

# INDIAN OPINION

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## PIONEERING IN RELIGIOUS THINKING

ARE we liberals pioneering in religious thinking? Or are we assuming that the day of pioneering is over? Is it for us merely to accept the tradition of past liberals? The answer is that we need to continue to advance in religious thinking. If we advance, then indeed, we are carrying on the basic tradition of the great liberals of the past. That tradition is not so much any particular ideas about man or God, as it is the spirit of free search and inquiry in order to find the truth. Thus we must clearly distinguish between the tradition of free inquiry and the tradition of specific beliefs. To carry on the liberal tradition is to have this free spirit in our time also; it does not mean necessarily that we hold to all beliefs that former liberals have formulated in their search for truth. This is why it is consistent to have differences of opinion within a liberal church or denomination. Thus, by pioneering in religious thinking we mean, first, that we continue the spirit of intellectual freedom; and, secondly, that we also formulate for our time beliefs that seem reasonable. Indeed, if we accept the tradition of the free-mind, we are logically bound to be pioneers in our thinking of man and the universe.

There are two important directions which we as progressives can take. One way in which we can pioneer is our attitude towards building a better human society. Another way is in our attitude towards the universe. Let us first consider the former.

Saving the world from its many evils by the method of individuals reforming themselves has been and still is the attitude of many liberals. The slogan, "salvation by character," illustrates this point of view. Evils of to day, such as juvenile delinquency, exploitation of workers and war are to be corrected by each individual developing his own character. A peaceful world is to be brought about by each person in the nations achieving the spirit of unselfishness in his own soul. If a better world is to come in the varied relationships of human life, then it will come only or mainly through the development of individual hearts. Human society can be saved, if at all, by individual reform. This is the attitude that seems to be held by many liberals.

By

JOHN H. HERSHEY

In "Unity" (Chicago)

What shall we, who endeavour to be pioneers in religious thinking in our time, say of this point of view? Certainly, persons of intelligence and sympathy are needed to manage any social system. Certainly, the leaders of labour, industry, government and international relations should be those who are guided by knowledge and inspired by goodwill. The method of individuals reforming themselves is necessary. What follows is not intended to deny this important truth.

But it is not enough. What is emphatically needed is also the reforming of social conditions and the building of a new and better economic, political, and social order. It must be understood that a close relationship between the individual and social conditions does exist. Neither the individual nor society is a static, unchanging thing. On the contrary, individuals change; society, too, is changing and evolving. Therefore, there is a continuous, vital relationship existing between individuals and social conditions. Individuals, especially leaders, help change conditions. Conditions and institutions, in turn, influence the mass of people. Individual leaders, for example, create consumer co-operatives, labour unions, group medicine, churches. These social institutions then influence their members. There is continuous interaction between individuals and institutions, each changing the other. Therefore, in order to bring about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, it is absolutely essential that not only individuals reform themselves, but that social conditions be changed.

Let us consider some examples illustrating this truth. If juvenile delinquency is to be prevented more than it has been in the past, not merely individual reform of youth is necessary but especially reform of the evil social conditions that breed such youth. The abolition of slums and the establishment of adequate housing are some of the means that help develop youth.

With regard to another problem, consider the liquor question. It is not enough to endeavour to cure drunkenness by preaching that individuals reform themselves. It is necessary that the conditions that encourage drunkenness be abolished. As to just what shall be done, good and wise persons differ. But can there be any question as to the need for some kind of attack on conditions? Whether the method be that of rigid regulation of private traffic in liquor or abolition of all liquor advertisements or the establishment of state stores or prohibition is another question. But that conditions in many parts of our country need be changed is certainly evident.

Economic depressions bring both material and spiritual misery to millions of people. It is important but not enough to urge employers to be generous with their employees and fair to the public, or to urge employees to co-operate with business. Depressions will still come if nothing else is done. There must be a change of conditions; only then is there some hope that depressions will end. Just what changes should be made is a matter about which people differ. But whether it be a minor or drastic change of the capitalist system, or the establishment of a different economic system, some change in conditions that breed depressions is necessary. Not merely individuals, but the economic order itself must be changed.

If we are to have peace among the nations, it is essential but not enough that the peoples of the various nations possess the spirit of goodwill. It is also necessary that conditions which help to make war be eliminated, and that conditions which help to make it easier to settle disputes be created. Religious progressives must therefore teach that relationships among the nations need to be changed so that war will be discouraged and peace encouraged.

It may be said by some, however, that when a church teaches the need of social action and reform, it is then "mixing in politics." If by that phrase is meant the giving of support by the

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## Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1939

### Hitlerism Vs. Imperialism

SEPTEMBER 1939, will be written in the history of the world as a fateful month. Germany began war on Poland on the 1st and Britain and France after giving an ultimatum to Germany to withdraw her troops declared war against it, on September 3, the ultimatum having been ignored. Thus all desperate efforts by Britain to avert war have failed and the world is to once again witness the grim spectacle of wholesale slaughter of mankind for territorial gain as was witnessed a quarter of a century ago, the horror of which is still fresh in the minds of the people. A gloom is cast over the world. One can only heave a deep sigh of anguish and say to oneself "What is to be the fate of the world?" God alone can tell. Our sympathy goes out not to those who are actually at war but to the innocent victims. Hitlerism no doubt is a curse to humanity and it is destined to be destroyed. But is Imperialism any better? Can it be truly said that it has perpetrated evil in a lesser degree than Hitlerism? Comparatively speaking we would have no hesitation in saying that Imperialism has been worse than Hitlerism, for all the evils perpetrated by the former have been clothed in a saintly garb, while the latter has appeared in its grim naked form. War is declared against Germany because the great principles of humanity, justice and morality among the nations of the world are endangered, because Germany is seeking world domination by methods of force. Was not the same plea made in 1914? And did the promised peace come to the world after the Great War? What guarantee is there that things will be different after the present war? The war is between Hitlerism and Imperialism, both of which are equally worthy of being destroyed for neither has brought nor can bring peace to the world.

It grieves us to utter these hard words at a time when our hearts are full with anguish. But it is better to be brutally frank than to be hypocrites. We can but pray that the Almighty may in His great mercy cause the cruel claws of the Demon of War to be withdrawn and bring easier counsels to rule over mankind that peace and prosperity which have long vanished may once again reign over the weary world.

### South Africa's Position

WE must take note of the recent lightning changes that have taken place in South Africa as a result of the war having broken out in Europe.

