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THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA ON S. A. INDIAN QUESTION

THE National Christian Council Review, the organ of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, in its August Number, publishes an article on Racial Segregation in South Africa by the Rev. C. F. Andrews with the following comments:

"All India has been deeply stirred by the passing of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill by the Union Assembly of South Africa, which embodies the principle of social segregation as between the white and coloured races. Although this legislation has in view an interim period, there seems little doubt that it foreshadows a permanent state of things that is alien to what most Christian people understand by the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ. It is easy to pass indignant resolutions; but unless we are prepared to implement them by necessary sacrifice they avail but little.

"In the following article, written at our earnest request and under heavy strain of ill-health, Mr. C. F. Andrews suggests a better way of sending a delegation—it need not be large—which would be able to interpret the mind of the Churches in India to the Churches in South Africa and at the same time see the situation as their brethren there see it. An embassy of this kind offers good hope. This whole matter will be carefully considered by the N.C.C. Executive at its next meeting, which will be held on September 27-29, when we hope some helpful action will be taken. We shall take it kindly if readers will give this subject and this meeting a special place in their prayers."

Challenge To The Christian Church

Mr. C. F. Andrews in the above mentioned article writes:

"The newspapers for the last six months have been giving somewhat detailed information with regard to the new menace to the Indians who are domiciled in South Africa. Not merely in the South, but also in Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Kenya, there is a similar method on foot to treat the

Indian community as a segregated community, which is not fit to live side by side with the European, either in residential or trade areas. Mahatma Gandhi has challenged the recent legislation as a breach of the South African Union's own agreement with India made at the two Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932. He might have gone still further and declared it to be a breach of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of 1914, which guaranteed the status of Indians in South Africa. The retention of all their vested interests was one of the terms whereby the Indians themselves were induced to accept the Union Government's action in restricting Indian emigration.

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, who was Mr. Stuttaford's predecessor as Minister of the Interior, and therefore has an intimate knowledge of the whole Indian question in South Africa, has not only resigned from the Cabinet, but also voted directly against the Interim Bill which has now been passed. [Note: This statement is inaccurate. Mr. Hofmeyr opposed the objectionable clauses in the Bill, but he voted in favour of the Bill as a whole.—Ed. I.O.] The further Bill, which is promised, either in 1940 or 1941, is a Bill that threatens finally complete racial segregation.

The ultimate policy throughout Africa on the part of certain European political leaders has become, in past years, more and more definite in its character. On the one hand, the attempt is being made in every direction to exclude Indians as far as possible from Africa and to prevent further immigration. On the other hand, the attempt is being equally made to treat those who are domiciled, and cannot be driven out, as aliens and racially inferiors.

Mahatma Gandhi, fifty years ago, was the very first to realise the immense gravity of the issue and for nearly a quarter of a century (up to the year 1914) he was obliged to fight the battle of Indian freedom almost single-handed. Only towards the end of that period, did Mr. G. K. Gokhale succeed, along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,

in making this issue an all-India question. Mr. Polak's visit to India in 1911 did much to open the eyes of Indian statesmen in India to the extreme gravity of the situation. Then, in 1913, Mahatma Gandhi's great passive resistance struggle brought the whole question to a climax and made it not merely an Indian issue, but also a question of world importance.

It is not possible for me, in this article, to go through the history of the intervening years, but two points may be referred to as the most notable attempts to come to terms with India over the same issue. In 1927, after the Capetown agreement, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. S. Sastri was sent out as Agent-General to South Africa, in order to implement the clause in the Capetown agreement, by which it was agreed to raise the status of the Indian community as far as possible, by educational and other methods, so that it might reach (what was called in the Capetown Agreement) 'a Western standard of living.'

The second point of importance is the year 1932, when a further racial demand was being made to segregate Indians as an inferior race. Here again, the Agreement that was reached definitely postponed any further restrictive legislation on Indians and gave us a new hope that the 'uplift clause' would be implemented at last.

It should be noted, on the other side, however, that the Indian delegates offered the Union Government that they would not resist, but accept, any efforts that might be made to encourage voluntary repatriation. Many speakers have recently brought the charge forward, on the Union Government's side, that the numbers of Indians, who voluntarily accepted repatriation, has been so small as to be almost negligible.

Clearly, behind the minds of people like Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow and others, the whole attempt at reconciliation between India and South Africa was considered to be dependent on

(Continued on page 326)

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25TH, 1939

Coming Into Line

HERE has been an unusual stir among the leaders of the Indian community since the last week-end. Firstly as a result of conferences between the Agent-General and the leaders of the Congress and the Nationalist Group it has come to light that the Transvaal Indian Congress has had no constitution all these years. That a draft constitution has just been prepared which will shortly be submitted to the South African Indian Congress and placed before a mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress for its adoption and election, we understand, will then take place. This is a forward step in so far as the Transvaal is concerned, and we sincerely hope that all necessary steps will be taken to expedite the putting into order of the Congress organisation.

Secondly in Natal the question of uniting the two political organisations—the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association—is at last being forced ahead against the opposition of a few leaders who appear to be averse to bringing about unity in the community. The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress is to be held on Sunday at the City Hall. Vigorous propaganda is being carried on for the election of new officials. It will be for the people to use their judgment sensibly in electing the right officials on whom they can depend upon to bring unity. The unfortunate position to-day is that the officials who have been placed in offices by the people think that they can monopolise their offices for all time. This has not been the case in the past and it never should be. If the work were conducted constitutionally it would never be. Let us hope that the motive be-

hind all this propaganda is to serve the community's cause and no other. Leaders should understand that they are the servants of the people and not their masters. They should understand that the people have appointed them as leaders and it is in their power to dismiss them from leadership.

The third step is a step forward towards unity. It was originally decided to submit the case of the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association to Mahatma Gandhi and to request him to propose a new name under which the two organisations could combine and work together in unison. Fresh developments have taken place within the last few days and it has wisely been decided by the leaders of both the organisations not to put Mahatma Gandhi to the trouble of solving our internal dissensions and to come to an agreed scheme whereby a settlement could be arrived at by local efforts. Such a scheme has now been agreed upon by leaders of both the parties, namely, that both the organisations should amalgamate under the name of Natal Indian Association, with the present membership of both the organisations constituting the membership of the new organisation. A new draft constitution has been framed for this new organisation and it has been decided to hold a general meeting of the members of the amalgamated organisation on September 24, for the purpose of adopting the draft constitution and electing officials thereunder. This new formula was to be submitted to the Natal Indian Congress Committee for its approval. We sincerely hope that the Committee will approve of this new formula and that the leaders of the com-

munity will once again work unitedly and speak with one voice, which is very essential at a time when our very existence in this country is threatened with being extinct.

