants. In these circumstances how Indians could ever be a menace to the White race in South Africa is wholly ununderstandable.

The position of the Indian in the Union, in fact, is like the story of the wolf and the lamb. Any excuse was good enough to devour the poor lamb.

If Mahatma Gandhi's advice to passive resisters to postpone their struggle for a time and his repudiation of the idea of the forma-

tion of a Non-European United Front is hailed with such delight by White South Africa, who welcomes Gandhiji as Daniel having come to judgment, why does it not with the same enthusiasm accept his advice when he declares that the Whites of South Africa are not playing the game when they refuse to absorb the comparatively handful of Indians in their midst, the bulk of whom are born and bred in South Africa? It does no credit to South Africa to recognise the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi only when it suits its own purpose and to ignore him when he utters some home truths which go against it.

GANDHI AND OUR COLOUR PROBLEM

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IS MERELY POSTPONED

THE decision, at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi, to postpone the passive resistance movement among the Indian community which was to have started on August 1 will doubtless have awakened quite a number of memories. For was it not in South Africa that Mr. Gandhi devised the passive resistance instrument, the use of which later on in India not only caused grave embarrassment, but did as much as anything to secure his own recognition as a world figure?

Relatively few South Africans realise that Mr. Gandhi spent twenty years of his life in this country, and that it was here that his great spiritual qualities received much of their nurture and development. If India has, not of its own desire, given to South Africa one of its most difficult problems, South Africa in turn, also not of its own desire, gave to India the idea of Civil Disobedience.

The Smuts-Gandhi controversy during which that idea came to fruition, lasted for several years, from 1907 to 1914. It passed through many phases. At times Gandhiji argued and protested and appealed for an improvement in the lot of his fellow-Indians, linking up their case whenever he could with the national movement in India. At other times he and his followers defied the law—always of course in a non-violent manner, for that is the essence of Satyagraha—went to prison and out of it, learning all the time the power of self-abnegation as a political weapon.

A spectacular climax was reached when in 1913 Gandhi led a band of 2,7000 Indians on foot from Natal into the Transvaal in defiance of the law which then, as now, forbade Indians to cross our Provincial boundaries. There followed riots and disturbances in Natal, Gandhi's arrest, investigations and enquiries, until at last concessions were made, and the Smuts-Gandhi correspondence of 1914 settled, so it was hoped, the matters in dispute.

By

J. H. HOFMEYR, M.P.

In "The Forum"

When Smuts Sent Books To The Mahatma

Some of the interest of the episode comes of course from the personality of the protagonists. A few years ago when I visited the Diepkloof Reformatory for Native and Indian juveniles just outside Johannesburg, a prominent public servant who accompanied me pointed out the portion of the building, then used as a prison, where Gandhi had been incarcerated thirty years before, and he recalled how Né, then a junior magistrate in Johannesburg, had from time to time taken out to the distinguished prisoner books on philosophy and kindred subjects from his ministerial chief, General Smuts. It is doubtful if passive resistance to-day would produce similar courtesies!

While the launching of the new passive resistance campaign has been postponed "for a time," it is possible to be too optimistic about the significance of the postponement, and our Press seems to have fallen into this danger. The inference has been drawn that we shall hear no more of passive resistance until the Government comes forward with permanent Asiatic proposals next year or the year after.

A careful reading of the published statements indicates, however, that we may well be deluding ourselves, if we believe this to be correct. The issue at the moment between our Government and the Government of India is not as to the form of the legislation to be introduced, but as to the investigation and consultation that should precede the drafting of such legislation—and it appears that the Mahatma's action in

postponing the campaign was entirely prompted by the hope that some concessions might be secured in the latter regard. Hitherto our Government has refused to take steps to have established, by proper enquiry through a Commission or otherwise, the facts of Asiatic penetration which are declared to necessitate legislation—it has also rejected any idea of the holding of a Round Table Conference with the Government of India such as met in 1926 and 1932. Action has been stayed in the hope of securing some early concession in regard to these points. If no such concession is secured—and there seems to be very little chance of it—it is quite possible that the Mahatma will let the passive resisters have their head. Even though a concession is made, unless it is such as to hold out a substantial reassurance to the Indian community, we may still have passive resistance within the next month or so.

What Will Happen?

What will happen if the campaign is in fact launched? It is not perhaps generally realised that the local Indian community is sharply divided on this issue. Some of the South African Indian Congress leaders hold that the weapon of Satyagraha should not be used in fighting what is after all only a temporary piece of legislation, and a good deal of friction and personal bitterness has developed between the two parties. Mr. Gandhi has insisted as a necessary condition of the success of the campaign that it should be backed by a united community.

It seems, however, pretty clear that a growing majority of the Indian community will support the campaign, at least sentimentally, and that when once it is launched, a surge of feeling will probably be set up which will sweep aside the dissident leaders who oppose it. Almost certainly the campaign will take time to develop. It is of the essence of passive resistance that only

non-violent breaches of the law are allowed, such as hawking without a licence, travelling in a railway coach reserved for Europeans, or crossing a Provincial boundary.

Probably, the Government's tactics will be to wink at the performance of such acts. But as the campaign develops, the time will almost certainly come when the passive resisters will achieve their aim of imprisonment. That cannot but mean the embitterment of European-Indian relations in the Union, and the aggravation of the present difficulties between the Governments of India and South Africa. Apart from that, it is difficult to see how the movement can in the long run be crowned with success. The Congress leaders who are at present opposing it are probably actuated by a wise instinct.

