

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

Gandhiji On Our Struggle In South Africa

MAHATMA GANDHI writes in *Harijan* dated August 19:—Whether our countrymen in South Africa have taken up passive resistance or not, there is no doubt that they will not be able to vindicate their position if they cannot close their ranks and act as one man and act unselfishly. Their corporate existence cannot be maintained with honour, if individuals in order to serve their selfish ends compromise the community's interest and honour. There is, at the time of writing these lines, a cleavage between the local Congress and the passive resisters. The resisters seem to have the bulk of the Indian population with them. But the name and prestige of the South African Congress is with the non-resisters. Now there is a prospect of a law suit over the possession of the Congress books, funds and offices. I would warn the resisters against falling into the legal trap. Let them follow my example. The equivalent to the Congress in my days was the British Indian Association. From the very commencement of passive resistance, I recognised that all Indians would not and could not join the struggle although all might be, as they actually were, in sympathy with it. Although it was open to me, being secretary, to utilise the name and prestige of the Association, I founded a separate organisation leaving the British Indian Association free to act as it might within constitutional limits. It was possible by this arrangement to protect the non-resisters from harm, retain their sympathy and save the resisters from the embarrassment that would undoubtedly be caused by non-resisters if they were members of the same body. Let the present passive resisters work along their own lines and rely upon getting more than prestige by their strength, sacrifice and capacity for suffering. A passive resister should have a generous heart and represent not only his own companions but even his opponents. Whatever rights he secures he will secure for all. He is a friend of all and enemy of none. That is the first condition of successful passive of civil resistance.

Gandhiji's Message To Poland

Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following message to the Polish people: "To all those in Poland who believe that only truth and love can lead to better days for humanity, and who are doing their best to serve these ideals by their life, I send my good wishes and blessings."

Transvaal Indian Question To Come Before Indian Assembly

The *Sunday Express* Simla correspondent states:—The position of Indians in South Africa, with particular reference to the Transvaal, is to be discussed by the Indian Central Assembly. Seth Govind Das has tabled a motion of censure against the Government of India in order to discuss the segregation law in the Transvaal. The postponement of the civil disobedience movement by the Transvaal Indians, under the advice of Mr. Gandhi, is welcomed by the Government of India as offering a breathing space so as to pursue their negotiations. The authorities rely largely on Mr. Gandhi's direct correspondence with the South African Ministers, including General Smuts and Mr. Stuttaford. They would be satisfied if the Union Government would, as a first step, agree to the appointment of a commission to inquire into the alleged penetration of Indian in the European areas of the Transvaal. Their contention still is that penetration, if at all, does not exist to such an extent as to require legislation to put a stop to it, as other ways are open whereby the object of segregation could be achieved. Fearing unfavourable reaction on the present delicate negotiations in case of any adverse vote or censorious criticisms, the Government of India has summoned its Standing Emigration Committee of the Legislature to meet on the eve of the legislative session, if for no other reason than to convince them of soundness of the steps taken so far. But, judging from the conversations among party leaders, who have already arrived, it appears certain that a vigorous attack is to be launched by the Congress Party. The feeling against the Government of India is accentuated for the moment by the fact that the Government of the neighbouring island of Ceylon has, despite the efforts of Cong-

ress leaders from India, enforced from August 1 their scheme of repatriation of unskilled Indian labourers, thereby adding to the acuteness of the unemployment problem in this country.

Swami Bhawani Dayal's Appeal

A telegram was received by Mr. V. S. C. Pather in Durban on Monday from Swami Bhawani Dayal, former president of the Natal Indian Congress, in which Swami Bhawani Dayal appealed to all Indians to support Mr. Rustomjee unanimously. He asked that he meeting should not be postponed until his (Swami Bhawani Dayal's) return.

Those who were opposed to the Sunday's meeting and to the cause of unity were advancing the excuse of Swami Bhawani Dayal's absence as their trump card. Had Swami Bhawani Dayal's message arrived a day or two earlier much of their strength would have been broken.

'Natal Mercury' On Mixed

Marriages Report

Commenting on the Mixed Marriages Commission Report which was published last week the *Natal Mercury* states: "It is to be hoped that the Government will reject the Commission's recommendations. Despite lengthy arguments, they fail completely to prove either that mixed marriages are on the increase or that they are sufficiently numerous to be detrimental to the welfare of the Union. The legislation suggested is quite unnecessary and would only inflame racial grievances which, if left undisturbed, would in the course of time die out."

What The Nationalist Paper Says

According to *Die Volksbald*, the report of the Mixed Marriages Commission was a triumph for Nationalism, since it bore out all that the Nationalist Party had stated in the recent mixed marriages controversy, and refuted United Party arguments, "Never before in our country has a Government standpoint been so fully destroyed by a Government commission," said the paper. It now rests with the Government, it said, to prepare legislation against mixed marriages, to be placed before Parliament at its next session.

This is how the subject could be viewed with a crooked eye.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1939

Unity Move

THE move towards unity among the leaders in Natal has advanced a step further by the success of the meeting of the Natal Indian Congress held at the City Hall, Durban, last Sunday. The presence of a large gathering and the patience with which it sat for five and a half hours without a break is an undoubted proof of the fact that the people have awakened to their consciousness. There was a rowdy element which taxed the patience of those who were conducting the meeting to the very limit. They were enemies of unity and of everything that was good for the community. They were there with the avowed object of frustrating the efforts to bring about unity. Their behaviour was disgraceful, that is all we can say about them. Perhaps they realised their folly and felt thoroughly ashamed of themselves when they found that with all their efforts they hopelessly failed in achieving their unholy object. If they are not yet penitent we feel sorry for them. Let them know that when there is a real awakening in the community, and we feel sure it is coming, these few malcontents and mischief-mongers will find themselves ostracised by their people.

The very hopeful feature of last Sunday's meeting was that notwithstanding the tomfoolery of these few the audience kept their heads and the work was carried through successfully. The new unity formula agreeing to the amalgamation of the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association under

the name of Natal Indian Association was passed and new officials of the Natal Indian Congress, with Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee as president, were elected to be in office till September 24, when a meeting of the Natal Indian Association will be held to adopt the draft constitution of the new body and to elect its own officials under the new constitution.