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Mixed Marriages Commission Report

THE Commission appointed to inquire into the question of mixed marriages and miscegenation in the Union has just issued its long awaited report. It is an open secret that the commission was the outcome of an anti-Indian agitation. The report states that "this Commission was appointed to inquire into the question of marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans and is concerned with the Indian community, not specially as being Indians, but as falling under the description of non-Europeans."

It is the funniest report we have yet seen. To talk of miscegenation the Commission seems to have indulged in miscegenation with its report. It lacks the purity characteristic of such reports which are usually based on sound evidence. The present report is contrary to the evidence placed before the Commission. In fact it is a conglomeration of contradictions.

The Commission's findings are that cases of mixed marriages are very rare. There are only four cases in every thousand European marriages and that proportion is also according to the report likely to diminish and yet the majority report advocates legislation to prevent such marriages.

The point that interests us is that the Commission divides the community into two groups, the Europeans and the non-Europeans. The only concern shown by the Commission is to preserve the purity of the White race. No concern is shown in regard to preserving the purity of the non-European races. If mixed

marriages are harmful between Whites and non-Whites surely they are just as harmful between the rest of the non-White races. Indians are as keen as the Europeans are to preserve their race purity. The Natives, even when they were barbarians, they had a strict moral code and cases of miscegenation were severely dealt with. If their moral code has deteriorated now thanks are due to the blessings of Christianity showered upon them.

The duty of the State should be to enhance the moral standard of the whole of its population. But as in all other matters even in this the State is only concerned about safeguarding the interests of the White race. Miscegenation is a punishable crime, but, chivalrous as the White race claims itself to be, it has little respect for women other than its own race. A white man having illicit relations with a Native woman

will hardly ever come to light but a Native attacking a white woman will be liable to be sent to the gallows.

The question of marriage is an individual's personal and private affair and it brooks no legislative restriction.

Social barriers there are and there must be. Had there been no social barriers human beings would also have been acting like animals. Mixed marriages have rarely been happy. In the end such marriages have resulted in the parties being ostracised by society.

If there is anything worth taking note of in the Commission's report it is the minority report submitted by Mrs. Spilhaus. "I hold very strongly," she states, "that legislation on the subject is quite unjustifiable."

"If we are to remain the ruling race, we must be worthy to rule," says Mrs. Spilhaus.

"The development of our housing schemes, until there is a dwelling affording the possibility of decent family life for every family, European and non-European, should have a very definite effect in diminishing the incidence of sexual immorality between the races. The spread of education of a practical kind among the non-Europeans, so that they become fitted to do everything practical for their own people—building, carpentering, etc., and the opening of more avenues of remunerative employments for those of them that are capable will foster social contentment among the backward races and tend to make them adhere to their own race."

We are happy to note that the majority report has had a very unfavourable reception from the European Press of the Union and it is hoped, therefore, that it will not receive any consideration by the Government.

NEW UNITY FORMULA

THE following is the new unity formula: Messrs. Sorabjee Rustomjee, J. W. Godfrey, P. S. Aiyar, S. R. Naidoo and A. E. Shaikh, the duly appointed representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, and Messrs. A. Christopher, P. R. Pather, S. L. Singh, P. B. Singh and D. S. Chetty, the duly appointed representative of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association met at Durban at the residence of Mr. A. E. Shaikh, on Tuesday, 22nd August, 1939, and after lengthy deliberations, unanimously agreed upon the following:

That clauses one, two and three of unity formula, which was agreed by the Committee of the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, remain as they are. The following clause shall take place of clause four of the formula:

It has been resolved by the Committee of the N.I.C. (Durban Headquarters), and of the O.B. and S.I.A. (Durban Headquarters), to amalgamate both the organisations under the name of Natal Indian Association, and the membership of both the above organisations as at the 1st day of September, 1939, shall constitute the membership of the now organisation.

The draft constitution as approved by Messrs. Sorabjee Rustomjee, J. W. Godfrey, P. S. Aiyar, S. R. Naidoo and A. E. Shaikh, duly appointed representatives of

HAVE YOU ENROLLED AS CONGRESS MEMBERS? IF NOT DO SO IMMEDIATELY

WITH regard to the campaign for the election of new officials of the Congress we have been informed that many of our brethren have not yet enrolled as members of the Congress and have not paid their 1/- fee to enable them to participate and to vote at the annual general meeting to be held at the City Hall, Durban, on Sunday. As this is an important occasion and the question of unity is hinged on the new officials that will be elected at this meeting, it is essential for every Congressman to enrol himself as member. Enrolment forms are obtainable at Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee's office, at 17, First Avenue, Durban.

the N.I.C., and Messrs. A. Christopher, S. L. Singh, P. B. Singh and D. S. Chetty, the duly appointed representatives of the C.B. and S.I.A., at a meeting held at Durban on the 22nd day of August, 1939, shall be the constitution of the Natal Indian Association for submission at the amalgamation meeting.

The following clauses shall be added to the formula and shall be known as clauses 5 and 6:

That it is agreed that a general meeting of the members of the amalgamated organisation shall be held on the 24th September, 1939, for the purpose of adopting the draft constitution and electing officials thereunder, and the convenors of such meeting shall be the president, the secretaries, the hon. treasurers of the N.I.C. and the O.B. & S.I.A.

That Messrs. A. Christopher and V. S. O. Pather are to be authorised to accept enrolment for membership of the amalgamated organisation and receive the membership fees in terms of the draft constitution.

Dated at Durban, Natal, this 22nd day of August, 1939.

(Sgd.) A. CHRISTOPHER, S. RUSTOMJEE, P. S. AIYAR, D. S. CHETTY, S. R. NAIDOO, A. E. SHAIKH, P. R. PATHER, J. W. GODFREY, S. L. SINGH & P. B. SINGH.

whether Indians could be induced to leave South Africa or not. That is to say, these European statesmen were all the while holding the threat of segregation over the head of the Indian community, if they did not go out of the country in such numbers as to make the presence of the few who remained of small account."