Gandhi And The Bantu

There is another aspect of the matter which is of considerable importance. Linked up with the present agitation

of the Indian community is the question of the establishment of a common non-European front of Coloureds, Asiatics and Bantu. There have been tentative moves in this direction in the past—the project has again been pressed actively during the last eighteen months or so. Of late most of the pressure in this direction has come from a section of the Coloured community at the Cape, but some of the Indian leaders have also associated themselves with the project.

The agitation aroused by the enactment of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill seemed likely to play into the hands of the promoters of this movement. A former Indian Agent-General, Sir Raza Ali, has, from India, supported it strongly, and the original resolution of the Congress Working Committee in India endorsed it. But, very interestingly, Mr. Gandhi has opposed it, and has virtually enforced the deletion from the resolution of the portion dealing with this particular proposal.

His attitude is that the grievances of Indians and Bantu in South Africa are different and that the methods of seeking to redress their grievances should be different. Indeed he has gone so far as to say that in a conflict of interests between Indians and Bantu in South Africa he would urge the Indians, as later arrivals, to give way. The result of Mr. Gandhi's attitude in this matter, at the South African end, is that the Passive Resisters among the Indian community, who look to him for inspiration, are now opposing the common front idea, while some of their opponents appear to be favouring it.

That really means that the project will make little headway in the near future—and when one appreciates the potential dangers involved in Coloureds, Asiatics, and Bantu banding themselves together against the White man in South Africa, one has reason to feel grateful in this respect also for the attitude of the Mahatma.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN ON INDIA'S POLITICAL AIM

A NOTE OF WARNING TO BRITAIN

“THE international situation is uncertain and anarchical,” said Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, Oxford University, when he landed in Bombay from England.

“Sparks are flying in the Far East, in Danzig and elsewhere and any moment the world may be on fire. The leading statesmen of all the nations are aware,” he continued, “that a war between the Great Powers would mean an obliteration of civilised values for many decades. Fear of the tremendous consequences of war is acting as a deterrent. The one passion of a disinterested soul is for peace. But the determining factor is the negative fear of war and not the positive love of peace. If the race for armaments is not to end in disaster, an attempt should be made to correct the crying injustices, even though it may mean sacrifice of national interests. If we do not re-organise the world on a just basis but persist in maintaining the *status quo* simply because it is to our advantage, we will only postpone conflicts, but cannot prevent them.”

“Acid Test”

“I am sorry to say,” Sir Radhakrishnan proceeded, “the British are not showing great wisdom or statesmanship in regard to India. On May 19, His Majesty the King declared in Canada that the units of the British

Empire are bound together by allegiance to common ideals and the adoption of common principles of government. The other day the Prime Minister, in his speech at Cardiff, complained that it was not fair to divide the nations of the world into ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’ for ‘the British Empire is dominated by a different ideal. It does not stand for the exploitation of its possessions, but for their development in the interests of their people.’” The present opposition to British policy in India is animated by a faith in these ideals. The scheme of 1935, with its enormous Safeguards and restrictions intended to ensure stability, with no real parliamentary responsibility at the Centre and with a miscellany of partly democratic and partly autocratic units, is not what one would call a democratic constitution. And it is not without reason that a recent American thinker, who argues for a union of democracies, deliberately excludes India in his book on “Union Now.” India is the acid test of British honesty. It will not do to profess faith in democracy and practice undemocratic methods. Reports reach us of the increasing influence of Axis Powers in India and the only way to terminate it effectively is to make India feel that England is earnest about the setting up of a self-governing India.

“Britain adopts a policy of pragmatic empiricism, what is called muddling

through. But she has not always muddled through to success. History is full of instances of her failure. The loss of the American colonies is the peak failure. The persistent prejudice against Irish Home Rule all but lost Ireland to the British Commonwealth. Slowness of evolution is the cause of all revolutions. India demands on the part of Britain loyalty to the “common principles of government,” to which the King referred, an application of them in British India and Indian States, where Britain is the Paramount Power. If India remains of her own free choice a member of the British Commonwealth, she will be bridge between the East and the West and contribute to world understanding and world peace.

“When the Congress and other political bodies object to the Federal scheme of 1935, they do not object to the principle of Federation. All sane political thinkers are agreed that in the dangerous conditions of the world, the political and administrative unity of India is an imperative necessity.

Indian States

Indian States, he proceeded, were not radically different in social and cultural development or patriotic sense from British India. After all, they recognised the Paramount Power. Immitation was the highest form of admiration. True loyalty to the Paramount Power demanded the adoption of the principles

which the British Government was obliged to adopt where it was directly concerned. He knew a number of Princes and he knew that, as patriotic Indians, they would work for the general advancement of India to a higher political status. Their safety and survival were bound up with the rapid adjustment to changing political conditions in India and the world at large. Life was not all pageantry or even love of comfort, ease and wealth. The enlightened Rulers must regard themselves as servants of the Commonwealth, and see to it that every class and every section enjoyed in a just measure, the fruits of their labour.

Congress In Office

In these two years of Provincial Autonomy, Congress Governments had shown that they could tackle the social, economic and industrial problems with a general fairness and sympathy, striving wholeheartedly towards the goal of the establishment of happier conditions of life. They had shown their ability and genius for the positive work of building up a New India. Unfortunately, there was an increasing feeling that the Congress leaders did not brook opposition, were impatient of criticism, and were intoxicated with political power. He did not say that this impression was justified, but it was one of the power-

ful factors that determined the last Presidential election.