We have repeatedly stated that leaders must consider themselves not as masters but as servants of the people and the offices they are placed in are not to adorn them but for them to serve those who have placed them there. This is a thing that our present leaders seem to have altogether forgotten. They have been intoxicated with power and they have worked either without a constitution at all or they have made use of the constitution to suit their own purpose of carrying on in an autocratic manner instead of systematising the work of the organisation. These things are possible only when the organisation has fallen in the hands of irresponsible and unscrupulous people who are out to serve not the interests of the community as a whole but the interests of a few. These men create their executive body composed of yesmen. This is how the Congress organisation has been working for the last several years and none else is to blame for this state of affairs but the apathy of those who should have known their responsibilities better.

Some of our leaders in South Africa have a characteristic to come out into prominence whenever

there is some spectacular show occasioned by the visit of some prominent personality from overseas or some such thing. They appear in their full glory during that period and then they hibernate. These things must be rectified if our public work is to go on rightly and smoothly. It is also necessary for those who are fit to be at the helm of affairs not to shirk their responsibilities. We must have at the head a person on whom we can place our implicit faith that he will act in all matters in a straight forward manner and will watch the interests of the community as a whole and not under any circumstances be prepared to sell principle for the sake of paltry material gains. Our leaders of the recent past have failed to follow this path. They may have benefitted the few who considered their own material interests to be above everything in life, but the community has degenerated under the regime of such leaders.

Let the bitter experience of the past, which caused a section of the Congressites to secede, be a beacon to us to save us in future from faltering from the right path.

The following words of Mahatma Gandhi are worthy of note: "Whether our countrymen in South Africa have taken up passive resistance or not, there is no doubt that they will not be able to vindicate their position if they cannot close their ranks and act as one man and act unselfishly. *Their corporate existence cannot be maintained with honour, if individuals in order to serve their selfish ends compromise the community's interests and honour.*"

Let the significant words we have italicised be carved in the hearts of those who are to be the heads of the new united organisation.

SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

I

IN view of the grave decision of a section of Indians in the Transvaal to embark on passive resistance or *satyagraha* from the 1st of August as a protest against the passing of the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill and the suggestion to the Government of India to recall the Indian Agent-General, it is worthwhile to understand as fully as possible the significance of the Bill. A perusal of the *verbatim* report of the debates in the South African House of Assembly on the Bill shows that it is not as simple and innocent as the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford, made out when he said that it was an *interim* "pegging" measure. The implications of the Bill are even more reactionary than its provisions. There can be no doubt that the situation to-day is far more serious than it ever was in South Africa, for the spokesmen of the Government and the opposition alike taunted each other with having been 'liberal' in their past attitude towards Indians and non-Europeans and solemnly recanted their 'liberalism' and vied with each other in holding out the prospect that, dark as has been the white policy towards the darker races in South Africa, it shall be darker still! There were only a handful of members, Messrs. J. H. Hofmeyr, Leslie Blackwell, Maurice Alexander and Mrs. Ballinger among them, who stood out for justice, humanity and liberalism, for sanctity of the word of honour and for the larger interests of the British Commonwealth. All honour to them. But they were powerless to stem the tide of reaction.

The provisions of the Bill may be briefly summarised. In the first place, it is an *interim* measure due to last only till the 1st May 1941. The first clause extends till that date the protection already given to Indians in technically illegal occupation of proclaimed land which had expired on the 30th April 1939. Other clauses provide that, without the Minister's permission, no new trading licences shall be issued to an Asiatic as such, no Asiatic shall occupy an area not occupied by Asiatics on the 30th April 1939, and no Asiatic shall transfer his place of business.

Opinion was fairly unanimous that inasmuch as the Government failed to implement the Feetham Commission's recommendations, it was essential that clause 1 of the Bill should be enacted. Otherwise, as Mr. Hofmeyr estimated,



By

P. KODANDA RAO

In "The Servant Of India"



some 12,000 Asiatics and probably 20,000 Coloureds would be adversely affected, as the protection of their illegal occupation expired on the 30th April last. This clause was not, however, altogether immune from criticism. Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger, who was opposed to the whole Bill, said that the Government ought to have implemented the Feetham Commission's recommendations rather than extend the protection by another two years. On the other hand, Dr. D. F. Malan, the Leader of the Opposition, accused the Minister of the Interior of indirectly giving effect to the Feetham recommendations and going even beyond.

II

The failure of the Government to implement the Feetham recommendations is somewhat of an enigma. The Minister of the Interior repeatedly said during the course of the debates that the Feetham recommendations should be given effect to. He said on the 4th May:

Now I do not wish the House to think for one moment that I do not consider that it is very important that the Feetham resolutions should be carried by this House. It seems to me one of the fundamental things that we have to do before we can clear the decks for dealing with the rest of the problems of Indian occupation, that we should adopt the Feetham resolutions.....

Dr. D. F. Malan, who as Minister of the Interior in 1932, set up the Feetham Commission and gave it its terms of reference, emphasised the *inevitability* of the Feetham resolutions. When, in 1932, he had attempted to eliminate all the illegal occupation of proclaimed land by Asiatics, the representatives of the Transvaal themselves objected to it. He said:

Their objection was that if you closed the hundreds and possibly thousands of businesses which had been illegally established on the Witwatersrand you would get an impossible position. You could not deport the people, because a large

section of them were born in South Africa—the Government of India refused to accept them, and so they had to remain in South Africa. In such circumstances you will only drive the thousands of Asiatics to the countryside, and the countryside does not want them. Accordingly, there was no alternative to appointing a Commission, and so the Feetham Commission was appointed to go into the matter to see what could be done on the lines of segregation.

Dr. Malan himself did not make clear in the debates what his attitude was towards the Feetham resolutions; he simply charged the Government with not having arrived at a final decision on the matter, and attributed it to a division of opinion within the Ministerial party itself. Mr. Hofmeyr, who succeeded Dr. Malan as the Minister of the Interior, profoundly regretted that the Feetham resolutions were not given effect to during the session. He said:

I believe that this House is under a moral obligation at some time or other to pass the Feetham resolutions or resolutions on similar lines. I say that in view of the history which I have set forth.....and I say with greater confidence because that select committee of 1936 was representative of all possible points of view on this measure, and was, except on one or two points of details, *absolutely unanimous*. I say it also because the Act of 1936 was passed *unanimously* by this House. On that account I believe, and I think the Minister agrees with me, that we cannot get away from the obligation at some time or another to pass these resolutions.

This remarkable unanimity has since broken down, and the opposition to the resolutions was apparently so strong that the Government decided to play for time.