General Smuts has once again risen to the occasion at a time of grave crisis when the interests of South Africa are at stake. He did so always in the past and he has done so once again. The hottest Nationalist cannot doubt the sincerity of General Smuts in regard to protecting the rights and interests of South Africa. General Hertzog and his colleagues are once again in the wrong. We fully sympathise with the wounded sentiments of the Nationalists of South Africa. But they have really very little cause left to cry over their past sores. South Africa's position in the British Commonwealth of Nations is an enviable one. In every sense of the term South Africa is an independent nation. In seeking further concessions, we fear, the Nationalists are a bit too ambitious. Those who believe South Africa can be self-contained to the point of selfishness are really not the friends but the enemies of South Africa. As an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations the ordinary rules of common decency demand South Africa's unflinching loyalty and co-operation to the partners that are in trouble. General Smuts has adopted the correct line and we have no doubt he will receive the fullest support and co-operation of every sane person in the country.

In so far as Indians are concerned, in this hour of trial, it will be the duty of every Indian, as a loyal citizen of South Africa, to be prepared to do his duty when the call comes. We have many a dual to fight with the Union Government but a Satyagrahi never deals a blow below the belt; and to embarrass the Government when it is in trouble would amount to doing so. Our grievances will therefore have to be subordinated to the greater cause at issue. In the meantime, of course, we should act in such an exemplary manner that when the time for considering our cause comes no further convincing proof will be required to justify it.

Let us take note of the appeal made by the Prime Minister, General Smuts, to the people of South Africa, "that it is their duty to-day to maintain a calm and orderly attitude, to discuss their differences without heat or passion in a spirit of reason and tolerance and goodwill. Let there be no violent ebullitions of feeling, no provocative public meetings." Let us show our unflinching loyalty to South Africa in thought, word and deed.

### How India Stands

THE position of India is different to that of South Africa. She holds the most important place in the British Empire, but only as the hand-maid of Britain. Britain has made use of India's resources at Britain's own will; never with India's consent. India has never been allowed to use her own mind when Britain has needed her services. To-day nine out of eleven Provinces have been given Provincial autonomy. They are but toys given to India to play with. The key positions are retained by the Central Government and the Viceroy may at any moment withdraw those toys. Hitlerism has only just recently come on the scene while India has been raped by British Imperialism for over hundred and sixty years. The Princes are like the valets of Britain. No wonder they have all expressed their unflinching loyalty and offered their wholehearted co-operation to Britain. But the people of India have not yet spoken. Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with the Viceroy for two hours and so did other leaders but we do not yet know what the people of India have said.

The Viceroy in his call to the country has reminded India of Germany's challenge to the "great principles of humanity, justice and morality which are in no country valued more highly than in India." "Failure to take up the challenge," he said, "would destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and development." Are the people of India to be blamed if they take these words with a pinch of salt? Have these principles been fulfilled by British Imperialism in India? Have they not been hopelessly violated? What has Britain done to win the friendship of India who has cherished these great principles of humanity, justice and morality from time immemorial? It remains now to be seen whether India is going to be allowed to act according to her own will or whether she is destined to shine like the jewel of the Empire once again only as the hand-maid of Britain. She will prove her worth in any case, we have no doubt, even as she has done in the past. Whatever she may or may not do she will not be an obstruction to Britain in her hour of trial.

### Profiteering

NO sooner did the war bugles sound than the prices of rice and other commodities began to soar high to the extent that they are increased almost to 100 per cent. Calcutta rice obtainable at 17s. to 18s. before war is now quoted at from 25s. to 40s. The consumers since last Saturday have been so scared that if they failed to buy rice at the increased price right away the price would still rise higher. Many who were in a position to do so, in their confusion and anxiety, actually purchased large quantities of rice at that high price. But what about the poor who could not afford to do so? Protests against this abnormal increase in the price of rice which is the staple food of Indians have been pour-

ing from all over the country and strong resentment is expressed at the unscrupulous manner in which merchants have been making exorbitant profits from the poor man's pocket. We cannot but condemn the attitude of the merchants who have been so heartless as to indulge in unscrupulous profiteering at a time when the tendency of every person should be to be humble and helpful to one another. It is a pity that the merchants who should really set a better example should themselves require to be checked and that the aid of the authorities should be required to do so. Attempts have been made by local leaders to keep the price down. But that does not help the poor man. The motive underlying this move to keep the price down a little is not so much to benefit the poor consumer as it is to seek cheap advertisement and to profiteer at the same time. Two prominent merchants distributed circulars all over advertising that they would sell Calcutta rice at 6s. 8d. per quarter bag, and thereupon, a dozen other

merchants have advertised, that they are prepared to sell the same rice at 6s. per quarter bag. The poor ignorant consumer of course is confused and robbed of 6s. or 7s. extra per bag. The point is that there is no justification for any increase whatsoever in the ordinary price of rice, and no merchant is competent to stipulate a maximum price. What is required, therefore, is a thorough investigation by the Government of all the hoardings of rice and to take strict steps to see that no profiteering is done by the merchants. All other attempts that have already been made are only in the interests of the merchants themselves at the expense of the consumers which should be put a stop to with the least possible delay. We are glad to note in this connection that the Minister of Commerce and Industries has expressed his determination to suppress any attempt to profiteer at the expense of the consumer and that the National Supplies Control Board has also notified that it has been directed by the Minister to

investigate the circumstances under which wholesale and retail prices have been or may be increased. The withholding or hoarding of essential foodstuffs and other commodities is also to come under investigation. We hope adequate steps will now be taken by the authorities concerned to prevent the exploitation of the poor consumers by unscrupulous merchants.

We wholeheartedly endorse the following comment made by the *Natal Mercury* on the profiteer: "He is just as much an enemy of the community as anyone who aligns himself with Hitler, and entitled to less respect, for he does nothing but wax fat on the sufferings of others. There is no need at present for any substantial rise in the price of essential foodstuffs. Stocks cannot yet be exhausted, and while the British Navy commands the seas the continuance of future supplies is assured. No mercy should be shown to those who take advantage of the present situation to line their purses at the expense of their fellow men."

## PROTEST AGAINST PROFITEERING IN RICE

**T**HE joint hon. secretaries, Messrs. K. Soobramoney and M. Gopaul Naidoo, of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, have recently forwarded the following telegram to the Hon. the Minister of Commerce and Industries:

"Indian community alarmed at sudden increase in price of rice and other commodities. Considerable stock being hoarded up by local merchants. Association feels no justification for such profiteering by the traders and urges immediate intervention by your goodself."