After explaining the segregation policy as enunciated in the Union House of Assembly on March 23, by General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, Mr. C. F. Andrews goes on to say:

"Let me explain very briefly what this will mean if the legislation is carried out for the whole of South Africa. In India, the Europeans and Indians now live side by side without any barrier between them. There used to be certain barriers before, but now they are all broken down and Indians can live wherever they like and Europeans can live wherever they like; but in South Africa for many years past, the Government's policy has tended to restrict every avenue where Indians could meet Europeans on an equal footing. Already, in the railway trains, and refreshment rooms and trams and buses, and even at many of the post-offices, the Indian is forced to be separated from the European. Now, it is intended to carry this segregation much further. No Indian will be allowed to live in the same residential quarter with the European if 75 per cent. of the Europeans vote that their area should become a segregated area. The Government will immediately put into force the vote of the local Europeans and will turn out of the area which is thus segregated any Indian who may have property in it. What is far more serious for the Indians, because they are traders, is this. In the centre of the townships the Indians will not be able to hold property or build shops; for that will become the European part of the town. They have had hitherto a great deal of their business with the Europeans because they work on a smaller scale of profits; with less overhead charges than European shops. But in the future the main streets will be reserved for Europeans and the Indians will be sent away into the side streets.

If we think for a moment, in terms of the New Testament, we shall surely come to the conclusion that racial segregation of this kind, which forces men against their will to live apart, is not in accordance with the principles which Christ Himself has given us. There is a well-known text, which

Be Prepared!

MY APPEAL TO MY TRANSVAAL BRETHREN

By DR. Y. M. DADOO

Leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress

It appears that the brief postponement of the Passive Resistance struggle has lulled the Indian people of the Transvaal into a false sense of security that Passive Resistance will not be resorted to and that a settlement at any price would be the inevitable outcome. This is a mistaken notion and is due no doubt to malicious propaganda. The true fact is that the struggle has been postponed only for a brief period and that too on the personal advice of Mahatmaji as he has put himself in touch with Ministers and because he holds out some hope for an honourable settlement.

Let me assure my people in the Transvaal that Passive Resistance movement could not be called off unless there is a settlement which would satisfactorily remove the legitimate and just grievances of our people and restore to us our lost rights. The chances of such an outcome are slender indeed and I make an appeal to you to keep in readiness to take up the struggle with determination and courage at a moment's notice.

A leading Sunday paper of Johannesburg indicates that the Government is planning to set-up concentration camps for illegal immigrants, who are going to be rounded-up and for Passive Resisters. Whether these concentration camps will make for lesser hardships or for brutal treatment as is meted out in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany is beside the point; the relevant fact is that sacrifices of a substantial nature must be made to attain the natural right of citizenship.

History has repeatedly shown that freedom and liberty have not been won by any nation or people without considerable suffering and tremendous sacrifice.

The honour of Mother India and self-respect of humanity demand that we, the Indians of South Africa, should prepare ourselves to offer the supreme sacrifice on the altar of Truth, Liberty and Freedom to justify our existence as human beings.

Death, the inevitable end of all animate things, is preferable to a life without the inherent characteristics which go to make Life the dynamic Force that it is:—Love, Truth, Beauty, Freedom.

Be prepared! Duty may call you at any moment to enlist yourselves as disciplined, non violent volunteers in the army of Passive Resisters.

obviously was a kind of motto in the early Church. It runs as follows: "If Christ, there cannot be Jew or Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but all are one in Christ Jesus." When our Lord was giving us His own example in Galilee, during His ministry, He broke down one racial barrier after another, which the Pharisees had set up. He healed the Centurion's servant. He met and talked with the Samaritan woman at the well, and did many things of a similar character. Indeed in His own town of Nazareth, He was almost put to death, because He refused to keep up the racial prejudices of His own townspeople. In this way we may come to the certain conclusion that Jesus the Son of Man has ordained that the human race should be regarded as one family, and we pray everyday to our Heavenly Father that His will may be done and His kingdom come on earth as well as in heaven. Therefore, there can be no open question concerning what the Christian faith stands for; yet it would seem that in South Africa, this fundamental faith is being neglected and put on one side by those who profess and call themselves Christians.

Among these Christians in South Africa are very many earnest and godly people. Some of them entirely object to this State regulation, which must end in Indians living in ghettos and becoming in that way more and more isolated and degraded. Mr. J. E. Hofmeyr, the late President of the Student Christian Movement, has himself resigned his place in the Cabinet as a protest against this racial legislation. Many others are ready to act in a similar manner. Even among those who have not yet understood fully the Christian principle, there is (as I know well) a great searching of hearts. They are men of prayer and faith, and they are living good and noble lives, but on this point, owing to their long conservative traditions, they have inherited a backward racial position and do not yet understand how un-Christian it is. Our duty is not so much to blame them as to seek to convert them to the true and scriptural point of view, and my own wish has been that India should send out those who may be able to carry the conviction home to their hearts in such a way that if this racial legislation is carried through to the bitter end it will be regarded in India as a direct breach of the Christian Faith.

MIXED MARRIAGE PROBLEM

GOVERNMENT COMMISSION'S REPORT

THE Government Commission on mixed marriages in South Africa has issued its report in the form of a blue book. The Commission which held its first meeting at Capetown on March 31, 1938, consisted of Mr. C. W. de Villiers, K.C., Professor R. W. Wilcocks, Advocate C. P. Brink, Mrs. M. C. Malherbe, M.P., and Mr. N. B. Spilhaus, M.P.C.

The report which, with appendices, consists of nearly 60 pages, traces historically the beginning and growth of the coloured population in South Africa from the arrival of Van Riebeeck, summarises the early marriage laws, pre-Union legislation still in force, and recent legislative steps against miscegenation and describes the attitude of churches, the natives, coloured people, Indian community and that of the Japanese. It discusses extra-marital miscegenation, the incidence of mixed marriages, legislation on the question in the United States of America and Australia, and remedies proposed, these being mainly on the lines of legislation and the strengthening of public opinion.

Opposition Justified

Drawing its conclusions from its investigations, the commission holds that the opposition of public opinion to mixed marriages is justified for two reasons. First, such marriages are in part responsible for the coming into being of a group not only itself unhappily situated in the existing social structure of the country, but also forming a serious social problem.

Secondly, mixed marriages, even when they take place between Europeans and persons who are manifestly non-Europeans, assist in producing a people who can pass as Europeans. They lead in this way to the infiltration of non-European blood into the European population.

The commission points out in this connection that the legitimate child born of such marriages is, other things being equal, in all probability more easily absorbed in the white population than the progeny of illicit unions, in consequence of the relatively superior care and education the child of the legitimate union is apt to receive from both parents. There are risks attached to a continuation of this process of infiltration, both with regard to racial and social heredity, and the risks should be eliminated as far as possible.