(To be continued)

Fountain of Wisdom

Like a beautiful flower, full of colour but without scent, are the fine words of him who does not act accordingly.—BUDDHA.

There is a proper dignity and proportion to be observed in the performance of every act of life.—MARCUS AURELIUS.

THE CONGRESS

THE Hindu-Moslem disunity is both lamentable and alarming, because nothing is more difficult to bridge than the gulf created by religious differences. On the other hand, the disunity between the provinces is owing to a lack of proper mutual understanding, due to differences of habits and customs. Thus Religion and Custom have between them usurped the throne of Reason, thereby destroying all clarity of mind. In countries where customs are not blindly sacrosanct, where religious beliefs have not cut up society into warring sections, political unity has come as a matter of course. Our Congress has not had the advantage of being able to grow up in an atmosphere of social tolerance, rather it has had to function in spite of social antagonisms which have set up impassable barriers every few miles apart—barriers which are guarded night and day by forces wearing the badge of religion.

Whatever the reasons may be, the fact remains that our provinces have not been welded together. I remember to have said somewhere that a coach of which the wheels are wobbly, the box shaky, and the whole body creaky, is all very well so long as it remains propped up in its stable—there it may even be admired as a whole; but if it be dragged by horses through the street, it loudly complains of the lack of inward unity. That is what the Congress has done. It has dragged the provinces of India out on the highway of a common political freedom, and its internal discords are thereupon becoming apparent at every step. This being our plight, it behoves the authorities of the Congress to be very circumspect in their movements, for mutual suspiciousness is lying in wait to exaggerate the implications of every lapse, or inconsiderate gesture. That is what seems to have happened in the case of Bengal, and the relations between it and the Congress high command have been strained to breaking point. Personally, I am not aware that anything has happened which made this inevitable. And yet, while the popular mind is thus exercised, it will be difficult for the leaders of Bengal to steer a correct course.

To me it is evident that Mahatmaji, having mapped out a particular line along which he advises the country to travel on its way to freedom, is naturally on the alert to see that no disturbing factor be allowed to bring about a deviation from it. Having successfully steered the ship of Congress so far, his reluctance to let it be taken out of its appointed course cannot reasonably be construed as a desire to wield dictatorial power. Men of genius would be unable to fulfil their destiny unless they had unbounded confidence

By
RABINDRANATH TAGORE
In "The Modern Review"

(Continued from last week)

in themselves, a confidence which they are wont to fortify by their faith in divine inspiration. In spite of occasional serious mistakes, Mahatmaji may claim to have had sufficient proof in his successes of his being on the right track, and he is, moreover, entitled to believe that none but himself can worthily complete the picture of national welfare which he has conceived and outlined. It may well be that he has many a further touch in mind with which it is to be perfected in due

BHULABHAI DESAI HIS SPEECHES

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course. If these finishing touches are not given under his direction, with the patient attention and reverence due to the master from his followers, the picture as a whole may suffer. In these circumstances, say I, we needs must rely for its completion on its creator, especially as it is still in the stage of unfinished growth.

Here I should confess that I do not always see eye to eye with Mahatmaji, by which I mean that had I been endowed with his force of character, my scheme of work would have been different. What that scheme is I have indicated in some of my previous writings. But though I may have the imagination to conceive, I have not the power to carry out. Only a few men in the world have this power. And since our country has had the good fortune of giving birth to such a man, the way should be kept clear for his progress—I certainly would never think of impeding it. The time will doubtless come when Mahatmaji's errors and omissions will have to be made good; then will each one of us, according to

his zeal and capacity, have the opportunity of making his contribution. For the present, let the Congress proceed to the destination towards which it is heading. I will not say, like a blind follower, that there can be no other bourn beyond. Others there may be and are; but the time to take on other pilots will come when the first part of the journey is over.

I have referred to my own scheme. That was the outcome of my conviction that politics is but a part of the social system—as is borne out by the history of every country. To be enamoured of some political system apart from its social foundation, will not do. Triumphant structures of different shapes and sizes raise their heads on the other side of the seas. We may be sure that none of them are built on foundations of sand. And when we set to work to imitate any superstructure that has caught our fancy, we should not forget the necessity of fitting it to some adequate foundation in the depths of our own social mentality.

I have recently taken refuge on a secluded hill-top, far from the scene of the recent political excitement, and after a long time I am getting the opportunity to survey both India and my own attitude with dispassion. I can see clearly that politics has to do with two different sets of forces,—one may be called mechanical, the other spiritual. In these days of crisis Europe is pacing backwards and forwards between the two. Neither is easy to secure, or work with; both have their price, the proper application of both require long preparatory training. We who have been so long in subjection know what the impact of mechanised force is like, but we cannot even dream of bringing it under our own control. The utmost we can think of is to purchase the alliance of some other power by getting into its debt. But history has shown us that to cultivate this kind of unequal friendship is like digging a channel to give entry to the crocodile, resulting in a feast for the latter at the expense of the digger.

There was a time when the issue of battle depended on personal bravery and physical strength. Now has come the day of weapons wrought by science, which require a high degree of intellectual skill for their proper use. Any fight with these is unthinkable for us, with our empty till, our untrained body and mind. This was realised from the very beginning of our political life, wherefore our former leaders were content with launching their fleet of petition-carrying paper-boats. But this reduced our politics to a mere game. Then arrived Mahatmaji with a solution for our utter lack of material equipment. Unflinching he

came, with head held high, to prove that battle could be effectively waged against wrong without mechanical resources. He started experimental campaigns along different lines, and though in none of them can it be asserted that he has won through, he has extracted from his very defeats lessons showing the way to ultimate victory. He has been busy ever since inculcating in the country the need of training in restraint and spiritual faith necessary to wield the weapons of non-violence.

It is comparatively easy to raise an army for violent warfare. A year's drilling is sufficient to fit men to be sent to the seat of war. But to train the spirit in the methods of non-violence takes more time. We have had enough of attempts to get together a rabble of untrained enthusiasts. Such crowds may be used to break down the work of rivals, but they cannot build up anything of value. They go to pieces when met by a determined counter-attack. Those nations of the world who are now in fighting trim, rely for their strength on the education of the masses of their people. The present age is the age of the trained mind, not of blustering muscle. And everywhere in the East, to say nothing of Japan, educational institutions have been made available for the people at large. So long as our masses remain bound to blind tradition it is hopeless for us to expect to make any move forward. And so after his discovery that an undisciplined mob is not a fit instrument for non-violent work, Mahatmaji has cried a halt in his campaign of civil disobedience, and turned his attention to mass education. So far all is fairly clear.