A meeting of protest is called on Sunday, September 10 at 2.30 p.m. at the H.Y.M.A. Main Hall, Church Street, Maritzburg. The Association particularly requests Indian consumers not to be perturbed and not to rush and procure excess quantity of the various commodities on which prices have been put up, and urges them to purchase sufficient requirements as in normal times, as there is a possibility in the near future, through the authorities' intervention, that the prices will be accordingly regulated. Rice especially is plentiful and held by the traders.

Similar telegrams have been sent by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (headquarters at Durban), by the various branches of the Congress, the Isipingo Indian Society and other bodies. Meetings of protest have also been held during the week in Durban and district.

### Indian Social Service Committee

The following resolutions were passed at a mass meeting convened by the

Indian Social Service Committee at Clairwood last Monday:—

"This meeting places on record its strong protest against the unconscionable and undue profiteering by Indian merchants and storekeepers in essential and necessary Indian commodities, both local and imported, which in some cases have increased to 100 per cent., causing a widespread anxiety among the labouring classes of Indians.

"This meeting hereby requests the Government to take immediate steps to stabilise prices which are being increased from day to day since the position is becoming desperate owing to the poor financial position of the overwhelming majority of the Indian population."

### City Council Takes Action

The City Council's Finance Committee on Monday, September 4, recommended unanimously that the Mayor be asked to approach the Government to take action on the lines of appointing a controller of prices in Durban. It was urged that this was necessary, particularly in regard to foodstuffs, to prevent profiteering. The Committee had before it a letter from Councillor H. H. Kemp referring to alleged profiteering in rice. There should be control of prices by some authority other than the merchants, he maintained.

### The Mayor Sends Telegram To Government

The Mayor of Durban sent a telegram to the Minister of Commerce and Industries emphasising that it was urgent that

immediate steps be taken to relieve conditions among poor Indians resulting in the abnormal increase in the price of rice. "To stop speculation and profiteering," the telegram continues, "I, after consultation with the Agent-General for India and Mr. A. I. Kaje, secretary of the South African Indian Congress, seriously suggest that the price should be fixed by proclamation at a maximum of 22s. 6d. a bag for Calcutta and Burma rice and 27s. 6d. for Bombay rice, plus 1s. 6d. retailer's profit."

### Agent-General Explains

Mr. J. Ridley, secretary to the Agent-General, writes to the *Natal Mercury* as follows:—

Sir,—In your issue of Tuesday you report a telegram issued yesterday by the Mayor of Durban to the Minister of Commerce and Industries on the subject of control of rice prices. It is understood that some people infer that the prices suggested in that telegram were agreed to by the Mayor and the Agent-General. I am therefore to inform you that the Agent-General merely expressed himself in favour of the general policy of the fixation of a maximum price, and that he made it quite clear that he did not agree to any particular price.

### Durban Chamber Of Commerce

The Durban Chamber of Commerce issued a statement saying that there was no justification for a rise in the price of rice.

# UNION'S POLICY IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

**A**N important debate took place in the Union House of Assembly on the present international situation on Monday, September 4. The following statement was made by General J. B. M. Hertzog, the Prime Minister, as to what the policy of the Union should be:—

"The existing relations between the Union of South Africa and the various belligerent countries will in so far as the Union is concerned persist unchanged and continue as if no war is being waged."

"Upon the understanding, however, that the existing relations and obligations between the Union and Great Britain or any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in so far as such relations or obligations result from contractual undertakings relating to the naval base at Simonstown; or from its membership in the League of Nations; or in so far as such relations and obligations result more implicitly from the free association of the Union with the other members of the British Commonwealth, shall continue unimpaired and shall be maintained by the Union, and no one shall be permitted to use Union territory for the purpose of doing anything which may in any way impair the said relations or obligations."

The following amendment was moved by General Smuts, the Deputy Prime Minister:

"This House declares that the policy of the Union in this crisis should be based on the following principles:

"(1) It is in the interest of the Union that its relations with the German Reich should be severed and that it refuse to adopt an attitude of neutrality in this conflict.

"(2) The Union should carry out the obligations to which it has agreed and continue its co-operation with its friends and associates in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"(3) The Union should take all necessary measures for the defence of its territory and South African interests, and the Government should not send forces overseas as in the last war.

"(4) This House is profoundly convinced that the freedom and independence of the Union are at stake in this conflict and it is therefore in our interests to oppose the use of force as an instrument of national policy."

General Hertzog's motion was defeated by 80 votes to 67 and General Smuts' amendment was carried by 80 votes to 67.

## General Hertzog's Speech

Defending the policy outlined by him General Hertzog said, if the policy were adopted the Union would not only be able to keep out of war, but would also be able to fulfil all its obligations to the British Commonwealth of Nations. This was the fullest extent to which the Union could go in helping Great Britain. It had to be borne in mind that the Union had a population of only 2,000,000 people and could not go any further in rendering assistance.

General Hertzog said he had as yet met not a single person who held the opinion that the Union should send men overseas to take part in the war. The Union would be able to resist any attack which might be made on Simonstown and would carry on the present position as regards Simonstown.

"Is it not a fact that during all this time I, myself, General Smuts and other members of the Party have repeatedly insisted in our promise to the nation that we would not take part in any war unless it was in our direct interest to do so? Was it not the duty of those who are now taking the other view to have explained their attitude at that time? I have not deserved to be left in the lurch by my colleagues in a time such as this.

The Afrikaner nation had suffered much in the past and if it had to be plunged into a war now such misery would follow that it would take a full 50 years before the nation recovered again.

General Hertzog said he was proud of one thing. The Afrikaner nation at no stage could have accused him of being disloyal. Similarly, he challenged anyone to say that he had ever been lacking in his loyalty towards the English-speaking people.

"We belong to the League of Nations, but at the same time we are a free, independent nation—as free as England herself—and we must exercise that freedom with the best possible effect."

## No Obligations

Although the Union was a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and there was the fullest goodwill towards England, the Union would never buy that goodwill at the cost of her independence. If the Union took part in this war, General Hertzog said, he could conceive no occasion upon which the Union would be able to keep out of a war.