If no steps are taken to combat the occurrence of mixed marriages it is probable that the number of such marriages will increase. It is reasonable to assume that the continued occurrence of such marriages must then in

the course of time tend to weaken the extent to which public opinion disapproves of them; and the increased propinquity and familiarity of members of the European and non-European groups, due to the similarity of housing and economic conditions under which they live, must enhance the likelihood of marriages taking place between members of the two groups.

Measures Proposed

"Our terms of reference," states the report, "require us to state whether mixed marriages are sufficiently numerous to be seriously detrimental to the welfare of the Union and the future composition of the population. We interpret this as implying the question as to whether mixed marriages give rise to social problems of a serious nature and have to answer this question in the affirmative. The gravity of the situation is increased by the occurrence of a large amount of illicit miscegenation."

Amongst the measures proposed which the commission considered were segregation with regard to dwellings and places of work of the two sections of the population, the improvement of the economic position of the poorer European classes, and the improvement of the economic position of the non-European section of the population.

The commission holds that segregation by means of housing schemes and separation of the sexes of different races at their places of work would be a means of combating the incidence of mixed marriages as well as of illicit intercourse between Europeans and non-Europeans, and favours such methods as a means of dealing with the problem. The deterioration of the economic position of a section of the European population, leading as it has to propinquity and intimacy with non-Europeans, contains in it at least the possibility of an increase in the number of mixed marriages.

Immediate Action

The commission feels that there is some force in the argument that the desire on the part of "near whites" to "escape" would be lessened should the disabilities attached to their present position be diminished.

The commission emphasises that its recommendations are intended in the sense that the measures suggested should be applied in a manner that would differentiate between Europeans and non-Europeans, but would not discriminate against non-Europeans in a way unfavourable to them. The efforts of the ruling race should be

directed towards leading and assisting the non-European peoples to as full a realisation of their potentialities as possible.

Fundamentally important as the measures under discussion are, it is obvious that they will at best only be realised in the more or less distant future, and the commission does not consider that other possible measures should be neglected in order to see what the passage of time may bring about.

"Even assuming for purposes of argument that the miscegenation now taking place is small, relatively to the size of the European population, the present limitation of its extent does not make it negligible. On the contrary, it is a reason for taking steps now to forestall a possible increase and to assure as far as may be practicable that miscegenation does not increase to an extent which would make effective action more difficult or impossible at some future date.

The commission holds that legislative action making mixed marriages impossible should be passed and that it should be accompanied by other measures directed against illicit miscegenation, and holds that such measures, wisely applied, will eventually tend to lessen inter-racial tensions in the Union.

Curtailment Of Liberty

The commission do not consider valid the argument advanced against the proposal for legislation prohibiting mixed marriages, in that it would entail a curtailment of liberty in matters of a private and personal nature. Every law implies a curtailment of personal liberty, and acts, such as marriages which have wide social effects, cannot be considered as purely private and personal. Nor is marriage so considered in communal life.

The effect of prohibiting mixed marriages only would probably be to increase the already large amount of illicit mixing. Restraints imposed by the social ban on marriages of this kind already tend to drive parties into illicit unions, but if to outward appearance they live apart and maintain distinct social relationship, public opinion seems to relax and they can in these circumstances often raise illegitimate offspring without incurring serious censure in their own community.

The commission points out that in the Transvaal there already exists a long-standing example of legislation proclaiming the undesirability of mixed marriages—indeed treating such marriages as almost unthinkable—and

providing an effective bar against the marriage of Europeans and non-Europeans. Provision is made in two separate laws for the marriage of white persons only and for the marriage of coloured persons only, "coloured persons" being made, in effect, to include all non-Europeans.

Transvaal Model

"If the model afforded by these two wisely convinced and simply planned laws were adopted similar provisions could be extended to all provinces of the Union, without the use of any language of expression which might give offence to any races or persons. Two statutes could be enacted, applicable to the whole of the Union, one providing for the marriage of white persons or Europeans, and the other providing for the marriage of non-whites or non-Europeans, all previous legislation being repealed, as is now possible since the passing of the Statute of Westminster, 1931."

The commission does not consider it necessary in such legislation to define "European" or "coloured person." It does not consider that inquiry into descent will usually be necessary. It advocates white marriage officers for European marriages and severe penalties on officers for wilful neglect of their duties. Marriages once celebrated shall be valid, except on proof of deceit or evasion by the parties.

The Commission states that "attempts at evasion may also be made by the parties resorting to other countries or territories for the purpose of entering into marriage there. If marriage between two persons, one of whom is resident in the Union, cannot legally be performed in the Union, a marriage celebrated between them elsewhere should not be recognised in the Union, and the parties should in that event be liable to criminal penalties if they return to and co-habit in the Union.

Marriages in contravention of law should not be the subject of criminal penalty. The prevention of mixed marriages can best be achieved by affording no opportunity for their solemnisation.

"We were frequently reminded that marriage is the only reparation which a man can offer a girl or woman of whom he has had a child or children, and that, if the parties were of different races and their marriage was barred, this ability to make reparation would be taken away, says the report.

"We are, however, unaware how often this ability to make reparation is actually exercised and how often neglected. We imagine that the cases where it is neglected would form a very large majority. But in any event, since miscegenation is the practice which is reprobated on all sides, we feel that it is better to forego the very

occasional reparation which may be possible to be made, rather than to surrender legislative efforts to mitigate a social evil, merely for the sake of placing a few contrite couples in a position of contentedly raising further offspring in the future in a relationship which is disapproved.

"It is often said that the prohibition of mixed marriages will lead to increased illicit intercourse. There would probably be a tendency for couples whose affections were already pledged and whose plans of marriage were unexpectedly frustrated to enter into illicit unions. But if it were well known to two persons as a legislative fact that they were unable to contract a legal marriage, but that they had the choice to enter into an illicit alliance, it does not by any means follow that they would accept that choice, for, realising the position from beginning they may well be disposed to decide otherwise. A penalty attaching to an illicit union would be a deterrent from entering into one."

The commission considers that where parties have been married as Europeans their children should be deemed to be European. Penalties should be provided both for having and attempting to have illicit relations and the existence of certain circumstances deemed to be *prima facie* evidence of the offence or the attempt.

Not Unanimous

If such intercourse results in offspring, the parents would, of course, be liable to the penalties provided, but the commission is of the opinion that the fact that such conduct has been made illegal and criminal should not be a bar to the recovery by the mother from the father of maintenance for a child, the result of their illicit union.

"Legislation prohibiting sexual relations," the report says in conclusion, "cannot be expected to be completely effective, but we feel confident that by the means proposed it will be made difficult for those who wish to engage in illicit intercourse completely to conceal their acts and that the fear of being watched and discovered in a compromising situation will very considerably restrict the traffic, now rendered easy by the open way in which persons are able to display their disposition for such indulgence."