While the steps that were now being taken to purge the Congress of corruption, and make it a more disciplined body were greatly to be welcomed, the general weakness of human beings when in prominent positions, their inability to preserve their humanity must also be recognised. We were all liable, he continued, to be broken by the machinery, of governments and power. Perhaps, annual changes of part of the personnel of the High Command and the Working Committee so as to preserve continuity of policy, and at the same time, prevent the development of vested interests and give training and experience to new members, might help to consolidate Congress ranks and strengthen its hold on the country.

Speaking of communal differences, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that by their dissensions, Indians were playing into the hands of their enemies. Fanaticism was the outcome of ignorance. Educated classes exploited the credulity of the uneducated. The communal differences were not religious. The very fact that they were severer of late showed it. They were due to scramble for posts, power and influence. These troubles were the growing pains of a new political order and could be eased with forbearance and goodwill among the leaders of both communities.

Plight Of Indians Overseas

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that he had been to South Africa in the Easter vacation. "I saw the good work of the Indians there, especially in Natal. The authorities are anxious to maintain the political and economic supremacy of the two million Whites in a country which has also six million Natives and one million of coloured and Asiatic people. It is an untenable position. Every step taken to resist the activities of the non-Whites increases the bitterness and endangers the solidarity of the community. The Indians were welcomed at a time, and now they are not. The segregation measures are undoubtedly humiliating. Weak acquiescence is not what is expected of self-respecting men. But I am anxious that nothing should be done to foster racial discord by the Indian people. They must oppose these measures but in no spirit of violence. The attitude of the South African Government is supported by the British policy in Kenya. As for the Non-European Front, we must recognise that the history and position of Indians are different from those of the Natives. While these can unite and work together wherever possible, there is no need to have one common front for all political and economic purposes.

NON-EUROPEAN UNITED FRONT

WE have received the following statement from the seven members who have resigned from the Provisional Committee of the Non-European Front Durban. They are as follows:— Messrs. C. B. I. Dladla, K. Soobramoney, C. Rose, S. Patchay, N. Thathiah, G. R. Varma and Miss E. S. Nyuswa.

On Monday August 7, through the the Press we intimated that there was some division in the ranks of the Non-European United Front, and that seven members had tendered their resignations from the Provisional Committee. We also intimated that a letter had been sent to the Secretary of the Provisional Committee requesting him to call a meeting of the Committee where our grievances could be thrashed out and if possible arrive at some agreeable settlement.

The meeting was duly convened for August 9, and the seven dissentient members presented their case which hinged, amongst other, on the following points:

(a) A statement dealing with the Transvaal Indian Passive Resistance movement issued by the Capetown

non European United Front, claiming to be the National body of South Africa, which had no right whatsoever to speak for the Durban non-European United Front.

(b) Admission of Europeans to the membership of the Non-European United Front Provisional Committee especially Europeans who belonged to European organisations which advocated the complete segregation of non Europeans and who held official positions in these organisations, we refer to the Labour Party and the Trades and Labour Council.

(c) The dictatorial and bureaucratic attitude of some of the members of the Provisional Committee.

(d) False and malicious statements made against certain of the resigning members.

This dictatorial attitude and the tendency to stifle discussion was clearly demonstrated at this meeting. We suggested various ways by which a clash could be averted and avoided and these were turned down. These were that (a) An assurance be given that there would be no repetition of the

incidents complained of, (b) A public withdrawal of the false and malicious statements made against us, (c) To call upon the Europeans on the Committee to resign, owing to this being a purely non-European movement, (d) and or an impartial enquiry be instituted to investigate into the allegations made against the Committee.

Having failed to prevail upon the Committee to co-operate with us to achieve unity with the ranks of the United Front in Natal and convinced of the justification of our cause, we have no alternative but to resign from the Committee.

We are heart and soul for the United Front movement. We stand for the unity and solidarity of the non-Europeans in this country, but stand for honourable unity and not unity at any price. We are not prepared to sacrifice principle on the altar of a dishonourable unity.

The Provisional Committee has allowed subversive influences and elements to act in a manner not in the interests of members. In face of this it is evident that the Front will have

a sorry future in Natal and throughout South Africa.

We have done our best and even though we may have to swim against the stream, we shall not be guilty of this gross betrayal of our people. Time will tell.

Provisional Committee's Explanation

The Chairman and Secretary of the Provisional Committee of the Non-European Front, Durban, states:

A letter of resignation by the seven members was considered at a recent meeting of the Durban Committee, when, explanation was given to the

dissentient members that the statement issued by the Cape body was not obligatory on the Durban Committee, as the latter does not owe any constitutional allegiance to the Cape body at the moment. Therefore, resignation on these grounds was unwarranted and unacceptable. In regard to allegations of "bureaucratic and dictatorial methods" of the Durban Committee, this was rejected, as personal issues were involved, rather than the Committee itself.

The following decisions were taken at an adjourned meeting of the Committee, held on Monday, August 14, when the seven dissentient members were not present:—(1) That the resignation of the seven members be rejected on grounds

that no reasonable support has been given to the allegations levelled against the Committee, and also in view of the fact that no difference of opinion on any principle regarding the Durban Committee, has been involved. (2) That the dissentient members be asked to withdraw the allegations against the Committee, as they are ill-founded. (3) That a statement be published publicly, denying any split in the Durban Committee, and the seven dissentient members do not differ with the Committee on any policy of its function. (4) Failing the acceptance of the foregoing by the dissentient members, there will be no alternative for the Committee but to accept the resignation of the seven members.

INDIA AND THE NEXT WAR

THE following article by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, originally published in *The National Herald*, appears in a condensed form in *The Indian World*.