It was being said that the Union must enter this war because Germany had shown that she was out for world domination, proceeded the Prime Minister. He had, however, followed carefully every step taken by Germany and asked

himself whether the interpretation that Herr Hitler was out for world domination was correct. If that had been the case no one would have opposed Germany more fervently than he himself. There was, however, no proof that this was Herr Hitler's object.

"In 1935 when I attended the Imperial Conference I predicted to British statesmen step for step what would happen if that monster the Treaty of Versailles were not altered so as to return to Germany what had been taken from her," said the Prime Minister.

Because Herr Hitler had since then taken those territories it was now said that Herr Hitler was out for world domination. That was a totally wrong interpretation of his action.

General Hertzog said he had gone through the same struggle as Herr Hitler. If the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles were not removed there would never be peace in Europe. He had always said that unless this were done the soul of Herr Hitler and the German nation would be so embittered that Germany would do anything to put an end to her humiliation. He said this, said General Hertzog, because of the false accusations which were made against Herr Hitler.

"I have gone through this struggle myself and I know what it is to be trampled underfoot so long that eventually one prefers destruction to further humiliation," said the Prime Minister. "We are now being asked to go to war. We have not the least right to do that, and if we enter the Afrikaner nation will suffer such a shock that it will take years before we recover."

## General Smuts' Speech

In the course of his speech General Smuts said:

"I wish this House and the people of this country to realise as clearly as I see it what really is the position, what is at stake and what is the exact difference between the point of view of the Prime Minister and his friends in the Cabinet and myself and some others in the Cabinet.

"It is a very grave national occasion this. For more than six years we have had a measure of co-operation in this country which I, at any rate, and the vast majority of the people of South Africa welcomed in a very great measure. If my principles and my functions allowed me, I would not do anything in the world to disturb that state of co-operation which has been so beneficial, in my opinion, in the history of the country for so many years.

"I have never in all these years of political co-operation made a serious point out of a difference on small issues.

I have always been prepared to give way to help peace and see the young life of this nation given a chance. To-day I come to a point where I have to call a halt and adopt a different attitude, and I wish to put it to the House that it is because I am convinced that we are up against the most vital issues for the future of this country."

What was the point at issue? General Hertzog had said the point on which General Smuts and his colleagues had broken with the Prime Minister was that he (General Smuts) supported a policy of active participation in war. "The position we take up is this," said General Smuts: "It would be wrong and it would be fatal for this country not to sever relations with Germany at this stage. We think it would be fatal for this country to continue to consider Germany as a friend and to continue as if nothing has happened in the world.

"Participation in war is a different matter. The situation of South Africa may be such, and I am afraid it is going to be such, that our active participation in the measure and degree of the last Great War will be very difficult. We shall have to look after our interests in this country and probably that will engage all the resource and effort of which we are capable.

### The Difference

"Is Germany under the circumstances of to-day going to be considered as a friendly Power, or are we going to take what I consider the proper course and sever relations with her? That is the point on which we have broken. The question of our active participation is not at issue. To my mind if we are to take up the middle course the Prime Minister proposes we would be adopting an attitude unknown to international law.

"In war you are either a friend or an enemy. The Prime Minister wants to be a friend, but he wants to temper his friendship with acts and behaviour which no hostile Power will ever recognise as legal or proper. If we are prepared to adopt this course of modified neutrality we shall be up against the gravest difficulties possible. No nation in the world—certainly not Germany—would be under any obligation to recognise that behaviour."

In the end South Africa would probably be forced to take sides one way or the other.

"Is it not far wiser and better to adopt a clear cut line, recognised by international law, recognised by the usages of nations, and sever relations with Germany and look upon her as an enemy?"

"The policy we favour is that we shall sever relations with Germany, have no trade with her, have no truck with her, that her representatives in this country, her ships in our harbours all be treated on that basis—the recognised basis of international law."

General Hertzog had said this was an affair with which South Africa had nothing to do. That raised the issue of the Union's whole outlook on this matter. He was profoundly convinced that although Danzig and the Polish Corridor and Germany's attack on Poland were the immediate *casus belli*, the real issue went far beyond Danzig and Poland and touched South Africa vitally.

There might be a difference of opinion on this matter but in his view it was quite clear. General Hertzog had said South Africa had nothing to do with it. "He made a statement here to day which no doubt will be carefully pondered by the country and which to me, I regret to say, reads like a complete justification of Herr Hitler.

"I wish the honourable members, when they consider this whole matter and the difference which has arisen in the Cabinet, carefully to consider that—that the action of the Prime Minister is not only to minimise the importance of the present matter, but virtually to give a lengthy justification of the German Chancellor. I do not think the people of this country in their own vital interests as South Africans will be justified in taking that view."

### Great Change

There had been a great change in the past 12 months. In September, 1938, they had been prepared to a large extent to trust Herr Hitler to recognise that there was a very strong case in his favour when he claimed the return of the Sudetenland to Germany and to make concessions to him. But since that time they had seen an entirely un-German people the Czechs, forcibly overcome and annexed by Germany.

They dared not close their eyes to these developments which had shown the real objectives and motive of the German Chancellor. Not only had Mr. Chamberlain altered his action and reshaped his policy, but practically the whole world had done so. This new phase was not merely an affair of Danzig and the corridor, but an opposition to a new force by which Germany was out to dominate the world.

If that was to be Germany's policy he asked the House "What about this country?"

"You notice the next demand after Danzig has been wiped off the slate and is going to be the return of the German colonies. As far as South Africa is concerned and its special interests, the question we have to face is what is our position going to be when we are treated as Austria and Czechoslovakia have been treated and as Poland is now being treated, when we are faced with a superior force and have to surrender what we consider vital to the Union at the point of the bayonet?"

### Close Issue

"We are not dealing with a far away problem in Eastern Europe, but with an issue which may touch us here."

General Smuts said the Prime Minister had declared that we were going to observe our obligations as a member State of the League of Nations and the British Commonwealth of Nations. At the same time, however, we were going to look upon the German Reich as a friendly nation.

"To my mind, however we phrase it and attempt to disguise it and wrap it up in all sorts of subterfuge, such an action would practically dissociate us from our friends in the Commonwealth. Nothing would be more fatal for this country, poor as it is in defence and rich as it is in resources, than to dissociate itself directly or indirectly from its friends in the Commonwealth.

"It is not only a question of loyalty and self-respect, which I assume we all feel deeply—it is a question of the gravest importance and deepest interest for the future of South Africa.