The report is not unanimous, but four of the five commissioners are in agreement on the main recommendations. Mr. Villiers does not concur in all the conclusions, and adds an explanatory footnote where he differs. Mrs. Spilhaus, while associating herself with the general report, gives her reason for dissenting from the findings in a minority report which is as follows:

Conclusions Of Mrs. Spilhaus

I associate myself with the general report of the Commission up to the end of Chapter XIII, because of the inferior status and many disabilities imposed upon the offspring of mixed marriages by much of our recent legislation, and not because I believe that such race-mixture as is taking place in South Africa to-day will have any deleterious effect whatever upon the future composition of the population of the Union.

The infiltration of colour into the European population of South Africa has been going on since the seventeenth century with no bad results that can be seen in the descendants of the families in which it is present. Its effects are very probably much better than those resulting from the constant intermarriage of Europeans in a small community. These latter are visible in some parts of the Union to-day.

If the children of mixed marriages were cared for, educated, trained and nourished as European children are, and also given a chance of advancement in life, we do not know that they would not rise to be the equals of our European citizens. Many of them have become so despite the terrible disadvantages to which they fall heir by being born into the coloured section of the people, where thousands can obtain no schooling, a lower rate of wages obtains, the entry to trades is barred, and only in the Cape Province and Natal is there hope of any limited political rights ever being acquired. One cannot imagine any European in his or her senses, and in the enjoyment of all the privileges of his race, willingly marrying colour and being the cause of bringing children into the world to inherit so many disabilities.

Yet a small number of mixed marriages occurs every year, the reason being the same to-day as it was in Van Riebeeck's time, namely the disparity between the number of adult European males and females in the Union.

The results of the Census of 5th May, 1936, give in Table 5, page 4—

Adult male Europeans...	584,233
Adult Female Europeans...	566,547
Excess of adult males over adult females...	17,686

I have noted in a Review of the Report of the Medical Officer of Health that a decrease in the European birth-rate occurred in 1937, attributed in part to the increase in the ratio of older women to young women of childbearing age. This must further reduce the actual number of marriageable European women in comparison with the number of men.

Only one remedy for this disparity suggests itself to me, and that is the immigration of numbers of young European women of good type. If there are not enough European women for the men who wish to marry, what can we expect but marriage with slight colour?

As the Commission's report shows, public opinion in the Union is extremely strange against mixed marriages. Since the year 1925, when statistics were taken for the first time, and the percentage of these marriages occurring was found to be 0.9 of the total number of marriages of Europeans, there has been a gradual decrease in their incidence till it now seems as though the percentage might stabilise between 0.5 and 0.3, i.e., at a figure which gives about four mixed marriages among every thousand European marriages. But, of course, the percentage may continue to decrease as years go on. In any case it has decreased by more than half in thirteen years, and I feel sure it will decrease still further as people realise more fully what the status of their children will be if they marry colour.

To say that it is necessary to prevent by law the occurrence of these few mixed marriages because they will have a deleterious effect on the future composition of the population of the Union is absurd, when, in the early days the proportion was very much higher, and they have done no harm to the population.

There are, however, the 'imperceptible' mixed marriages yet to be considered—those that are at present recorded as European marriages, although investigation might prove that one of the partners had coloured blood. It is through these marriages alone that colour filters into the European blood, the children of obviously mixed marriages being relegated to the coloured section of the people.

We have no estimate of the number of these marriages, but, from the replies of marriage officers it would not appear to be considerable. Here, moreover, there is no question of difference of culture, outlook, religion, social customs, degree of civilisation or even of intellectual development between the partners, the majority of the "near-whites" being in exactly the same position with regard to these attributes as the Europeans they marry. They have been brought up in our civilisation and they know no other. They have as high or higher standards of cleanliness, industry and of character. Here too, the non-European blood that filters into the European is very slight, and may, for all we know, be a factor working for the persistence of the European race in an African climate.

The alteration in our laws proposed by the other members of the Commission will not get over the practical difficulty of deciding who has colour and who has not, and it will introduce many obviously coloured persons into the European section of the population who would be rejected by the strength of public opinion to-day.

Owing to the certainty of colour turning up at intervals in families

where there is mixed ancestry this difficulty will be always before us. Legislation therefore, by attempting to crystallise a thing that is variable by nature, offers no solution but will lead to further confusion.

The majority Report suggests as a first test, appearance, and then proceeds to nullify this by including as Europeans the dark children of any marriage that has been registered as European. The race-detection work suggested for marriage officers will be no less variable in quality under a law than it is at present, and a wide loophole will be opened for malicious action by outsiders, which might lead to social chaos.

The laws of many of the American States have been brought forward as an example of legislation against mixed marriages, yet we have no knowledge of how these laws are working or whether they are fulfilling their purpose to any degree whatever. Many of them have only just been enacted.

I hold very strongly that legislation on the subject of mixed marriage is quite unjustifiable. They are not on the increase or likely to increase, and they are certainly not sufficiently numerous to be detrimental in any way to the future composition of our population.

The only steps I would suggest for their further discouragement would be:—

- (1) The teaching of the simple laws of heredity to children of school-leaving age, whereby every adolescent child would become aware of the unalterable results of marrying colour.
- (2) The encouragement of the immigration of industrious young European women of good type, to lessen and finally overcome the disparity in numbers between European male and female adults in our country.

Extra-marital relations have been stated by the great majority of the Commission's correspondents and witnesses to be responsible for a far greater effect on the population than that resulting from mixed marriages.

The occurrence of immoral intercourse between Europeans and non-Europeans has a very serious effect on the respect in which the European race is held by the non-European races. While Europeans are constantly asserting and arrogating by law their superiority over all other races in Africa, many of them are indulging in practices, by their very nature furtive and shameful, which bring them, and through them, their race, into disrepute.

Persual of the Report shows how the idea of the hegemony of the whites is being pursued and bolstered up by the passing of more and more discriminatory legislation against the non-Europeans. But grave consequence to Euro-

pean prestige of illicit miscegenation cannot be too strongly emphasised. If we are to remain the ruling race, we must be worthy to rule.

If I thought legislation against extra-marital miscegenation could possibly be applied, I should be strongly in favour of its being enacted without delay, leaving marriage alone. The State would thus set the seal of its displeasure on the dishonouring of women of the backward races,—to which it stands in the position of guardian. But in the words of the Report: "the paternity of illegitimate children is generally obscure," and, I fear, without armies of detectives, police and night-watchmen, will remain so.