But when I come to the contending political groups of the day, with their rival methods of political advancement, round with endless controversies are raging, I am beset with doubts, and cannot see the issue clearly. My main difficulty in arriving at any definite conclusion may be due to my very meagre knowledge of what is actually happening in the different political circles. I know that those who have the power can make possible the seemingly impossible. Mahatmaji is one of those who have this power, but it would be going too far to say that he is the only one, or that all he undertakes must be successful. And if any other powerful personality inspired with a different ideal should arise, the latter, in turn, will not stay his hands because of the doubts or protests of others. It may even be that he will have to cut adrift from the main body and work alone to form another organisation, of which it will take us time to appraise the proper value. Should such a personality come forth from within the Congress, I would watch his progress, and wish him success—but from a distance. The responsibility would be

so great, the effects so far-reaching, the consequences so incalculable, that their burden could only be shouldered by one who has the necessary degree of self-confidence. It would be beyond my capacity, altogether out of my sphere of work, to join hands with him in any way.

Our scriptures tell us that the worship of Ganesha, the Lord of the Masses, must come before all other worship. In the service of our country our first duty must be to work for the welfare of the mass of its people,—to make them healthy in body and mind, happy in spirit; to foster their self-respect, to bring beauty into their daily work, their daily life; to show them the way to strive together, in mutual respect, for mutual welfare. So far as my limitations have permitted, I have been doing this for the last forty years or so. And when Mahatmaji's call awakened the country, it was my fervent hope that he would rouse the powers of all sections of our people, in all their variety, to work in the different departments of national endeavour. For it is my belief that a realization of the country's welfare means to believe in it, to know it in its fullness. Its true freedom would consist in gaining the fullest scope for its now obstructed powers.

I can see that the leadership of Bengal has now fallen on Subhas Chandra. My knowledge of the all-India politics in which he tried to secure the first place, is admittedly insufficient. There party feelings are raging stormily, and I am unable to look into the future through the dust that has been raised. Buffeted by this turmoil my mind naturally clings to Bengal. I welcome the valiant Subhas as our leader in the hope that he will take on himself the burden of ridding Bengal of its weaknesses, external and internal, and in this work he may freely claim whatever help it may be in my power to give, in my own line of work. May his high endeavour raise Bengal to the height from which she will be able to take her due place in the councils of all India.

Before ending this letter I should like to say something which may not be strictly relevant to what has gone before. An injustice has been done in determining the respective shares of Hindu and Moslem to Government patronage. This led the Hindus to make a representation to the Governor, to which I, with great reluctance, added my signature. Weakened as we have been through long years of reliance on Government favour, it goes

against my grain still to keep on scrambling for it. If its door is going to be closed to the Hindus so be it; it will impel them to be self-reliant, to find independent means of subsistence. Suffering will no doubt be entailed but that suffering will help to bring in a new era of uplift. Why then did I sign the petition? For one reason only. If Government shows undue partiality to one section of the people, they of course know best what the consequences for themselves are likely to be. But it was of the country I was thinking. Undue weightage on one side in the vital matter of means of livelihood is bound to increase communal tension in every department of national life, to such a degree that it may become next to impossible to allay it. That is what my protest was against.

Hitler and Mussolini have in themselves the power that enables them to commit injustice with impunity, nay even to extort a kind of admiration while so doing. The power to be partial that our Ministers have is derived from the misguided policy of a higher authority. As such its exercise will be greeted not with any respect, but only with the contempt of their victims. But our problem, I repeat, is not concerned with the fate of the persons in power. They will come and go, but Hindu and Moslem will for ever remain side by side, as partners in the good and bad fortunes of India. And if some thoughtless Government drives thorns into their midst, their bleeding wounds will not heal easily. So the apparent advantage which today may look like a profit for the Moslems, may in the long run prove a weak spot leading to eventual loss. That, however, can be no consolation for the Hindu—because the Balance-sheet of India is not two, but one.

Letter to Dr. Amiya Chakravarti, translated by Surendranath Tagore.

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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,

Hon. Secretary,

M. K. G. Library and

P. R. Hall Committee.

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NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING

AS advertised, the annual general meeting and the special general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress for the adoption of the unity formula (which was published in our last week's issue) passed by the Committee of the N.I.C. at its meeting held on August 24, was held at the City Hall, Durban, on Sunday. The meeting commenced at 7.30 a.m. and carried on without a break till 4 p.m.

There were over 2,000 members of the Congress present. The Agent-General, Sir B. Rama Rau, and his secretary were also present.

The majority of the house was in favour of unity, but as is well known Mr. A. I. Kajee and Mr. J. W. Godfrey, the jt. secretaries of the N.I.C., were responsible for postponing this much needed meeting for the last three months for reasons unknown to the public and it was after strong action, in which Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee played a prominent part, had been taken that this meeting was called almost by compulsion. The element that was against the unity movement was present at the meeting with the avowed object of smashing it and it continued its rowdiness right till the end. Mr. Kajee seemed to be their only favourite man and they allowed him to speak but booed the rest not leaving even the Agent-General. Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee was not given a hearing at all.

There is every reason to believe that had it not been for the presence of a strong police force and also the Agent-General there would have been a repetition in Natal of what had happened at the meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress in Johannesburg on the black Sunday of June 4.

Mr. Kajee well played the part of Antonio by infuriating the rowdy crowd and then appealing to them to quieten down.

Sir Rama Rau stressed the fact of unity as being the greatest need of the Indian to-day.

"The position of the community," he said, is at a critical juncture. Without that unity you cannot safeguard your interests.

"Indians have been known for their law-abiding character and that reputation has been a great asset to you.

"It is on that reputation that Europeans have based their appeal for better treatment on your behalf. Whatever our defects are, we are a race of gentlemen."

The formula agreeing to the amalgamation of the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, under the name of Natal Indian Association was passed. It was also passed that membership of both organisations shall constitute the membership of the new organisation.