The problem of problems to-day, overshadowing all else is the growth and triumph of gangsterism in international affairs. The lights go out in Europe and elsewhere, the shadows increase, and in the darkness freedom is butchered and brutal violence reigns. Tragedy envelops us, heart-breaking tragedy; as we see the death of nation after nation, the vast suffering and misery of millions of people crushed by barbarian feet. From day to day we await in suspense what this dictator says or that; anxiously we wonder what the next aggression will be.

How does all this affect India? Dare we ignore these tremendous happenings in Europe? Freedom will not be worth many days' purchase if Fascism and Nazism dominate the world. Our own existence is bound up with the fate of freedom and democracy in the world. Only a union of freedom-loving people and their mutual co-operation can avert the common peril. For that union India must stand.

But let us not forget recent history. It is not Hitler or Mussolini who have created the present crisis in Europe. Eventually it is the policy of the British Government supported by the French Government. There is a great deal of talk of the democracies defending freedom against the onslaughts of Fascism. But it is these very so-called democracies of Western Europe that have helped and encouraged Fascism and Nazism and done to death the Spanish Republic and Czechoslovakia.

Let us not talk, therefore, of Mr. Chamberlain's Government, of Mr. Daladier and Bonnet's Government as democracies, and, so long as these Governments or their like continue, no one will consider them the champions of

democracy. They have too much blood of the free on their hands, too many betrayals to their credit, for them to pose as democrats or lovers of freedom. Even if they are forced to fight fascism, no one will trust their good faith or motives, and they will yet again betray the cause which they trumpet so loudly. Behind the gallant speeches even to-day, what intrigues are going on, what base manoeuvres, what contemplated betrayals?

Certainly, India will not fall in line with Mr. Neville Chamberlain's policy

BHULABHAI DESAI

HIS SPEECHES

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in peace or war. She will oppose it and resist it, for it is the embodiment of the imperialism and fascism which she despises. But England and France have still the instinct of democracy although this may be hidden by the Chamberlains, Halifaxes and Simons; their people still care for freedom. If this instinct finds proper expression and really stands up for the defence of democracy, then India can certainly look favourably on it and lend her hand in support.

But India cannot support democracy elsewhere without democracy for her own people. An India dominated by

imperialism can only think in terms of resisting that imperialism. Only freedom and self-determination for us can convince us of the *bona fides* of the British Government; only these can create the conditions for mutual co-operation in the face of common peril.

We have been recently told on behalf of the British Government that the Government of India Act holds and will continue. If that is the British answer to us, then our path is clear; it is one of resistance to British imperialism, whatever the consequences might be. It is whispered also that an attempt is being made to restrict the powers of the Provincial Governments in the event of war, by giving executive authority in the province to Central Government. If this attempt is made, it will be fought to the uttermost.

It has not been our policy or habit to bargain or blackmail in times of crisis. We function differently, and we shall continue this policy whether war comes or not. But we can only function in terms of the dignity and freedom of the Indian people, and no other conditions are acceptable to us. We offer our co-operation for freedom and democracy well realising the imminent peril of to-day. But we offer the co-operation of a free people and not of a slave nation.

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Things In General

Inquiry Into Municipal System

THE Executive Committee of the Natal Provincial Council has announced that the following will be the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry into the municipal system of Durban:—Mr. Justice F. E. T. Krause, K.O., former Judge-President of the Orange Free State (Chairman); Mr. W. E. Turnbull, lately Assistant General Manager of the South African Railways; and Mr. F. O. Rodd, late Master of the Supreme Court of Natal. The Secretary will be Mr. C. A. B. Peck, clerk to the Natal Provincial Council. The personnel will be gazetted shortly, when the terms of reference of the Commission will be published. Mr. Justice F. E. T. Krause, K.O., has an exciting and varied life. He was born near Bloemfontein in 1868 and was educated at the Grey College School. After attending Stellenbosch and Cambridge Universities, he was called to the Bar in 1893 and practised as an advocate in Pretoria. He was appointed State Prosecutor and Acting Attorney-General for the Witwatersrand under the Transvaal Republic. During the South African War he was Governor and Commandant of Johannesburg. When the city was on the point of falling to the British forces, a small section of the Republicans advocated dynamiting the mines. General Koch, leader of the extremists, went to Johannesburg and threatened Mr. Krause with death if he opposed the dynamiting plan. Mr. Krause then arrested him and on May 31 surrendered the city to Lord Roberts. He became a member of the first Union Parliament and a Judge of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court. In 1933 he was appointed Judge-President of the Orange Free State Division of the Supreme Court. He has been chairman of a number of commissions, including those on mining regulations and on the Johannesburg Hospital. He retired last year. He was considered the most outspoken judge on the South African Bench and one of the Union's greatest criminal lawyers.

An Appreciation Of Prohibition Movement In India

Mr. A. M. Parsons writes in the *Natal Mercury*: "There are many people whose abhorrence of intoxicating drinks and drugs is as great as that of Mr. Gandhi, but who have not the means or the power to act as he has done, and they will all feel very grateful to him. I am sure that Bombay will not be the only city in India that will "go dry"; others will follow suit because of the improved conditions amongst the citizens. It is noteworthy that arrangements have been made for employment for those thrown out of work. Applications to open milk

bars will, of course, be granted and will, without a doubt, prove a great benefit to the community."