It has been argued, that if illegitimate intercourse is penalised and marriage not, more couples will be driven into marriage. The figures in the Table on page 26 of the Report contradict this argument. Although in 1927 and 1928, immediately after the Immorality Act was passed, there was an increase in the number of mixed marriages with natives, due to some traders and others, in out-of-the-way places, who for years had had native wives (in all but the ceremony) legalising their unions, which had now become criminal, yet the figures for marriage with natives went down rapidly in the succeeding years, to much lower than they had been before the Act was passed, proving, if they prove anything, the gathering strength of public opinion during the last decade.

I do not think the class of persons who indulge in immoral intercourse will be easily driven into marriage. In any case let us tackle the major, and graver evil, which brings discredit upon our race, first.

The development of our housing schemes, until there is a dwelling affording the possibility of decent family life for every family, European and non-European, should have a very definite effect in diminishing the incidence of sexual immorality between the races.

The spread of education of a practical kind among the non-Europeans, so that they become fitted to do everything practical for their own people,—building, carpentering, etc., and the opening of more avenues of remunerative employment for those of them that are capable will foster social contentment among the backward races and tend to make them adhere to their own race.

The immigration of numbers of young European women, by providing more opportunities for the marriage of European with European will also militate against the continuance of illicit miscegenation.

THE CONGRESS

I SIT down to write to you in a perturbed state of mind. There was a time, not so very long ago when the mind of the great mass of our countrymen was desert-like, its unfertile expanse divided into isolated sections between which all commerce was obstructed, resulting, for India, in a succession of poverty-stricken epochs. All of a sudden came the rise into power of the new Congress organization, a wide-branching tree that held out large promise of future fruit. Surprising was the change it wrought in the mass mind, as it learnt to hope, forgot to fear, and ceased to shrink from the very idea of casting off its bonds. What had seemed a while ago to be beyond the bounds of the possible, was no longer felt to be unattainable. The feebleness of spirit that dreaded to desire was at length cured. And this stupendous change was due to the unbounded faith in India's destiny of one single man,—a fact which already shows signs, here and there, of fading from public recollection.

Of course I know that, however dependent the new Congress regime may be on the personality of its founder, and great though that personality undoubtedly is, it will nevertheless be necessary from time to time to enlarge its scope and improve its working. But too much of a hurry to disturb the adaptation to its present circumstances which has grown with the growth of the Congress, may break up its very foundation. For it has to be admitted that no other genius seems to have arisen amongst us who is competent to bring about a radical change in it without damage to its organic cohesion. That is why I think that this vast field of endeavour, where the different forces of the country may meet and join hands, needs must continue to be developed, for the present, under the guidance of the Mahatma who gave it birth.

As you know, I have never been a blind follower of tradition,—that is to say, I have not believed that our national welfare could be made secure by fixing once for all some principle or method that was once found to be good, nor do I now feel it to be true that, however great the Congress organization may have grown, its aims and objects should be stereotyped for all time,—rather, do I devoutly wish that such a calamity may not befall it. At the same time, whenever I realise the immense value of this organization as created by a great-souled Master, I cannot but be perturbed at the possible consequences of piecemeal attacks on it from the outside. Such reforms as are found to be necessary must come from within itself.

Many of us still remember the original National Congress that started political

By
RABINDRANATH TAGORE
In "The Modern Review"

agitation in India. It made no attempt to look into, to awaken, the mind of the people,—its appealing glances were all directed to the authorities above. What it called freedom lay in the lap of dependence on others,—this was the obsession it could not or would not get rid of. I need hardly remind you that I have never hesitated to cry shame on the poverty of spirit of the begging and praying Salvation Army into which that Congress had resolved itself.

We all know whose was the magic wand that touched into life the deadly torpor into which the country had fallen, making it conscious of its own powers proclaiming non-violence to be the true creed of the brave. Of this new life which Mahatmaji gave to India, the stage of initiation is not yet passed, and further advance along its way should still be under the guidance of the Master. Like Nandi who stood guard at the entrance to Shiva's hermitage, I must raise my warning finger, for all that the Mahatma has to teach may not yet have reached us. When the rigour of Shiva's meditation was ultimately broken, a raging conflagration was the only result.

So far for one side of the question. The other side also deserves anxious consideration. When the powers of the Congress had but begun to unfold, it had little to fear from within. Now it is at the height of its prestige; it has gained world-wide recognition; the doors of Government at which its predecessor of old had vainly knocked, are now hospitably open to it, even ready to show it honour. But Manu, the ancient law-giver has warned us to beware of honour. For where power rises into eminence, toxins are created that eventually destroy it,—be it Imperialism or Fascism, have they not been generating the seeds of their own downfall? It may likewise be that the heat created by the growing power of the Congress is rising to an unhealthy temperature. The higher command who are at its helm are apt, in moments of crisis, to lose their head, and cannot hold to a straight course. Have we not seen lapses in regard to the vital matters of mutual courtesy and forbearance, of constitutional procedure which had hitherto been sources of its strength,—lapses at the bottom of which lies pride of power?

The Christian scriptures have warned us how difficult it is for bloated prosperity to pass through the narrow gate of the Kingdom of Heaven. Freedom

can be won only by putting forth the best in man—that is what I understand the teaching of the Mahatma to be. But those who have come together to control the field of our high endeavour—are their minds broadly tolerant, unswayed by personal bias? When they create ruptures by wounding one another, is that for the sake of pure principle,—is there no trace in it of the heat that is born of love of power, pride of power? The cult of Shakti that is gradually growing up within the Congress fold shows itself in its true colours when Mahatmaji's followers find it in their hearts to proclaim him as the equal of Hitler and Mussolini. Can it be at all possible for those whose reverence goes out to these gatherers of victims for human sacrifice, properly to maintain the purity of the citadel of Truth built by the selfless ascetic whom they would follow? I have the highest respect for Jawaharlal, who is always ready to lead an assault against abuse of power by wealth, or blind faith, or imperialistic politics. Of him I ask whether the keepers of the Congress stronghold have not on occasions shown dangerous signs of the intoxication of personal power? I have my own doubts, but at the same time I do not hide from myself the fact that my knowledge of political happenings is very insufficient.

On this point it is necessary to say something further. Bengal seems to have made up its mind that at the last sitting of the Congress Committee the Bengali people were treated with contumely. To be too ready to believe such a charge is nothing but a sign of weakness. It is hardly a proof of political sanity to allow ourselves to be continually afflicted with the suspicion that every one around us is conspiring against us. But the fact remains that in spite of the uniting centre which the Congress represents, the provinces are showing lamentable signs of separatist tendencies.