"If we dissociate ourselves deliberately and conspicuously from the line of action by the other members of the Commonwealth we are going to get what we deserve and the day will come—and it will not be far off—when the same treatment will be applied to us. And when the day of trouble comes—and it is bound to come as surely as we are seated here—when the German demand for the return of South West Africa is made at the point of the bayonet, we will stand alone.

"No, sir, I think that from the narrowest point of view of South Africa's own interests we would be false to the future security and safety of South Africa if we adopted the course advocated by the Prime Minister."

## PIONEERING IN RELIGIOUS THINKING]

[Continued from front page]

church to a political party or candidate, then the church certainly should not mix in politics. It would be as difficult, as well as undesirable, for a church to have all of its members belong to a particular party, as it would be for a political party to have all of its members adhere to a particular church. But some liberals seem to mean that churches should not even discuss and study in pulpit and classes the great social issues from an ethical point of view. If mixing in politics means doing these things, then churches should certainly mix in politics! If we are to build the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, then it is absolutely necessary that social action and reform be taught as a means to that glorious fulfilment.

As pioneers in religious thinking in our time, we must therefore advance beyond the teaching that reforming individuals is enough to bring about a better world, to the attitude that reforming conditions and establishing a new and better economic, political and social order are necessary. Let our slogan be, "salvation by character and social action." Liberal religion thus becomes more than something merely personal and subjective; it becomes social and objective. Holding fast to this social conception, liberal religion can arouse fervour and be practical in everyday life. Loyalty to the great purpose of establishing a new social order, a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, becomes a driving power in our being. The day of liberal religion is not done, and the distinction between liberals and conservatives still remains, if we emphasise the religion of devotion to the building of a new and better social order for men, women and children.

Progressive religion, as we have seen, should go beyond the individual to the social. It is vitally necessary that religion means our deep concern and effort for a humane social order. But even this is not enough. There are still wider horizons than the individual or even humanity. There are universal and cosmic horizons. Liberal religion needs to be cosmic in scope, needs to open our souls to the wonder and glory and beauty of the living universe. Unfortunately, however, some liberals think of religion as being social only, ignoring the universal elements. Some, on the other hand, think of religion as being only the worship of the Infinite, ignoring the social aspects. A fully-rounded religion takes in both the social and the universal. Therefore, let us consider in what way we can be pioneers in our attitude towards the universe.

The knowledge achieved by scientists suggests that this amazing and complex

universe is nevertheless a unity. The science of the stars discloses an orderly system in which the earth, the other planets and the sun form a pattern. Furthermore, our solar system is but a part of the great galaxy of stars we call the Milky Way. As our galaxy is but one of millions of galaxies which together form the supergalaxy or universe. That space and time are bound together, that gravitation extends to the vast reaches of space, that evolution of stars and systems occurs through time, that light rays speed through space bringing light from distant stars to our eyes—all these facts point the sublime thought of the unity of all things.

The sciences of matter indicate that the atomic elements form definite patterns, and that they evolved somehow from one primordial element. The science of life makes plausible the proposition that all living things are united in the sense that all are made of the same fundamental protoplasm. Ethnology shows that it is highly probable that all existing races of mankind sprang originally from one common stock. Many of the different schools of psychology are based on the idea of the intimate relation between the body and the mind of the human being. History and sociology show the interchange of trade and culture ever going on among diverse nations and races.

Thus, this complicated, mysterious world of atoms and earth and man and stars is nevertheless a unity. From all these conclusions of science it is reasonable to assume the reality of a cosmic order, a universal life. By the term "cosmic order" is meant the pattern and organisation of the whole universe in space. The term "universal life" signifies the processes ever going on in the vast universe of time. This cosmic order and universal life constitutes one eternal reality which is God.

The various sciences also make reasonable the thought that we human beings, as well as all living things, are rooted in the universe as a tree is rooted in the soil of the earth. Physically, we are made of the same elemental stuff as the earth and the stars. Biologically, we are bound together to all living things on this planet. It is probable that life itself sprang somehow from what we call matter. Historically, the human race is bound together in what is very likely a common origin. Our conscience relates us to our group and even to humanity, for ideas of right and wrong have evolved among human beings in the process of their living together. Our aesthetic sense binds us to the sights and sounds of beauty that are around us. There is a relation between our sense of beauty and the world which contains beautiful objects. Our brains have evolved in this universe; and when we discover its laws, we are

related through understanding with the system and law of nature.

The knowledge thus far gained by man makes reasonable the idea of a universal life, a cosmic order, which is God. Furthermore, as we have just seen, knowledge makes probable the thought that our whole being—physical, mental, social and spiritual—is rooted in the process and structure of the universe itself, in the cosmic reality we call God. Therefore, as pioneers in religious thinking, we can develop this thought of God and our relation to God.

The affirmative idea of God has thus far been advanced. The idea presented here is opposed to two other attitudes towards the universe, which shall be considered briefly. In the first place, the universe is not alien to man. If our whole being is a part and parcel of living reality, then we can hardly think of the universe as alien to us. In the second place, God is not a personal providence over the individual or even over humanity. God is not a personal providence conceived as being either transcendent or indwelling. Liberals used to debate with Trinitarians the question whether Deity is one person or three persons. The basis of argument is surely changing now. The discussion is becoming more and more whether God can properly be considered a personal providence at all. The question is whether Deity is a personal providence or the super-personal cosmic order. Thus according to the thought of God suggested in this article, the universe is not alien to us; God is not a personal providence; but God is the universal life, and our lives are rooted in that life.

From a practical point of view, how can we attain this cosmic consciousness, this awareness of the sublime, eternal unity of all things? To absorb the truths of the sciences so that we not merely understand but also feel their meaning, is an aid. Music may help us in giving us a sense of the rhythmic universe. Paintings, such as those of the artist Roerich, may enlarge our horizons. Observing with appreciation the earth and sea and sky and the multitude of living creatures is another way to attain consciousness of the eternal beauty. As sincere worshippers in a church we may be "led unto the thinking of the thought divine." As citizens of the living universe, we are aware not only of ourselves and of humanity but also of the order of things which includes us but vastly more. Liberal and progressive religion, then, can open men's minds and hearts to the wide horizons of the universe, can make us feel wonder and awe in the presence of sublimity, can help us feel that we are part of "one stupendous whole." The indescribable beauty of the cosmos is, for the modern man, the glory of God. To achieve a vision

of God is to partake of one of the greatest experiences possible to human beings.