Election Of Officials

The officials elected to serve until September 24 were:—

Patron, Hajee E. M. Paruk; president, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee; hon. secretaries, Messrs. A. E. Shaikh and Ashwin Choudree; treasurers, Messrs. Koopie Murrie and P. D. Hargovan; vice-presidents, Messrs. A. M. M. Lockhat, Shaikh Abdulla, Dr. K. M. Seedat, V. Lawrence, V. S. C. Pather, R. B. Chetty, K. Baijnath, B. S. Singh, M. N. Bhoola and P. G. Desai; committee members, Messrs. S. M. Paruk, Ajam Haffjee, M. E. Paruk, M. A. H. Moosa, A. I. Kajee, M. A. Motala, M. C. Anglia, Aboo Moosa, I. A. Essack, A. S. Kajee, V. M. M. Achary, P. S. Aiyar, H. A. Naidoo, K. R. Nayanah, S. W. Abrahms, D. Satyadev, A. Sookdev, R. Bodasingh, J. S. Roopnarian, B. Athmanand Maharaj, B. A. Maghrajh, B. B. Singh, Thambadoo, V. J. Thucker, M. B. Naik, C. N. Rana, S. J. Mehta, Harilal Natha Naran, S. J. Randeria and J. W. Godfrey.

Mr. A. Christopher and Mr. V. S. C. Pather were authorised to accept enrolment for membership of the amalgamated organisation and to receive membership fees in terms of the draft constitution.

It was agreed that a general meeting of the members of the amalgamated organisations should be held on September 24 next for the purpose of adopting the draft constitution and electing officials.

Things In General

Mealie Control

A GOVERNMENT Gazette Extraordinary issued on August 19 contains the notice that no producer of mealies or mealie products shall sell to any person not registered in accordance with the terms of the mealie control scheme. This prohibition came into force on August 19. Dr. P. R. Viljoen, Secretary of Agriculture and the Mealie Control Board issued a joint statement indicating the measures which they hoped would obviate dishonest practices and evasions of the levy. Producers are prohibited from selling maize other than to registered traders. In cases where registered traders are not readily available, it is suggested that farmers appoint one of their number as a registered buyer and the Board will arrange for large traders to rebuy his purchases. Where this is not found practicable the Board will consider providing the necessary facilities itself. Mealies on the cob will also be subject to levy, thus obviating attempts at evasion of the levy by selling and gristing

mealies on the cob. In regard to traders in Native areas who only realise on their purchases later in the season, the Board has agreed to extend the time of payment of the levy in their case by two months.

Those Loyal Indian Princes

The Viceroy, the Marquess of Linlithgow, has received from the leading rulers of Indian States a declaration of allegiance to the King Emperor and offers to place the resources of their States at his disposal. Offers were received from the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharajahs of Travancore, Karporthala, Bikaner and Nawab Rampur. In addition the Maharajah of Bikaner has issued an authoritative contradiction of the newspaper report that the Princes' recent negotiations with Simla relating to federation were an attempt to take advantage of the present crisis in Europe,

The statement says that the loyalty of the Indian States has no price, and the offer of the Princes last September was obviously not confined to that particular crisis but stood good for all emergencies.

Charity Play

The Gyaan Prachaar Natak Mandal will present Rampuri B.A. in 'Humshuukle' (My Double), a grand comedy drama supported by variety entertainment in Hindi at the Krishna Theatre, Clairwood, on Sunday, September 3, at 2.30 p.m. Doors will open at 2 p.m. The entire proceeds will be devoted to the continuity of the Hindi vernacular classes now in progress by the Mandal at the Oato Manor Garden Hindu Association Hall, 213 Oato Manor Road. The public is requested to obtain donation cards at Singh's Mutton Market, Clairwood, and thus serve this deserving

(Continued on page 341)

India Letter

(EXTRACTS FROM A. I. C. O. FOREIGN LETTER)

Bihar Makes 450,000 Literates

A MIDST general rejoicings the first anniversary of the inauguration of Literacy Campaign in Bihar was celebrated on July 14. Mass demonstrations were organised for the occasion in most of the important towns of the province. Processions of teachers, school students and the new literates paraded the streets singing national songs and shouting slogans against illiteracy. Huge public meetings were held and a large number of prizes and certificates were given to the workers and literates. In Patna, the capital, 11,000 women took part in the procession, a very notable thing for a purdah-ridden province where the majority of women as yet remain behind the veil. The Government report published on the occasion show that in the course of a year approximately 450,000 adult illiterates have been made literate. The past year's literacy work in Bihar was divided into two periods of non-intensive and intensive work. In the first or the non-intensive period the work was carried on mainly on a voluntary basis by the school teachers and the students of schools and colleges. The literacy centres were started in the schools and colleges where evening classes were held. The Government had published special charts and primers to enable a rapid method of teaching, by which people were taught to read and write in six weeks.

In October 1938 after a review of the work done so far the Government decided to re-organise the work and to launch an intensive campaign. The following changes were introduced:

(1) The movement retained its voluntary character but it was decided to grant a capitation allowance of 5 annas (5d.) per literate to needy teachers to meet the cost of oil (for lamp) etc.

(2) Local Committees were formed in district, sub-division and in smaller administrative units where officials and non-officials were asked to organise and supervise the literacy work.

(3) Period of instruction was extended from six weeks to 3 months and regular examinations held at the end of the period.

(4) Before starting work in a village a local census of the illiterates was taken and suitable propaganda made.

(5) Areas were selected for intensive campaign, where efforts were made to teach all educable illiterates between the age of 15 and 50 literate,

Number Of Literates

The total number of literacy centres, both in the intensive and non-intensive areas during the second phase of the campaign was 14,259 with 319,983 pupils of whom 147,670 were made literate by March 1939. In the first phase of non-intensive campaign approximately 300,000 were made literate.

The progress of literacy among women has not been very satisfactory. This has been mainly due to the dearth of women workers in Behar. However up to March 1939, 281 centres were opened for women, which were attended by 4,084 pupils of whom 1,547 have so far passed the literacy test. In some of the districts "little teachers bands" were created from among the school boys who succeeded in making 150 literate women.

Literacy centres were also opened in some of the prisons. So far 5,076 prisoners in Gaya Central Jail have become literate. Industrial areas are also being chosen for intensive literacy work.

To help the new literates to keep up with their reading, the Government is organising to supply them with suitable reading material. A fortnightly news sheet called 'Roshni' (Light) printed in both Hindi and Urdu scripts is being published. Circulating libraries have been started in two districts. They are planning to start 250 village libraries with 200 booklets in each. These booklets will be printed in both the scripts and will deal with such topics as are of interest to the villagers.