(To be continued)

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M. K. Gandhi Library And Parsee Rustomjee Hall Eighteenth Anniversary

The eighteenth anniversary of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall will be celebrated at 140, Queen Street, Durban, on Tuesday September 5, at 7-30 p.m.

All are requested to kindly attend.

S. J. RANDERIA,
Honr. Secretary,
M. K. G. Library and
P. R. Hall Committee.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

NON-EUROPEAN UNITED FRONT

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR,—We are very surprised to learn from your issue of August 18, that seven members who have tendered their resignation to the Durban Committee of the Non-European United Front, have actually had four points at issue in seeking resignation. Their previous statement to the press indicated only two reasons namely, (a) the alleged "condemnation" of the Transvaal Indian passive resistance by the Cape Non-European United Front and (b) allegations of "bureaucratic and dictatorial" methods of some of the members of the local committee. Even their two letters to the Committee contained no other reasons except those mentioned above. And now comes the news that one of the points relevant to their resignation is their objection to the participation of Europeans on the Non-European United Front.

At a meeting of the Durban Committee held on August 9, the seven members submitted their case which included the following three suggestions for arriving at a settlement: (1) That this meeting of the Provincial Committee feels that the course adopted by the seven members is justifiable and reasonable. (2) This Provisional Committee issues a statement publicly in the press, regretting any incident that might have taken place and

affected the dissentient members. (3) That an impartial committee of enquiry be appointed to enquire and report upon the allegations levelled against the Provisional Committee.

From the above it is clear that no question of Europeans was then mentioned. At an adjourned meeting of the Committee held on August 14, the above three suggestions by the dissentient members were rejected and counter resolutions, as appeared in your last issue, were adopted. We have no intention of dealing with the question of Europeans on the Committee, but since the seven members have added this new point to their case, we are compelled to do so. The question of Europeans on the Committee has already been dealt with at a meeting held on July 4, and it was agreed with the approval of the Committee that this matter be dealt with at the national conference; everyone of the seven members knows this decision.

They have found it necessary also to attack the Labour Party and the S. A. Trades and Labour Council, which again is irrelevant to their case. Every non-European in South Africa is justified in condemning the Labour Party for its segregationist policy, but to refer to the S. A. Trades and Labour Council in

similar terms is suggestive of ignorance. The Trades and Labour Council has no colour bar. Far from it, it may be surprising for the seven members to learn that a large number of non-European trade unions and other unions which have a mixed membership are affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council and about six non-Europeans are representatives on the local Committee.

In pointing out these facts we certainly do not applaud those trade unions which are biased against non-Europeans. Such trade unions receive our unanimous condemnation.

Even conceding that the four points raised in their case were justified, the seven members, by resigning as they do, are not in any way helping the movement. On the contrary, they are adopting a defeatist line which is a reflection of their political chicanery; by so doing they cause to discredit the Committee.

If they are sincere in their desire to see the success of the United Front, their position is inside the movement, so that they can co-operate with us in making the proposed Natal Conference a success, and when they can in a "constitutional" manner raise their points of view in respect of the policy and principle in the Non-European United Front.

Things In General

Dr. Dadoo Addresses The Youth League

ADDRESSING the Durban Indian Youth League, at the M. K. Gandhi Library, on Tuesday night, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress and secretary of the non-European United Front said: "If we want to have our rights in this country, if we want a future for the younger generation, then the only thing to do is for the non-European people to unite and organise themselves under one banner. Indians are not completely segregated, nor are the coloured, while the Bantu people are completely segregated. On what basis can the three units come together? That is a matter which must be tackled on a common-sense basis." Dr. Dadoo referred to the tendency among the non-European people to rely upon those Europeans who called themselves liberals and men of goodwill and peace. He did not doubt for a moment the sincerity or honesty of this so-called liberal faction of the European people. They might

be motivated by sincere desire to help the non-European people of South Africa. But their methods could in no way bring about that condition in the Union which would allow a fairplay and justice to the non-European people. They must learn to depend upon themselves, to work up an organisation so strong, so well disciplined that it would achieve what they willed. If they all used passive resistance and sat in their homes and did not work, the disorganisation would be so great that in two days' time the Government and the White people of this country would be brought to their senses. In one day a united non-European front could paralise the wheels of progress and demand from the Government the rights that belonged to them. Mr. S. Patchay presided over a packed hall.

Depot Road School Old Boys' Club

A social evening was held by the members of the above club, at the Depot Road Government Indian School, Somerset Road, Durban, on Sunday, August 20, at which Mr. P. R. Singh delivered a

lecture on his impressions of Mother India. The lecture was very interesting, especially when he dealt with the educational side of his tour. Light refreshment was served. Musical and dancing items were rendered by the members of the club.

Commissioner of Oaths

Mr. S. J. Randeria, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress and hon. secretary of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall Committee, has been made Commissioner of Oaths for the district of Durban.

Indian Ex-service Men

A meeting of Indian ex-service men will be held at the Dartnel Crescent School on Sunday, 27th August 1939, at 8 p.m. for the purpose of forming an organisation, discussing Indian War Memorial etc.

Indian ex-service men are invited to attend.

A. CHRISTOPHER,
A. R. W. GABRIEL,
Convenors.

ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

દિનીકર, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૨૫ ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૩૪.

“ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૨૫ ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૩૯.

રસ્તે ચઢતા બચ છે

આ અઠવાડિયાની આખરીથી હિંદી કોમના નેતાઓમાં અસાધારણ ચળવળ ચાલી રહી છે. પ્રથમ તો એન્ટ બનરલ અને કેંગ્રેસના નેતાઓ અને નેશનલીસ્ટ ગરૂપના નેતાઓ વચ્ચે થયેલી વાટાઘાટના પરિણામે એ સિદ્ધ થયું છે કે ટ્રાંસવાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસનું કાર્ય આટલાં વર્ષો થયાં બંધારણ વગરજ ચાલ્યા કર્યું છે. બંધારણનો ખરડો તોયાર કરવામાં આવ્યો છે જે ટુંક સુદતમાં સાઉથ આફ્રિકન ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસ સમક્ષ રજૂ કરવામાં આવશે અને ટ્રાંસવાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસની માસ મીટીંગ સમક્ષ તે પસાર કરવા રજૂ કરવામાં આવશે અને નવા અમલદારોની પણ ચુટણી થશે. ટ્રાંસવાલના સંબંધમાં આ એક આગળ પડતું પગલું લેવાયું ગણાય અને અમે અંતઃકરણથી આશા રાખીએ છીએ કે કેંગ્રેસ સંસ્થાને નીચમમાં સુકવાને ઘટતાં સઘળાં પગલાં લેવામાં હવે વધુ વીલંબ કરવામાં નહિ આવે.