We as liberals and progressives in religion can carry on the great tradition of free search and inquiry according to experience, science, reason. But in possessing that spirit to-day, we may

arrive at conclusions about man and God that are different from those held in the past. We too must be pioneers in religious thinking. In our continued quest, two directions in which we can move have been suggested. Pioneering in our thought of man, we come to the conclusion that we must preach and

practise reform not only of individuals, but also of conditions and the social system. Pioneering in the thought of God, we come to the conclusion that the universal life and beauty and order is God. The day of the liberal church is not done if we continue to be pioneers of a vital religion.

# Things In General

## Union's New Cabinet

**GENERAL HERTZOG** has resigned. General Smuts has formed the new Union Cabinet as follows—General J. C. Smuts, Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Defence; Colonel Deneys Reitz, Minister of Native Affairs; Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance and Education; Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of Commerce and Industries; Colonel W. R. Collins, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry; Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Interior and Public Health; Mr. F. O. Sturrock, Minister of Railways and Harbours; Mr. C. F. Clarkson, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works; Mr. W. B. Madeley, Minister of Labour and Social welfare; Senator A. M. Conroy, Minister of Lands; Dr. Colin Steyn, Minister of Justice; Colonel C. F. Stallard, Minister of Mines; Major P. V. G. Van Der Byl, Minister without Portfolio.

## Union At War With Germany

General Smuts's first act as new Prime Minister was to sign a proclamation severing relations with Germany and stating that for the purpose of all laws the Union was at war with Germany.

## Gandhiji Appealed To Hitler

A Renter's message from Simla dated September 6 states: The fact that he wrote to Herr Hitler on July 23 was revealed by Gandhiji after an interview with the Viceroy. Gandhiji wrote: "It is quite clear you to-day are the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to a savage stage. Must you pay that price for an object, however much worth it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?" Gandhiji referring to this letter said: "How I wish even now he would listen to reason and to the appeal of almost the whole thinking mankind not excluding the German people themselves." Having made the position regarding National Congress quite clear, Gandhiji said he told the Viceroy his own sympathisers were with England and France from a purely humanitarian point of view.

## The British War Cabinet

In the War Cabinet announced on Sunday, September 3, Mr. Neville

Chamberlain is Prime Minister. Mr. Winston Churchill comes in as First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Hankey will be Minister without Portfolio. The

## Viceroy's Call To India

**A MESSAGE** from Simla dated September 4 states: A proclamation has been issued by the Viceroy announcing the outbreak of war and the existence of a grave emergency threatening the security of India.

The Viceroy in the course of a broadcast uttered an impressive call to the country to take up Germany's challenge to the great principles of humanity, justice and morality in no country valued more highly than in India.

Failure to take up the challenge, he said, would destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and development.

"In a cause such as this, I am certain that the whole-hearted sympathy and support of all this great country whether British India or the Indian States will be forthcoming without distinction of class or creed, race or political party.

"I am confident that on the day on which all that is most precious, most significant in civilisation stands in peril, India will make a contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and play a part worthy of her race among the great nations and historic civilisations of the world."

other ministers are unchanged, the portfolios being as follows:—Sir John Simon, Chancellor of Exchequer; Lord Halifax, Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Lord Chatfield, Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence; Mr. Hore-Belisha, Secretary for War; Sir Kingsley Wood, Secretary for Air; and Sir Samuel Hore, Lord Privy Seal. Further Ministerial appointments outside the War Cabinet, are Sir John Anderson, who was formerly Lord Privy

Seal and in charge of the A.R.P. He will probably appear in a further list still as a Cabinet Minister. Mr. Chamberlain invited Sir Archibald Sinclair to accept a Cabinet office, but after consultation with the Liberal Party, Sir Archibald informed the Prime Minister and his friends considered they could render better service to the nation and the Government by supporting all necessary war measures from an independent position.

## Umkomaas Indian Association

A mass meeting of Indian residents of Umkomaas was held on Sunday afternoon, September 3, at the Umkomaas Government-Aided Indian School. The Umkomaas Drift Indian School Committee and the Umkomaas School Board combined and formed a new body, designated as the Umkomaas Indian Association. The Umkomaas Drift Indian School also amalgamated with the Roseneath Indian School and it was unanimously decided that the new name of the amalgamated schools be designated as the Umkomaas Government-Aided Indian School. The meeting authorised the Umkomaas Indian Association to serve Indian education generally in Umkomaas and conduct all affairs relating to the general welfare of the entire Indian community in that district. The following office-bearers were elected:—Patrons: Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, and Dr. G. D. H. Wallace; chairman: Mr. O. S. Naidoo; vice-chairman: Mr. G. S. Patel; secretary: Mr. M. S. Ismail; treasurer: Mr. L. R. Jack; school manager: Mrs. T. Naidoo; committee: Messrs. S. B. Singh, P. Gayadeen, G. Rooph Singh, S. R. Padayachie, P. Coopooosamy Moodley, P. Venketas, S. N. Cheity, Bhims, P. Moodley, C. Naidoo, F. Manuel, A. S. Govender and Mrs. Ramreka. Mr. M. R. Varma, the headmaster of the school, moved a vote of thanks.

## Ceylon To Have Agent In Union

The Government of Ceylon proposes to appoint a trade correspondent in South Africa to develop business contracts resulting from Ceylon's participation in the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg during 1937. The trade correspondent will act in a similar capacity to the honorary trade agent in South Africa, who represents New Zealand, and the

(Continued on page 351)

# SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

## III

THE second part of the Bill, as has been already explained, refers to the prohibition of the grant of new licences to Asiatics, of the occupation by Asiatics of areas not occupied by them on the 30th April 1939, and of the change of business premises by Asiatics, without the permission of the Minister of the Interior. This part of the Bill was most strenuously opposed as not only uncalled for, but as a violation of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement and the Capetown Agreement, and as going beyond the Minister's own professed intention of "pegging" the Indian interests and as anticipating the Government's policy of compulsory segregation, notwithstanding protestations to the contrary, and as introducing for the first time discriminatory legislation against Asiatics as such. From the debates it would also seem that the Minister of the Interior and his supporters were at cross-purposes on the question of residential vs. commercial segregation.