Old Boys Honour Mr. Ajeedha Jeeawon

Over 200 guests, mostly Old Boys of the Fairbreeze School, assembled at the Gokhale Hall, Tongaat, on Sunday, August 13, to honour Mr. A. Jeeawon, who retired after 43 years of service as headmaster. Among the numerous speakers who made laudatory remarks about his integrity and enthusiasm for the cultural advancement of the community were Messrs. M. Yusuf, S. T. Naidoo, S. Mohideen, E. J. Choonoo, G. Mungar, O. M. Khan and W. S. Seethal. The initiation of the vernacular classes together with the responsibility he had undertaken for the imparting of the Hindi Education were very highly appreciated. Mr. A. D. Lazarus, president of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, on presenting an illuminated address and a purse of £100 raised through the efforts of the Old Boys and the Fairbreeze Committee, paid a fitting tribute to the meritorious work of Mr. Jeeawon. Mr. Jeeawon, after expressing his debt of gratitude to the community for their appreciation of his services, traced briefly the development of the Fairbreeze School from 1895 when it was placed in his charge, to its present stage. His sound decisions in times of anxiety when the lot of the Aided School teachers was not at all pleasant, is praiseworthy. The guests were entertained to tea, the catering of which was done by Messrs. John Ali Bros. Musical items were rendered by members of the Tongaat Indian Young Men's Orchestra.

Tennis Court In Springs Asiatic Bazaar

Opening the tennis court provided by the Springs Town Council in the Asiatic Bazaar on August 2, the Mayor, Mr. Richard Moore, stressed the efforts the Springs Town Council was making to acquire land for various municipal purposes, including the provision of ground for sporting facilities in the Asiatic Bazaar. The provision of the tennis court and the children's playground was the first practical provision made in the bazaar for recreation. He hoped, if the Council's negotiations were successful, further provision would be made for a sports ground consisting of football and cricket fields. The Mayor was welcomed by Mr. H. Bandhu, chairman of the Springs United Indian Tennis Club, who thanked the Council for the gift of the court. They hoped it would be followed

by extensions of the recreation facilities in the bazaar. Mr. Bandhu garlanded the Mayor, and Mr. R. Mooloo proposed and Mr. P. R. Sammy seconded a vote of thanks.

Indian Scouts Hold Camp At Mariannhill

The Chatsworth Indian School Troop, with a contingent of 24 Scouts and 12 Rovers of the 2nd Durban Malvern Rover Scouts Crew recently camped for four days at the Mariannhill Monastery. The Scouts and the Rovers were under the charge of Mr. N. Nunnun, Scoutmaster and Rover Leader, assisted by Messrs. P. N. Moodley, M. K. Naidoo and Michael Isaacs. Faaher Francis Schemlik, Vice-Principal of St. Francis College and Commissioner of the Pathfinders of Mariannhill and district, with his Pathfinders frequently visited the camp.

Dartnell Crescent Past Students Union

Members of the above Union wish to thank the following for their generous contributions of material for clothes for indigent children:—Mrs. O. H. A. Jhaveri, Mrs. A. B. Moosa, Mrs. K. Seedat and Messrs. Hans Maghrajh, Jalbhoy Rustomjee, Lokhat Bros. and Kajeo Bros.

Indians In Belgian Congo

An impartial investigation into the position of Indians in Belgian Congo is understood to have been ordered by His Majesty's Government through their Consul General there. Difficulties of Indians in Belgian Congo began recently with the arrest of a number of them on charges of illegal dealings in gold. On behalf of the Indian community it has been alleged, particularly by Mr. Ishmael, their legal representative, who visited India recently, that the arrests are a part of a determined campaign to squeeze them out of the Colony, that arrangements for their trial and detention before trial are extremely unsatisfactory and that the trial itself is not likely to be fair and just.

Thanks

The family of the late Captain Nawab Khan gratefully thank friends and the Press for their kind help, sympathy, letters, telegrams and tributes received during their recent sad bereavement.

Doings In India

Gandhi On Hindu-Muslim Unity

IN the course of his speech at Abbottabad during his recent tour of the Frontier Province, Mahatma Gandhi thus spoke on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity:—"If you could dissect my heart, you would find that the prayer and spiritual striving for the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity goes on there unceasingly all the twenty-four hours without even a moment's interruption, whether I am awake or asleep. I want Hindu-Muslim unity if only because I know that without it there can be no Swaraj. Let no one imagine that because the Hindus constitute the majority community they can win Swaraj for India or even for themselves by organising civil disobedience without the backing or support of the other communities. Civil disobedience of the purest type, as I have often repeated, can be effective even if it is confined to a few. But then these few must represent in their persons the united will and strength of the whole nation. Is it not the same in armed warfare? The fighting forces need the backing and co-operation of the entire civil population. Without it they would be crippled. I must be impatient for Hindu-Muslim unity because I am impatient for Swaraj. And I have full faith that true and lasting heart unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans, not a merely patched up political compromise, will come sooner or later, sooner perhaps than later. That dream has filled my being since my earliest childhood. I have the vividest recollection of my father's days, how the Hindus and Mussalmans of Rajkot used to mix together and participate in one another's domestic functions and ceremonies like blood brothers. I believe that those days will dawn once again over this country. The present bickerings and petty recriminations between the communities are an unnatural aberration. They cannot last for ever."