ખીલ વસ્તુ એ બની છે કે નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસ અને કોલોનીયલ બોર્ડ એન્ડ સેટલર્સ ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસિએશન એ બન્ને સંસ્થાઓને એકત્ર કરવાને, કેટલાક નેતાઓ જે કોમમાં સંપ થતો જોવાને નાખુશ જણાય છે તેઓના વિરોધનો સામનો કરી, જખરી ઝુંબેઝ ઉઠાવાઈ રહી છે. આવતા રવીવારે નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસની વાર્ષિક જનરલ મીટીંગ ડરબન ના સીટી હોલમાં મળનાર છે. નવા અમલદારોની ચુટણી માટે જોસલેર ચળવળ ચાલી રહી છે. લોકોએ કોમમાં સંપ લાવવાને ભરોસો રાખી શકાય તેવાજ અમલદારોને ચુટી કાઢવાને પોતાનો મત સમજાવવું આપવાની કાળજી લેવી પડશે. આજે કમનસીબ સ્થિતિ એ છે કે લોકો

તરફથી ચુટાએલા અમલદારો પોતાને સદાને માટે પોતાના હોદાના ઇબરદારો માની બેઠેલા છે. આવી વસ્તુ ભુતકાળમાં નહોતી બનતી અને બનવી જોઈએ પણ નહિ. જો બંધારણસર કામ થતું હોય તો તેવી વસ્તુ અશક્ય થઈ પડે. અમે આશા રાખીએ છીએ કે આ સઘળી ચળવળની પાછળ માત્ર કોમની સેવા કરવા સિવાય બીજો કશો હેતુ સમાયેલો નહિ હોય, નેતાઓએ સમજવાતું છે કે તેઓ કોમના સેવકો છે કોમના માલીક નથી. તેઓએ સમજવું જોઈએ કે કોમે તેઓને નેતા બનાવેલા છે અને તેઓને નેતાગીરીમાંથી ખાતલ કરવાનો પણ કોમનો જ હક છે.

ત્રીજું પગલું સંપની દિશાએ થોડી વધુ પ્રગતિ થઈ છે. પહેલાં એવો ઠરાવ થયો હતો કે નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસ અને કોલોનીયલ બોર્ડ એન્ડ સેટલર્સ ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસિએશનને કેસ મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની સમક્ષ રજૂ કરવો અને બન્ને સંસ્થાઓ એકત્ર થઈ સંયુક્તપણે કામ કરી શકે એવી એક સંસ્થાનું નવું નામ સુચવવાની તેમને વિનંતિ કરવી. છેલ્લા થોડાક દિવસમાં નવી પરિસ્થિતિ ઉત્પન્ન થઈ છે અને બન્ને સંસ્થાઓના નેતાઓ એ આપણી અંદરના કલહનું સમાધાન લાવવાની ગાંધીજીને તકલીફ નહિ આપતાં સ્થાનિક પ્રયત્નોથીજ સમાધાન લાવી શકાય તેવી એક યોજના પર આવવાનો હકા પંચબરેલો ઠરાવ કર્યો છે. બન્ને પક્ષના નેતાઓએ મળી હવે એવી યોજના ઘડી કાઢેલી છે. એ યોજના એવી છે કે બન્ને સંસ્થાઓએ નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસિએશનના નામ હેઠળ જોડાઈ જવું અને બન્ને સંસ્થાના હાલ જે મેમ્બરો હોય તેઓ આ નવી સંસ્થાના મેમ્બરો ગણાય.

આ નવી સંસ્થાને માટે નવાં બંધારણનો ખરડો તોયાર કરવામાં આવ્યો છે. એ ખરડો પસાર કરવા અને તેની રૂએ નવા અમલદારોની ચુટણી કરવાને આ જોડાએલી સંસ્થાના મેમ્બરોની સપ્ટેમ્બર તા. ૨૪ મીએ એક સામાન્ય મીટીંગ યોજાવવાનો ઠરાવ થયો છે. આ નવી યોજના નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કેંગ્રેસની કમીટી સમક્ષ તેની સંમતિ માટે રજૂ કરવામાં આવનાર હતી. અમે અંતઃકરણથી આશા રાખીએ છીએ કે કમીટી આ નવી યોજનાને સંમતિ આપશે અને કોમના નેતાઓ ફરી એકવાર એકત્ર થઈ એકત્ર અવાજે બોલતા થઈ જશે. જે વસ્તુ આજના સમયે જ્યારે આ દેશમાં આપણી હસ્તિ નાખુદ થઈ જવાનો આપણી ઉપર ભય ગ્રહી રહ્યો છે ત્યારે અત્યંત આવશ્યક છે.

મીશ્ર લગ્નો

ચુ નીચમમાં થતાં મીશ્ર લગ્નો અને ભત્તી પરભત્તી વચ્ચે થતા વ્યભિચારના સવાલની તપાસ કરવા નીમાયેલાં કમીશને પોતાનો હાંખી સુદતથી રાહ જોવાઈ રહેલો રીપોર્ટ પ્રસિદ્ધ કર્યો છે. એ વસ્તુ તો બહીતીજ છે કે હિંદીઓ વિરૂદ્ધ ચળવળના પરિણામે એ કમીશન હસ્તિમાં આવ્યું હતું. રીપોર્ટ જણાવે છે “આ કમીશન યુરોપીયનો અને ખીન-યુરોપીયનો વચ્ચે થતાં લગ્નોના સવાલની તપાસ કરવા નીમાયું હતું અને હિંદી કોમની સાથે તેને ખાસ હિંદીઓ તરીકે કરી સંબંધ નથી પરંતુ ખીન-યુરોપીયનો માં તેઓનો સમાવેશ થઈ ભય છે.”

આવો વિચિત્ર રીપોર્ટ અમારા જોવામાં આજ સુધી આવેલો નથી. વ્યભિચારની વાત કરતાં કમીશને પોતાના રીપોર્ટની સાથેજ વ્યભિચાર કરેલો જણાય છે. એવી ભતના રીપોર્ટો જે સાધારણ રીતે મજબુત જુખાનીઓપરથી ઘડાયેલો હોય છે તેની શુદ્ધતા તેમાં જોવામાં આવતી નથી. આ રીપોર્ટ પોતાની સમક્ષ આવેલી જુખાનીઓ