The Minister defended his proposals in this behalf on the ground that he wished to "stabilise" the position during the *interim* period, pending a final solution of the problem. The question was debated at length whether there was any need for pegging, considering that such action interfered with the existing rights of Indians. The Minister of the Interior, as has been pointed out in the previous articles on the subject, confessed that he had no evidence and that the Murray Commission was asked not to enquire into the question of penetration by Asiatics of European areas. Dr. Malan emphatically denied that any penetration had been proved. Speaking on the third reading on the 2nd June 1939, he said:

This Bill, furthermore, tries to circumscribe the holding of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal, land which they desire to hold for occupation or for trading purposes. I feel that so far as that is concerned—at any rate the necessity of dealing with it by a temporary measure of this kind—I feel that that necessity has not been convincingly proved by the Minister or anybody else; where in a temporary measure of this kind a provision of that kind is laid down, where one has a circumscribing measure, one should prove that the condition existing at the moment is urgently in need of reform and is very dangerous. That has not been proved.

He quoted statistics from the Government's own Year Book to show that the proportionate growth of Indian

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By

P. KODANDA RAO

In "The Servant Of India"

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(Concluded from last week)

licences was smaller than that of the Europeans, and that, in some respects, Asiatic licences had actually decreased. Mr. Hofmeyr was also of the view that pegging was not necessary. He said:

The rest of the Bill deals with the other aspect of the matter in respect of which pegging is proposed... There it cannot be said that pegging is essential. In reality it is a concession to a contention which has not been established.

When he was Minister of the Interior he had caused enquiries to be made of magistrates as to whether

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the situation had changed since the Lange Commission reported in 1921, and the evidence so collected showed that "there had been no substantial change." Regarding the Murray Commission, he said:

Evidence was also laid before the Murray Commission in regard to this question of penetration. I do not think that evidence can fairly be adduced as proof. That Commission has not pronounced on that evidence because it was outside its terms of reference, but the evidence, if one reads it, tends clearly and definitely to confirm the contention I have put forward this afternoon. I think, then, that the statement about excessive penetration, which is alleged to have taken place, has not been established and cannot be established,

It is, thus clear from the negative and positive statements of three successive Ministers of the Interior that there was no penetration which needed pegging.

Apart from the lack of proof of penetration, the circumstances of the Transvaal militate against such penetration taking place. As Dr. Malan said, the grant of licences in municipal areas is in the hands of municipalities whose policy is to reduce Indian trading licences, and "municipalities in the Transvaal feel much stronger in this matter than the Government." As Mr. Hofmeyr put it, "There is no need for a single new licence to be issued to an Asiatic to-day, except with the consent of the municipality or the Rural Licensing Board, and in practice the policy adopted by these bodies has been a most respective policy. This confirms what I have said that there has been little increased penetration in recent years." Furthermore, as Mr. Leslie Blackwell pointed out, the Act of 1932 laid down that "no person might obtain a licence if he is not entitled legally to occupy the premises in respect of which the licence is issued. If there is illegal occupation there can be no licence issued." These double safeguards render penetration practically impossible. If, in spite of these stringent hurdles, some licensing authorities occasionally grant a new licence, "it is because" as Mr. Blackwell said, "they are convinced that there is an overwhelming public demand for such a licence," in which case, it is unfair to speak of penetration.

Flashing out a telegram he had received, the Minister said, "I ask the hon. member, when I am in possession of a telegram from at any rate one portion of the National Congress, saying that they are going to queer this Bill by all means they can, am I not right to take powers to put up a fight?" He was promptly asked if he had not taken that power even before he had received the telegram! As Mrs. Ballinger very rightly pointed out, it was the threat of segregation that provoked penetration. As she herself puts it, "The natural impulse of people threatened with isolation in areas which will give them very little chance of economic advance, is rapidly to buy any property that they can buy up in the hope that they may thus stake claims for the future."





# ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે  
સને ૧૯૦૨માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

દિનીકર, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૮ સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૩૬.

## “ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૮ સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૯.

### હિટલરવાદ વિ. શાહીવાદનું યુદ્ધ

૧૯૩૯ના સપ્ટેમ્બર માસ એક ભાવિ સુચક માસ તરીકે જગતના ઇતિહાસમાં લખાઈ જશે. એ માસની પહેલી તારીખે જર્મનીએ પોલાન્ડ પર આક્રમણ શરૂ કર્યું અને બ્રિટન અને ફ્રાંસે જર્મનીને પોલાન્ડની સરહદ પરથી પોતાનું લશ્કર પાછું ખેંચી લેવાનાં જ્ઞાપેલાં અહીંમેટમનો અનાદર થતાં સપ્ટેમ્બર તા. ૩ ૯એ તેઓએ જર્મની સામે યુદ્ધ જાહેર કર્યું. આ રીતે યુદ્ધ અટકાવવાના બ્રિટને કરેલાં તનતોડ પ્રયત્નો આખરે નિષ્ફળ ગયા છે અને સંસ્થાનો અતવાને માનવ જાતની ધાતકી કતલનું કરૂણુ નાટક પચીસ વર્ષ પર ખેલાઈ ગયું હતું. અને જેનો વિચાર કરતાં આજે પણ કંપારી છુટે છે, તેનું પુનરાવર્તન થઈ રહ્યું છે. જગતપર ઉદ્દાસીનતા છવાઈ રહી છે. શોકના ઉંઠા નિઃશ્વાસ સાથે, “જગતનું શું થવા બેઠું છે” એ ઉદ્ગાર નીકળે છે. ઇશ્વરની ગતિ ગહન છે. તેનું ધાયું જ થશે.

અમારી દિલસોજી જેઓ યુદ્ધ કરી રહ્યા છે તેઓ તરફ નથી જતી પરંતુ તેના જોગ થઈ પડેલા અતે થઈ પડનારા નિર્દોષ માનવીઓ તરફ જાય છે. હિટલરવાદ મનુષ્યજાતીને પાપસમાન છે એ વિષે કશી શંકા છેજ નહિ. પરંતુ શાહીવાદ શું તેના કરતાં ઉતરે તેમ છે? શું સત્યતા થી એમ કહી શકાશે ખરું કે હિટલરવાદના કરતાં તેના કૃત્યો ઉતરતાં છે? બનવચ્ચે મુકાબલો કરતાં અમારે વગર સંકોચે કહેવું પડશે કે શાહીવાદ એ હિટલરવાદ કરતાં વધારે ખુરો નીવડેલો છે, કેમકે, શાહીવાદના સઘળાં કૃષ્કૃત્યો સાધુતાના વેષમાં થએલાં છે ન્યારે હિટલરવાદે પોતાની નરી અધમતા પોતાના નબળ સ્વરૂપમાંજ મકઠાવેલી છે. આજે જર્મની સામે યુદ્ધ થઈ રહ્યું છે, કારણ કે, જગતના રાષ્ટ્રોમાં

થી મનુષ્યત્વ, ન્યાય અને નીતીના મહાન સિદ્ધાંતો વિનાશના જોખમમાં આવી પડેલા છે; કારણ કે, જર્મની બળજબરીથી જંગત પર સર્વોપરિ સત્તા મેળવવા તઈયાર થયું છે.