What Endangers Islam In India

"I feel proud because I owe allegiance to a body that has left no stone unturned in securing self-Government for India. In my opinion every Indian should join the Congress, because that is the only body which is above communalism," said Maulana Mufti Mohd. Naeem of Ludhiana, a member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, speaking at a public meeting organised by the Baghwanpura Congress Committee recently. Prof. Gian Chand presided. Maulana Naeem said, by remaining

aloof from the Congress, the Muslims had become weak and now they were begging for their rights from the Government. Islam is not endangered by merely donning the Gandhi cap or joining the Congress. In fact, Muslim careerists, in order to grind their own axe, were presenting Islam in wholly false colours. The unwary Muslim masses, whose heart was sound, were being misled. Let Muslims join the Congress and capture it. It was a religious duty of the Muslims to fight for Swaraj, said the Maulana. In conclusion the Maulana condemned anti-national activities of the Muslim League and characterised its activities as un-Islamic. He hoped sanity would prevail and the tremendous amount of sacrifices made by the Congress Muslims would ultimately open the eyes of reactionary Muslim Leaguers.

Appeal To Frontier Muslims

Addressing a largely attended public meeting in Afghan Park recently, Maulana Habibur Rehman, President of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar, who came to the Frontier to inquire into the recent clash between villagers and Khaksars at Akora Khatak, made a fervent appeal to the Muslims of the Province to safeguard the interests—political, social and religious—of the Hindus and endeavour to create a feeling of confidence and trust in them. Alluding to the case of Muslim minority in Hindu majority Province, the Maulana asked what would be their feeling if the Hindus terrorised the Muslims and deprived them of their fundamental rights. The Hindus were in a microscopic minority in the Frontier, the Maulana continued, and it was the moral duty of the majority community to ensure complete safety of life and property of the minority community. The Maulana voiced his opposition to all pro-imperialist organisations in the country and declared that the Majlis-i-Ahrar would support the Congress to the last man.

Europeans Of India Support Cause Of Indians Overseas

The treatment of Indians overseas was one of the most important causes for the lukewarm, if not hostile, attitude of many Indians to the British Empire, declared Mr. F. E. James, M.L.A. (Central), addressing a meeting of the European Association at Bangalore recently. The people of the Empire irrespective of race or colour needed to be united to-day as never before, Mr. James added. The European community in India, he said, if it had any claim to represent the free democratic traditions of Britain, ought to take in-

creasing interest in this question. The European community should support the Indians in this fight against injustice and discrimination wherever they were, especially in the Empire. The Government of India was putting up a very strong fight but little was known publicly. It was doubtful whether any other Government in the world would have so done as the Government of India did on all these important matters.

Mrs. Suborayan On Mahatma Gandhi's Leadership

"It is the Congress alone that can help us to achieve 'Purna Swaraj.' We have achieved a great deal of progress in our onward march to Swaraj due to the Congress which it was able to do due the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi," said Mrs. Radhabai Suborayan, M.L.A., (Central) addressing a public meeting at Palamkotah. She appealed to them to give full support and help to Mahatma Gandhi for winning Swaraj during his lifetime by joining the Congress in large numbers.

Disciplinary Action Against Mr. Bose

A Reuter's message from Wardha (Central Provinces), dated August 17 states, Mr. Subhas Bose, a former Congress President, has been disqualified for three years from eligibility for executive posts in the Congress organisation by the Working Committee of the Indian Congress. This is a sequel to demonstrations recently organised by Mr. Bose against certain resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee. The Working Committee also passed a resolution calling on all members of the Central Legislature to refrain from attending the next session of the Legislature on the ground that the British Government has flouted the declarations of Congress as well as of the Central Assembly regarding the sending of troops abroad. The resolution adds that the British Government has taken steps which might inevitably lead India into the entanglement of a war.

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CAFE, BURMA HOUSE, Grey Street; and
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The Sporting World

Natal Indian Football Association

THE triangular tournament arranged by the Natal Indian Football Association took place on Saturday and Sunday last, the first day at Currie's Fountain, Durban, and the second at Clairwood. The matches resulted in decisive wins for the Durban teams by four goals to one and eight goals to one, the beaten sides being Maritzburg and Northern Districts, respectively. The match at Currie's Fountain against Maritzburg opened at a fast pace, the home side scoring within five minutes. Durban's wing forwards sent over perfect crosses and the defence went through a gruelling time, having to concede two more goals. Maritzburg now got going, their centre-forward meeting a good cross to net with a first-time shot. Half-time arrived with Durban leading by three goals to one. On changing over, Maritzburg got into their stride, combining well to enjoy territorial advantage, but their finishing left much to be desired. Play slackened enjoying the ascendancy and it was no surprise when Durban scored their fourth goal.

On Sunday afternoon Durban met the men from Northern Natal, the local side having effected three changes. The home team commenced well and within

five minutes had netted a goal. Maintaining the attack, Durban again scored, the turfied ground not suiting the visitors, who were somewhat slow under strange conditions. Notwithstanding this drawback, they retaliated and in a pretty bout of passing reduced the deficit, Durban now pressed strongly, the outside-right being conspicuous with many perfect crosses, from which resulted two more goals, half-time arriving with Durban leading by four goals to one. On resumption the local side monopolised the game, scoring at regular intervals.

Natal Team For Sam China Cup

The following players were selected to represent Natal in the Sam China Cup: Goalkeepers, O. Govindasamy (Durban); C. D. Pillay (Maritzburg); backs, G. Singh, P. Francois (Durban), Harinarain (Maritzburg); half-backs, R. A. Naidoo, S. N. Padayachee, A. Khan (Durban), P. Govindasamy (Maritzburg); forwards, P. Nulliah D. Rajoo Pillay (captain), P. Naraidoo, L. Vinden, (Durban), R. M. Naidoo, V. S. Pillay (Maritzburg).