To place the mass literacy movement on a permanent basis the Government has now made a total grant of Rs. 200,000. The existing education department will also be responsible for the supervision of the mass literacy work.

Gandhiji On Non-violence And The Princes

In a recently issued statement Mahatma Gandhi has suggested the minimum that the States should give to the subjects in order to come in line with the enlightened opinion of the rest of India: (1) Full civil liberty, so long as it is not used to promote violence directly or indirectly. This includes freedom of the Press and freedom to receive newspapers which do not promote violence. (2) Freedom to the people of the States to form associations and educate public opinion in favour of establishing responsible government in their own States. (3) Freedom for Indians outside particular States to enter them without let or

hindrance so long as their activities are not directed towards the destruction of the States in question. (4) The privy purse should be limited so as not to exceed one-tenth of the income where it ranges between Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs per year, and in no case should the purse exceed Rs. 3 lakhs per year, and should include all the private expenses of the Ruler (e.g. palace expenses, cars, stables, the Ruler's guests) except those which have reference to performance of public duty which should be clearly defined. (5) Judiciary to be independent and permanent and free of all interference. In order to ensure uniformity of practice and strict impartiality there should be an appeal to the High Court of the Province within which the State in question is situated. This may not be possible without a change in the law governing the High Courts. It can, I imagine, be easily altered if the States agree."

Further he says, "One thing seems to be clear. If the transfer of power from the Princes to the people is to take place without violence, and if the Princes are to live as such, they will have to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Very few people have faith in my plan, viz. the plan of Princes voluntarily parting with power and becoming real trustees. The critics say it is utopian and against human nature. I must advocate it so long as I believe in its practical possibility. The world is inevitably moving to self-destruction or to a non-violent solution of all its ailments, moral, social, economical and political. The threatened world war will bring us nearer the desirable solution if a respectable part of it survives the impending catastrophe. Whoever recognizes that the only escape from the impending fate is a non-violent solution will, therefore, apply it to his own problems, whether they are domestic, communal or any other. Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances. Disregard of it is the surest way to destruction. It is only a question of time."

In the statement he also warns the Princes against the dangerous practice of attempting to break the strength of the people by setting off communities at each other or of combining with vested interests. He describes such combinations as 'inflammable mixture' and says that they are bound to break under their own weight. "And a combination against whom?" he asks. "The Congress which seeks to represent all these not excluding the Princes themselves? The Congress will die a natural death

when it ceases to be national in every sense of the term. It has that unbroken tradition for the past fifty years. Whatever transformation it undergoes, it is the only constitution that will succeed British Imperialism whose days as imperialism are numbered. British politicians realize this. They would not resist, do not want to resist, its transformation or destruction. The imperialism is increasingly becoming a dead weight if only because it is based on highly organised violence. Princes may ignore the Congress for all time. Some are reported to have said that after all it was composed of banias (traders) who would show the white feather on a few knock-out blows on the head by the strong combination pictured above. I would like respectfully to point out that the Congress is not composed of banias who can be counted on one's finger-tips. The millions who took part in the civil disobedience fights were not banias. I do not thereby mean to imply that they were desirous of giving blow for a blow. Many could. But they had foresworn violence. Many Congress heads were broken by something severer than knock-out blows. All I wish to imply is that the Congress is not composed of mere cowards. Non-violence and cowardice go ill together. I can imagine

a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true non-violence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness.

"I beseech the Princes not to underrate the Congress as a force in the country. Its policy still remains non-violent. I ask the Princes, for their own sakes and for the sake of the country that has given them birth, to throw in their weight in favour of non-violence. It seems to be touch-and-go with the Congress. It will either become growingly non-violent or will presently become a violent organization, not necessarily doing immediate deeds of violence but preparing itself for ultimate violence. It would not harbour cowards. If it does, it would cease to be the power it has become. Every Indian, high or low, (there is no high and no low for the Congress) has to make his choice."

Gandhiji On Unity And National Struggle

On July 23, in the Town Hall of Abbottabad, where 20,000 people had assembled to hear him, Gandhiji bade farewell to the people of the Frontier Province making a moving appeal for unity among the different communities,

specially between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. He declared that no civil disobedience campaign could be successful without the support of all the people. "It is not necessary," he said, "that all should be ready to face lathis and court imprisonment. But it is imperative that those who offer civil disobedience and occupy the battle front should command the support of thirty crores (300,000,000) of people comprising the nation." Making an impassioned appeal, he declared, "Tear my heart if you can and you will be convinced that all these 24 years I have been ceaselessly praying to God that we Hindus and Muslims should become one. I am a worshiper at the shrine of Hindu-Muslim unity. One does not know through whom God wants to fulfil that purpose. It appears to be beyond my power. Perhaps He thinks me incapable of doing that work. All Power is His. He alone chooses whom to give this work. So let us all only pray that unity be achieved in our life." Concluding Gandhiji said: "Freedom has only one meaning for me; we thirty crores should be rid of all our ills and misfortunes." He appealed to Congressmen to take to constructive measures and to remove the oppressive poverty now obtaining among the people of the Province.

The Sporting World

Last Saturday's Soccer Matches

THE soccer on Saturday afternoon provided surprises in the knock-out competition for Thajmoon's Cup. The present joint league leaders, Shamrocks, went down to the lowly-placed Afritex, while Daffodils were very fortunate in equalising against a depleted Stella in the last couple of minutes, thereafter winning comfortably in the extra half.

Afrifex and Shamrocks turned out on No. 1 ground, the latter fielding a weak team with the prospects of an easy victory, but Afrifex turned the tables on their opponents to win by two goals to nil.

The next match was between Whipnade and Old Collegians; the latter being short of a couple of players at the commencement, which handicap was taken advantage of by Whipnade, who ran out winners by five goals to two.

Stella surprised Daffodils on the main ground when playing with nine men only and enjoying an equal share of the game. Daffodils played with the wind in the first half, but the shooting of the forwards was palpably weak. In the second period Stella made a couple of breaks and were rewarded with a goal on each occasion. Ten minutes from time Daffodils exerted pressure to score their first goal and three minutes from the

end notched the equaliser. In the extra half Daffodils monopolised the position to register three more goals and win by 5-2.