૧૯૧૪માં પણ શું આજ દલીલમહોતી થઈ? અને મહાન વિગ્રહ બાદ જે શાંતિ સ્થપાવા વચન આપાયું હતું તે શું જગતને મળી છે ખરી? આજે પણ યુદ્ધ બાદ સ્થિતિ સુધરશે તેની શું ખાત્રી છે?

આ યુદ્ધ હિટલરવાદ અને શાહીવાદ વચ્ચે છે અને બનને એકસરખાજી વિનાશને પાત્ર છે, કેમકે, જેમાંથી એકથી પણ જગતમાં શાંતિ થઈ નથી તેમ થવાની નથી.

આજે ન્યારે આપણા સર્વના હૃદયો શોકથી ખિન્ન થઈ રહ્યાં છે તેવે સમયે આવા સખ્ત શબ્દો ઉચ્ચારતાં અમને અત્યંત દુઃખ થાય છે. પરંતુ જોડો દંભ કરવા કરતાં કડવું છતાં સત્ય કહી નાખવું બહેતર છે. આપણે ઇશ્વર મત્યે પ્રાર્થના કરીએ કે તે દયાળુ મણુ યુદ્ધના દઈત્યના ધાતકી પંજામાંથી પૃથ્વીને ઉગારે અને ત્રાસી રહેલી પૃથ્વી પર એવી સત્તાનું સામ્રાજ્ય સ્થાપે કે જેથી લાંબા કાળથી અલોપ થઈ ગયેલાં સુખ અને શાંતિ તેને પુનઃપ્રાપ્ત થાય. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની સ્થિતિ

યુરોપમાં ફાટી નીકળેલાં યુદ્ધના પરિણામે થોડાજ દિવસમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં વિજ્ઞાનિક ગતિથી થઈ ગયેલા ફેરફારોની અત્રે નોંધ લેવી જોઈએ. આ કટોકટીના પ્રસંગે ન્યારે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના લાભો ભયમાં આવી પડ્યા છે ત્યારે જનરલ સ્મટસે ફૂરી પોતાની મખળ શક્તિ વ્યક્ત કરી છે. ભુતકાળમાં ન્યારે ન્યારે આવા પ્રસંગો બનેલા છે ત્યારે ત્યારે તેમણે આગ્રપદ લીધેલું છે અને અત્યારે પણ તે જોખરાપર હાજર થઈ ગયા છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાનો ઉજ્જ્વળ રાષ્ટ્રવાદીથી પણ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના

લાભોનું રક્ષણ કરવાના સંબંધમાં જનરલ સ્મટસની સત્યનીષ્ઠાપર શંકા લાવી નહિ શકાય. જનરલ હર્ટઝોગ અને તેમના સાથીઓ ફૂરી એકવાર જોટા કર્યા છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના રાષ્ટ્રવાદીઓની દુભાએલી લાગણીઓ માટે અને તેઓ મત્યે સંપૂર્ણ દિલસોજી ધરાવીએ છીએ. પરંતુ ભુતકાળના ઘાઓનું રડવાને હવે તેઓને ભાગ્યેજ કારણુ રહેલું છે. બ્રિટીશ સામ્રાજ્યમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાનું સ્થાન ઈર્ષાપાત્ર છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આજે એક સંપૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતા ધરાવતું રાષ્ટ્ર છે. તેમ છતાં હજુ પણ વીશેષ છુટો માંગ વામાં, અમને ભય છે કે, રાષ્ટ્રવાદીઓ જરા વધારે પડતા મહત્વાકાંક્ષિ બનેલા છે, અને એ તેઓને કદાચ વીનાશને પથે ધસડી જશે. જેઓ એમ માને છે કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા સ્વાર્થતાની હદ મુધી સ્વતંત્ર રહી શકશે તેઓ ખરી રીતે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના મીત્રો નહીં પણ શત્રુ છે. બ્રિટીશ સામ્રાજ્યમાં એક સરખા ભાગીદાર તરીકે ગ્રહસ્થાઈના સાધારણ નીચમ મુજબ પણ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા તકલીફમાં આવી પડેલા બીજા ભાગીદારોની પડખે વફાદારીથી ઉભું રહેવાને બંધાયેલું છે. જનરલ સ્મટસે ખરો માર્ગ ગ્રહણ કરેલો છે અને અમને સંપૂર્ણ ખાત્રી છે કે આ દેશના દરેકે દરેક સમજી માણસનો તેમને સંપૂર્ણ ટેકો અને સહકાર મળશેજ.

હોંદીઓના સંબંધમાં આ કટોકટીના પ્રસંગે મત્યેક હોંદીની, દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના વફાદાર નાગરીક તરીકે, હાકલ પડે તે વખતે પોતાની ફરજ અદા કરવાને તૈયાર રહેવાની ફરજ છે. આપણે યુનીયન સરકારની સાથે ઘણુંએ લડવાનું છે પરંતુ સત્યાગ્રહી કદી પીઠ પાછળ ધા કરતો નથી અને તકલીફના વખતમાં સરકારને હેરાનગતી કરવી એ તેવો ઘા કરવા બરાબરજ ગણાય. એટલે આપણી ફરિયાદોને ઉપસ્થિત થએલી ગંભીર પરિસ્થિતિને અંગે હાલ તુરતને માટે બાબુએ મુકવી પડશે. હર-મીયાનમાં આપણે આપણું વર્તન એવું આદર્શ રાખવું જોઈએ કે જેથી આપણા સવાલનો વિચાર કરવાનો સમય આવે તે વેળાએ તેના ન્યાયીપણાને માટે વિશેષ ખાત્રીદાર પુરાવાની કશી આવશ્યકતા રહે જ નહી. વડા પ્રધાન જનરલ સ્મટસે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની પ્રબલને સંદેશો આપેલા છે કે,