South Coast Function

The South Coast District Football Association opened its silver jubilee celebration last Sunday evening at the

Krishna Theatre at 6.30. Mr. Ramith, the president of the association, in opening the function garlanded Advocate Christopher and congratulated the South Coast Football Association on their achievements, more particularly on their acquisition of 10 acres of freehold land as playing fields. He appealed to members to play the game cleanly, and to administer the affairs of the association in a business like manner. Other speakers to eulogise the work of the association were: Messrs. M. John, Loganathan (Newcastle), S. L. Singh, R. P. Naidoo (Maritzburg), S. David (Maritzburg County), Bakes (Coloured Association), president (Bantu Association) and P. B. Singh. A full week's entertainment has been arranged by the organisers, terminating on Saturday afternoon with a sports meeting.

Soccer At Carolina

A friendly match between the Lydenburg Indian Football Club and the Carolina Indian Sporting Club was played at the Carolina Sports Ground on Sunday, August 13. The game resulted in a win for Carolina by six goals to nil.

"HARIJAN"

(MAHATMA GANDHI'S WEEKLY)

EDITOR:
MAHADEV DESAI

MANAGER:
CHANDRASHANKER SHUKLA

POONA 4
(INDIA)

Dear Friend,

You are probably aware that a weekly journal named *Harijan* is being published at Poona under the editorship of Shri Mahadev Desai and under the guidance and control of Gandhiji. Gandhiji contributes signed articles to this journal regularly every week and in fact treats it as his medium of communication with all India and the world.

The *Harijan*, it is needless to say, stands for the technique of truth and non-violence in all matters of national and international concern. Even those who do not agree with Gandhiji would like to keep themselves in touch with his thought and movements, and it would be best to have them first hand rather than in the form of extracts torn out of their context and sometimes even distorted or inadequately reproduced.

The *Harijan* also stands for the revival of the villages and the village handicrafts, in so far as it may be possible, and certainly for the elimination of all the evil that factory civilisation has brought in its wake.

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એન્ટ-જનરલ પર અણબજતો હુમલો

આ દેશમાં હીંદ સરકારની એન્ટ-જનરલની અમે વિરૂદ્ધ હોઈએ તો તેનું કારણ માત્ર એટલું જ છે કે સ્થાનિક હીંદી કોમના હકો અને લાભોનું રક્ષણ કરવાને તેમજ હીંદુસ્તાનના માન આપરૂને ટકાવી રાખવા તે ખીલકુલ અશક્ત નીવડેલી છે. આટલાજ કારણસર તેની સ્થાપના થઈ હતી અને એ સિવાય ખીલુ કશું કરવાને તે બંધાએલી નથી. એન્ટ-જનરલ એ અહિં પક્ષાપક્ષી કરવાની નથી. તેણે લોકોની બહુમતિના અવાજની નોંધ લેવાની છે અને જે સંસ્થાને પોતે કોમનું પ્રતિનિધિત્વ ધરાવનારી સંસ્થા તરીકે સ્વિકારતી હોય તે ખરેખર પ્રતિનિધિત્વ ધરાવે છે કે નહિ અને તેનું કાર્ય બંધારણસર ચાલે છે કે નહિ એ જોવાની છે.

અમારે સખેદ જણાવવું પડે છે કે આ વસ્તુ ભૂતકાળમાં થયેલી નથી અને તેટલે દરબજે અમારા મત પ્રમાણે એન્ટ-જનરલ પોતાનું વર્તન હોવું જોઈએ તેવું નથી રાખ્યું. પરંતુ આપણને લગતી દરેક બાબતોમાં એન્ટ-જનરલને આપણા નેતા અને રાહદાર ગણી લેવા એ સર્વથા ભૂલભરેલું છે. હીંદ સરકારની એન્ટ-જનરલ અને અન્ય સ્વતંત્ર દેશોના એલચીની વચ્ચે મોટો ભેદ રહેલો છે. હીંદના સંબંધમાં ભાંતી સરકાર એ પ્રબલકીય સરકાર નથી. પ્રબલ અને સરકારની વચ્ચે ખીલકુલ અણરાગ છે. જો તેમ ન હોય તો પ્રબલના લાભોની બાબતોમાં થતી પગલાં લેવાડવવાને પ્રબલે સરકારને ઘોંચપરોણો કરવાની જરૂર રહેજ નહિ. એક સ્વતંત્ર દેશની સરકાર પોતાની સ્થિતિનું માન જળવાય તેની પોતે જાતે જ કાળજી લેશે. હીંદુસ્તાનની સરકાર એવી કાળજી લેવાની કરી વલણ બતાવેલી નથી. પ્રબલનું સખત દબાણ થયું છે ત્યારે જ એ બાબતમાં તેણે કંઈ પણ પગલાં લીધેલાં છે અને તે પણ નિરૂત્સાહથી. આ હીંદુસ્તાનની કમનસીબ દશા છે. અને તેથી જ હીંદ સરકારની એન્ટ-જનરલની સ્થિતિ એક સ્વતંત્ર રાજ્યના એલચીના કરતાં જુદી છે.

એટલે આપણે એમ માની બેસવું તદ્દન ભૂલભરેલું છે, કે આપણે કાવે તેવા કુસંસ્કારી અને ઉજ્જબળ બાળકોની માફક વર્તીએ અને એન્ટ-જનરલ આપણી સઘળી જરૂરીયાતોની સંભાળ રાખવા અને કાળજી કરવાને બંધાએલી છે.