Sam China

The following members have been selected to represent the Eastern Province Indian Football Association in the Sam China South African tournament in Capetown on September 23 to 30. The team leaves Port Elizabeth on September 19 under the management of Mr. P. S. Vandayar:—P. H. Chinnian (Stel. vice-capt.), V. Martin (Gren.), L. Hutton (Stel.), T. Padachee (Stel.), R. Naidoo (Sham), R. G. Naidoo (Stan.), A. Tennison (Sham), Rammia (Stan.); D. Moodley (Stel.), Frank Cooper (Stel.), L. X. Augustine (Stel. Capt.), S. Vandayar (Sham.), Pat. O'Brien (Sham.), G. Naidoo (Gren.), S. Lingham (Sham.), A. R. Pillay (Sham.), Mr. Paul Chinnian (trainer); Mr. James Francis (hon. secty. to the tournament); Mr. I. D. Bhayat (president of the E.P.I.F.A.)

Discrimination In Sports

A correspondent from Johannesburg writes:—We learn from the soccer sporting circle in Johannesburg that the possibility of selecting the Transvaal team for the Sam China competition has

been put off for a later date. We understand that the urgency of electing the team's manager and the trainer has been approved, and the Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney and Mr. S. Ernest respectively have been elected. While extending the reverend gentleman our congratulations, we think that the position he has accepted as a manager is much too inferior in consideration of the dignity he holds as a Minister of Religion. We admire the reverend gentleman's capabilities and his willingness to serve the sportsmen, but as he himself has gained the reputation of being an old veteran sportsman, he should now retire and encourage some of the retired players much younger than himself to fill the position. Apart from this we understand that there is a feeling among certain non-Christian members that a handful of Christians are gradually dominating the control of sports, as evidenced by the election of two Christian members recently in preference to Indians as the case may be. We never had discrimination in sports before, and it would be in the interests of Indians in general to destroy this evil in its infancy and to remove such individuals who are out to create a division. We trust that our non-Christian members will stand for a fair share in the next election at any rate.

THINGS IN GENERAL

[Continued from page 338]

cause. Admission will be by donation cards. Special accommodation is made for ladies and children.

Dr. Malan On Coalition

Speaking at the Town Hall, at Piet Retief, Dr. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party, is reported to have said that coalition had come upon South Africa out of the blue—from the side of the Imperialists. Its object was not to unite the people; it was not brought about because the "Generals" wanted to make peace and it was done to help the farmers. It was done because British statesmen expected war. With the Nationalist Government South Africa would remain out of war. Dr. D. F. Malan was called upon to make an impromptu speech when he stopped at Dierkiesdorp, where a small crowd had gathered. "Another European war may break out now," he said, "and a big part of the population will want to drag us into it. Because the Nationalists want to remain out of it they are described as pro-German. The Nationalist Party is neither pro-British nor pro-German, but also not anti-German or anti-British. It is just for Afrikaners. If we only realise that we are all Afrikaners together, with identical interests, everything will be all right."

Third Woman Attorney Admitted

Natal's third woman attorney has been admitted in the Supreme Court. She is Miss Marjorie Joan Findlay, daughter of Mr. A. Findlay, a solicitor, of Durban. Miss Findlay was admitted by Mr. Justice Selke and Mr. Acting Justice Jarvis on the motion of Mr. V. A. von Gerard. Mr. Justice Selke wished Miss Findlay success.

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Obituary

Death Of Mr. Lutchman Panday

The death occurred on August 23 at the age of 65 of Mr. Lutchman Panday of Sparks Road, Overport, Durban. Mr. Panday was a former president of the Sydenham Ward Indian Ratepayers' Association and was later appointed hon. life vice-president of that body as well as a prominent committee member of the Natal Indian Congress ever since the days of Mahatma Gandhi. During his younger days he participated in both cricket and football and was the donor of the "Panday Trophy" to the Durban Indian Boy Scouts Association. The late Mr. Lutchman Panday was born and educated in Durban and after leaving school joined the then legal firm of

Mesars. Burne & Burne and when the late Mr. W. Burne, K.C., went to the Bar and took up advocacy Mr. Panday joined the firm of Mr. W. L. Burne where he was employed until recently. He was also a member of the Indian Bearer Corps during the Boer War. The funeral proceeded to the Hindu Crematorium on the banks of the Umgeni River where he was cremated in the presence of a very large number of Indian friends representative of every section of the community. Many telegrams and letters of sympathy were received and wreaths were sent from various organisations, friends and relatives.

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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.

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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ છું.

ફ્રીનીકસ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧ સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૩૫.

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૧ સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૯.

સંપત્તિ હીલચાલ

આ રવીવારે ડરબનના સીટી હોલમાં મળેલી નાટાલ ઇન્ડિયન કોંગ્રેસની ત્રીટીગની સંસ્થાથી નાટાલના નેતાઓમાં સંપત્તિ હીલચાલ એક ડગલું આગળ વધેલી છે. એ પ્રસંગે થયેલી મોટી હાજરી તેમજ સાડા પાંચ કલાક સુધી લાગત એ માનવમેદની શાંતિથી બેસી રહી એ લોકોમાં ભગૃતિ આવેલી હોવાનો અચુક પુરાવો છે. તેમાં એક ઘોંઘાટ મચાવનાર તત્વ પણ હતું જેણે સભાનું કાર્ય ચલાવનારાઓની પ્રામોશની પુરી કસોટી કરી હતી. એ લોકો સંપત્તિ અને કોમનું હિત કરનારી સઘળી વસ્તુઓના હુકમન હતા. તેઓનો એક માત્ર હેતુ સંપત્તિ કરાવવાના પ્રયત્નો તોડી પાડવાનો જ હતો. તેઓનું વર્તન શરમ ભરેલું હતું એટલુંજ તેઓને વિષે કહેવું બસ થશે. તેઓના સઘળા પ્રયત્નો છતાં તેઓના અપવિત્ર કૃત્યમાં તેઓ નિષ્ફળ જ ગયા એ ભાન થવાથી કદાચ તેઓને પોતાની ભુલ સમજાઈ હશે અને પોતાના ગેરવર્તનને માટે શરમ ઉપજી હશે. જે હજુ પણ તેઓને પશ્ચાત્તાપ ન થયો હોય તો તેઓને માટે અમને ખેદ થાય છે. તેઓએ સમજવું જોઈએ કે કોમમાં બ્યારે ખરી ભગૃતિ આવશે, અને અમારી ખાત્રી છે કે તે હવે આવતી ભય છે, ત્યારે કોમની અંદરના એ થોડાક તોફાનીઓ અને વિદ્વંસતોષીઓ પોતાને સમાજમાંથી બહિષ્કૃત થઈ ગયેલા અનુભવશે.

ગયા રવીવારની સભાનું આશાજનક ચિન્હ એ હતું કે આ તોફાનીઓની મસ્તી છતાં સભાજનો પોતાનું મગજ શાંત રાખી શક્યા હતા અને સભાનું કાર્ય સંસ્થાથી પાર પડી શક્યું હતું. નાટાલ ઇન્ડિયન કોંગ્રેસ અને કોલો-

નીયલ બોર્ડ એન્ડ સેટલર્સ ઇન્ડિયન એસોસિએશન એ બન્ને સંસ્થાઓને નાટાલ ઇન્ડિયન એસોસિએશનના નામ હેઠળ ભેડી દેવાનો નવો કરાવ પસાર થયો હતો અને સપ્ટેમ્બર તા. ૨૪ મી એ નવી સંસ્થાના બંધારણનો ખરડો પાસ કરવા અને નવી સંસ્થાના કાર્યવાહકોની ચુટણી કરવાને નાટાલ ઇન્ડિયન એસોસિએશનની સભા બોલાવાય ત્યાં સુધી કામ ચલાવવાને મી. સોરાબાજી રસ્તમજીના પ્રમુખપણા હેઠળ નવા કાર્યવાહકોની ચુટણી થઈ હતી.

અમે વખતો વખત કહી ચુક્યા છીએ કે નેતાઓએ પોતે લોકોના માલીક નહિ પરંતુ સેવકો છે એમ સમજવાનું છે અને જે હોદ્દાઓ પર તેઓ મુકાયા છે તે શોભાને મર્યાદા નથી પરંતુ જેઓએ તેઓને ત્યાં મુકેલા છે તેઓની સેવા કરવાને તેઓ ત્યાં મુકાયા છે. આપણા હાલના નેતાઓ આ વસ્તુ સદંતર ભુલી ગયેલા જણાય છે. સત્તાનો તેઓને મદદ ચઢેલો છે અને આ તો તેઓ વગર બંધારણને કામ ધકાવી રહ્યા છે અથવા તો બંધારણનો સંસ્થાનું કાર્ય પદ્ધતિસર ચલાવવામાં ઉપયોગ કરવાને બદલે પોતાની આપખુદ સત્તા શી રીતે ચાલુ રાખી શકાય એ દ્રષ્ટિએ તેના ઉપયોગ કરી રહ્યા છે. આ વસ્તુ બનવી શક્ય ત્યારેજ થાય છે બ્યારે સંસ્થા એવા બીન જવાબદાર અને નિરંકુશ લોકોના હાથમાં પડી ભય છે, કે જેઓ કોમનું સામાન્ય હિત જોવાને બદલે થોડા લોકોનું જ હિત જુએ છે. આવા લોકો પોતાનું કાર્ય મંડળ પોતાને હા જી હા બધું નારાઓનું જ રચી લે છે. આ રીતે કોંગ્રેસ સંસ્થાનો કારભાર કેટલાક વર્ષોથી ચાલતો આવેલો છે અને તેને માટે જવાબદાર કોઈ પણ હોય તો તેઓ જ છે કે જેઓને પોતાની જવાબદારીનું વધારે સાંજે ભાન હોવું હોવું જોઈએ. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના આ પણા કેટલાક નેતાઓની ખાસીયત એ

છે કે બ્યારે કોઈ પ્રતિષ્ઠિત વ્યક્તિના આગમનથી કે એવી ભતના કંઈ પણ બંનાવથી મોટા દેખાવો કરવાના હોય છે ત્યારે તેઓ બહાર પડે છે અને એ તમાથો રહે ત્યાં સુધી તેઓ પુણું કલામાં પ્રકટે છે અને તમાથો પુરા થાય એટલે નિદ્રાવશ થઈ ભય છે. જે આપણું બહાર કાર્ય સીધી રીતે અને સરળતાથી ચલાવવાનું હોય તો આ વસ્તુ સ્થિતિમાં સુધારા થવો જોઈએ. વળી જેઓ મોખરે રહેવાને લાયક છે તેઓએ પોતાની જવાબદારીમાંથી છટકી જવાની વૃત્તિ રાખવી નહિ જોઈએ. આપણી સંસ્થા ના નાયક તરીકે એવી વ્યક્તિ હોવી જોઈએ કે જે દરેક બાબતમાં સીધી રીતેજ વતે અને કોમના સામાન્ય લાભો તરફ જોશે અને થોડાએકના ઐહિક લાભોને ખાતર સિદ્ધાંતને વેચી દેવા કોઈ પણ સંભોગમાં તૈયાર નહિ થાય એ બાબતમાં તેની ઉપર કોમ સંપૂર્ણ વિશ્વાસ મુકી શકે. આપણા હમણાના નેતાઓ આ પથે ચાલી નથી શક્યા. તેઓએ જેઓ પોતાના ઐહિક લાભોને પોતાના જીવનનું સર્વસ્વ ગણતા આવેલા છે તેવા થોડાને લાભ કરી આપેલો હશે પરંતુ તેઓના નેતૃત્વ હેઠળ કોમનું સામાન્ય રીતે અધઃપતનજ થયું છે.

ભૂતકાળનો કડવો અનુભવ, કે જે, કોંગ્રેસ વાદીઓનો અચુક વર્ગ એ સંસ્થાથી છુટો પડી જવામાં કારણભૂત નીવડેલો છે, તે ભવિષ્યમાં ખરે ખારેથી ખડી પડતાં આપણને બચાવવાને હીવાદાંડી સમાન બનો. મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના શબ્દો અહિં ટાંકવા અસ્થાને નહિ ગણાય: “દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં આપણા ભાઈઓ સત્યાગ્રહ કરે ચા ન કરે છતાં જો તેઓ એકત્ર થઈ એક અવાજે અને નિઃસ્વાર્થપણે કાર્ય નહિ કરી શકે તો તેઓ પોતાની સ્થિતિ ટકાવી નહિ શકે. કોમ તરીકે તેઓની હસ્તિ તેઓ માનથી ટકાવી નહિ શકે, જો વ્યક્તિઓ પોતાના સ્વાર્થો હેતુઓ સિદ્ધ