અમે જોઈએ છીએ કે જોહાનીસબગમાં હુકમ મુદત પર કેટલાક ગુડાઓએ સત્યાગ્રહના હિમાયતીઓ પર કરેલા ખુની હુમલાનો દોષ હાલના એન્ટ-જનરલ પર મુકવામાં આવ્યો છે, અને આપણા બાઈઓને સત્યાગ્રહ કરવાનો હજી વખત નથી આવ્યો એવી સુચના નહિ આપવાને માટે પણ તેમના પર દોષ મુકવામાં આવ્યો છે. એન્ટ-જનરલ માત્ર સલાહ આપી શકે અને એ સલાહ તો તેમણે આપેલી પણ ખરી. પરંતુ અમે ઉપર જણાવી ગયા એ સંબેગમાં એ સલાહ આપવાને તે લાયક છે એમ લોકો માને કે નહિ એ પ્રશ્ન છે. એ યાદ રાખવું જોઈએ કે ડો. દાડ અને તેમના સાથીઓએ જો સત્યાગ્રહ મોકુફ રાખેલો હોય તો તે માત્ર ગાંધીજીની સલાહથીજ, કે જેમણે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવેલું છે, કે તેઓ જાતે પ્રધાનો સાથે મસલત કરી રહ્યાં છે અને માનભરેલું સમાધાન આપવાની આશા રાખે છે.

હાલના દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની કેંગ્રેસના નેતાઓ લોકોને વિશ્વાસ એટલે દરબજે સંપાદન નથી કરી શક્યા તેઓ ખરી અને માનભરેલી વસ્તુજ કરશે એવી લોકો તેમના પર અચળ શ્રદ્ધા મુકી દઈ શકે. એ બાબતમાં તેઓના ભૂતકાળના કાર્યો પુરાવારૂ છે.

આથી હાલના એન્ટ-જનરલ કે એન્ટ-જનરલ પર કદવ છાંટવાથી કશો લાભ થવાનો નથી. એન્ટ-જનરલે તો વખતો વખત સલાહ આપેલી છે કે કોમે એકત્ર થઈ એક અવાજે બોલવું જોઈએ. પરંતુ આપણે તેમની સલાહ સ્વિકારેલી છે ખરી? જો નહિ સ્વિકારી હોય તો પછી એન્ટ-જનરલને શા સારૂ દોષ દેવો?

આપણે કેવા રાની પધુઓ બની શકીએ છીએ તેનું પ્રદર્શન કરી બતાવવાનું કંઈ એન્ટ-જનરલે આપણને કહ્યું નહોતું. કહાચ તે તો પોતાના અંતઃકરણમાં આવાં ઘોર કર્મો કરી શકનારા લોકોનું પ્રતિનિધિત્વ ધરાવવા માટે લખિજત થતા હશે. એન્ટ-જનરલે સત્યાગ્રહને પોતાના આશિર્વાદ નથી આપ્યા, કારણ કે, જે સરકારનું પ્રતિનિધિત્વ તેઓ ધરાવે છે તે સરકારે પુલ હીંદુસ્તાનમાં પણ સવિનયભંગની લડત નામંજુર કરી હતી. પરંતુ તેનો અર્થ એ નથી થતો કે કોમની ફરિયાદો દુર કરાવવાને માટે એકમાત્ર માનભરેલાં શબ્દ તરીકે સત્યાગ્રહના હિમાયતીઓના હાથ તેમનાથી રોકી શકાય અથવા તેમણે રોકવા જોઈતા હતા.

જે વસ્તુ એન્ટ-જનરલે નથી કરી અને જે કરવાની તેમને સત્તા છે તે તો એ પ્રશ્ન ઉઠાવવાની છે, કે કેંગ્રેસ કે જેને હીંદુસ્તાનની સરકાર તેમજ યુનીયન સરકાર તરફથી કોમની પ્રતિનિધિરૂપ સંસ્થા તરીકે સ્વિકારવામાં આવી છે, તે આટલાં વર્ષો સુધી પોતાનું કાર્ય બંધારણ વિરૂદ્ધ ચલાવી રહી છે, એ ભેદ ખુલ્લો પડ્યા પછી જે સ્થિતિમાં તે ચાલી રહી છે તે સ્થિતિમાં તે ચાલી શકે કે કેમ? એ સંસ્થાના અમલદારોને પોતાનું ધરતુરતજ નીચમમાં મુકવાની ફરજ પાડવાની અને જ્યાં સુધી તેમ ન કરે ત્યાં સુધી તેઓની સાથે કંઈ પણ વ્યવહાર ચલાવવાની સાધના પાડી દેવાની તેમને સત્તા હતી. આપણાં દુષ્ટત્યો અને ગેરવર્તનને માટે આપણે આપણો પોતાનોજ દોષ જોવો ઘટે છે નહિ કે એન્ટ-જનરલની.

‘ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન’ કે જે પત્રે હજી થોડાજ અઠવાડિયાંપર જ્યારે એન્ટ-જનરલને સરનો ખેતાખ એનાયત થયો ત્યારે તેમને મુખારકબાદી આપનારો અને તેમની પ્રશંસા કરનારો લેખ લખ્યો હતો, તેણે હવે એન્ટ-જનરલની સામે અત્યંત ગદો અને તોછાડબરેલો હુમલો કરેલો છે. આ વિચાર પલટો શાથી થયો? શું એન્ટ-જનરલ કેંગ્રેસની ઈમરાત જે પોતાના પાપે પડી ભાંગવાની અણીપર આવેલી છે, તેને ટેકવી રાખવાને તેમણે પોતાની વગનો ઉપયોગ થવા નથી દીધો