

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

WE have now received a copy of the report of the Select Committee on "Disabilities of British Indians in Transvaal." It covers 96 pages and contains, besides the Committee's report and recommendations, a schedule of correspondence and memorandums, a copy of the amending Bill now before the House of Assembly, the proceedings of Committee, and the Merits of Evidence.

For the first time there has been brought to light the copy of a private letter from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Gorges, Secretary for Interior. This letter was written after the Settlement in 1914 and formed no part of the official agreement between the Government and the Indian community. In this letter Mr. Gandhi gives his own opinion regarding what was meant by "vested rights." Unfortunately the present Secretary for the Interior (Col. Shawe) has taken the liberty of forwarding copies of this private letter to various municipalities who have used it as a weapon to destroy the rights of the Indian trading community.

We shall, later, go more fully into the matter of this letter, which has been used in so unfair a manner, and reproduce it for the benefit of our readers.

Speaking in France, President Wilson is reported to have said: "My view of the State is that each man has a right to have his voice heard and counsel heeded in so far as it is worthy of heed. And the greatest freedom of speech is the greatest safety, because by exposure folly is defeated and in the free air of free speech men get into communication with one another, which constitutes the basis of all common achievement."

The Indian Market, Durban, continues to prosper. In the year ended 31st July, 1918, according to the Town Treasurer's Report just issued, the gross profits amounted to £2,068 which, after deducting £345 for Interest and £620 for Repayment of capital, leaves an amount of £1,103 which goes to the relief of rates.

Each year a similar amount goes to the relief of the general rates of the Borough. During the last five years, the Borough Fund has benefitted to the extent of £9,867. Meanwhile the poor Indian farmers stand in the open street, exposed to all weathers, when a little expenses would have provided them shelter.

The annual Grants-in-Aid by the Durban Municipality to Indian institutions consist of £100 to St.

Aidan's Hospital for Indian women and children and £2 10s. to the Smashan (Crematorium) Fund.

The very sad and sudden death of Ross Bughwan, the youngest son of Mr. R. Bughwan, Durban, took place on Thursday 15th inst. The funeral took place on the 16th inst. at Stellawood Cemetery, when a large crowd of friends gathered to pay their last tribute and respects. The boy, who was a student at the Higher-Grade Indian School, was well liked by all his friends during his short life.

A Correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*—Rao Bahadur Dolatram Kashiram, a well known citizen of Bombay and an unostentatious worker in the field of social reform, has after hearing the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and his message to his countrymen, come to the conclusion that it is impossible to render co-operation to a Government which cannot help coming into conflict with Mr. Gandhi, who in Mr. Dolatram's words, is an incarnation of Truth, Love and Justice. Accordingly Mr. Dolatram as a first step has written to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, returning the Badge and Ribbon of the Title of Rao Bahadur and renouncing his title. The next step Mr. Dolatram took was to take the Satyagraha Pledge.

A telegram from Lahore, dated April 19th appearing in the *Bengalee* says that stringent measures are being taken under martial law. Persons arrested for disobeying orders issued under martial law are being whipped in public streets. Several arrests have been made within last few days. The latest names include Mr. Mandhar Lal M.A., Bar-at-Law and Syed Mohsin Shah, Pleader. Of the two daily Indian edited news papers the *Punjabee* has suspended publication temporarily since the declaration of martial law. The *Tribune* also did not appear yesterday since the arrest of Mr. K. N. Roy editor of the paper and it is feared will not appear for several days. Both the *Tribune* office and Mr. Roy's house are locked and guarded by the police and are being searched.

A telegram dated April 8th appearing in the same paper says that Mr. Kalinath Roy editor of the *Tribune* was arrested yesterday (April 8th) night at about quarter to eight at his residence.

Mr. Sayed Hassan Imam the President of the Special Congress held at Bombay and the Hon'ble Mr. Mahburul Haq have joined the Passive Resistance movement says the *Satyagrahi*.

THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

EVEN our best friends in the Union Parliament seem to have failed to realise the injustice of the proposed legislation to deprive Transvaal Indians of the right to trade and own land in proclaimed gold areas. Mr. Patrick Duncan, whilst admitting that it was an unpleasant task they had to perform, thought the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill was justified on the ground that European and Asiatic civilisation could not live side by side with advantage to either. He also said the time would come when Asiatics would have areas demarcated in which they would be allowed to trade. Mr. Dewdney Drew, whom we always regarded as a friend, said the Bill was the only possible compromise which the House could in all equity come to. Even our strongest advocate of justice for Indians, Mr. Morris Alexander, whilst protesting against the false charges against Indians of breaking their agreement, eventually decided to vote for the second reading, stating that, although the Bill was not what he would have liked, he regarded it as the fairest compromise possible in existing circumstances, and hoped it would pass. Of Sir Abe Bailey and other anti-Asiatics little need be said. They are frankly hostile to Indians and would if they could, drive everyone out of the country. The Labour Party supported the Bill for the simple reason that it did not concern them. They are not really interested in anything which does not directly affect the European workers, and they did not object to the trading rights of Indians being taken away, or their legal rights to own land in the name of limited liability companies. On the Imperial aspect Col. Crosswell, the spokesman of the Labour Party, ventured the opinion that they need have no fear of offending the Empire in view of recognized rights of British Dominions in the matter of coloured immigration. The fact that no mention was made of what India, as a "partner in the Empire," might think about the matter, shows how little is cared as to what view India may take. It simply does not count. What better proof of the absolute necessity of India being granted Home Rule does one require, when we find that a Dominion Parliament can calmly consider to show annihilation of Indian traders without a thought that India might feel some concern? Another speaker, Col. Pratorius, said that, in olden days, South Africa had found it practically impossible to cope with the Indian Question because of the danger of coming into conflict with the Empire. To-day, however, the danger had passed and the Empire did not mind South Africa "putting its house in order." Mr. Rooth, chairman of the Select Committee referred to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 and seemed to imagine that he was carrying out that agreement by making it impossible for Indians in future to take out a new trading licence or own his place of business. If there is one thing above all else clear about the agreement it is that it was not intended to be a final settlement of all difficulties. As a matter of fact the disabilities under the Gold Law and Law 8 of 1885 were specially mentioned by Mr. Gandhi who urged upon the Government the necessity of dealing with such matters in a broad and generous spirit. Even the term "vested rights" is now taken in its narrowest sense, and is applied to individuals only. The right to trade, surely is a vested right which belongs to the whole community and not alone to those individuals who might happen to be possessed of a licence. It would seem that our South African politicians—we will not say statesmen—have lost all sense of justice and fairplay.

It is, we venture to say, highly improper that such contentious legislation should be introduced in the Union Parliament at a time when both the Prime Minister and General Smuts are away in Europe. The head of the Department for the Interior, Sir Theo. Watt, is a man who knows nothing about the Indian question. He therefore did not even sit on the Select Committee. There is, therefore, at the present time no Minister capable of tackling such a thorny question as the rights of resident Asiatics. If the Transvaal British Indian Association has not already done so, we most strongly advise that an emphatic protest be at once lodged with the Government and His Excellency the Governor-General against this legislation being proceeded with until General Smuts' return. He alone is capable of interpreting the agreement with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian community. In the meantime, our Transvaal brethren may as well realise that they are in for a bad time. Their ability to resist this determined attack upon their rights will be put to a severe test, and it depends on their strength whether they are to continue to live as free, self-respecting citizens or to be brought to the level of helots.

INDIAN REFORM SCHEME

REPORT OF FRANCHISE COMMITTEE

London, May 13.—Two Committees, under the presidency of Lord Southborough, who visited India in connection with the Indian reform scheme, to work out franchise proposals and define functional changes in the Government, have issued a report. The Franchise Committee recommends that women be temporarily excluded from voting for Provincial Councils. The effect of the Committee's proposals is to increase the Provincial electorate from 33,000 to 5,189,000. Enfranchisement is contemplated of all retired, pensioned, commissioned, and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army, a separate communal electorate for Mohammedans, and also Sikhs in the Punjab and Indian Christians in Madras; also Europeans and Anglo-Indians, with exceptions. It is proposed that there be special representation of special interests, including commerce and industry. Several nominated members will represent the depressed classes. The Legislative Assembly will be enlarged to 120 members, of whom two-thirds will be elected. The Council of State will be increased to 56, of whom 24 will be elected.

The Functions Committee, over which Mr. R. Festham presided, suggests that naval and military matters, currency, commerce, revenue sources, post and telegraphs, and civil and criminal law be administered by the Government of India.—Reuter.

CAPETOWN MASS MEETING

THE "ROWLATT BILLS" AND TRANSVAAL QUESTION

Capetown, May 18 (Reuter).—A mass meeting of British Indians was held this afternoon under the auspices of the Cape British Indian Council, when the following resolutions were adopted:—

"This meeting protests against the Rowlatt Bill enacted by the Indian Government, and forced on the Indian people, against a universal protest, thereby depriving most law-abiding subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor, of their liberty."

"This meeting extends its sympathy to Transvaal British Indians in their lawful claims to hold free property, and considers the attempt to deprive them their legitimate rights to trade and reside in that Province wholly unworthy and contrary to the principle on which the glorious Empire is founded."

"This meeting authorises the chairman to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Transvaal British Indian Association, and to the authorities."

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

MASS MEETING RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed unanimously at the Mass Meeting of the Transvaal British Indian Association, held on Sunday, the 11th instant as briefly reported in our last issue:—

Proposed by Mr. Hajee Habib, seconded by Mr. M. G. Patel, supported by Messrs. M. S. Coovadia and Habib Motan: "This Mass Meeting of the Transvaal British Indian Association has read with alarm and dismay the report published in the local Press of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee concerning future trading by Indians and the holding of fixed property by Limited Companies formed by Asiatics."

Proposed by Mr. M. D. Bharoochi, seconded by Mr. M. P. Fancy, supported by Messrs. O. R. Patel, M. M. Dadoo and P. K. Naidoo: "This meeting emphatically protests against the threatened attacks upon existing rights of British Indians in this Province and resolves by every legitimate means to resist such attack or attacks."

Proposed by Mr. A. I. Gabru, seconded by Mr. K. J. Tavaris, supported by Messrs. Abdool Rahman and M. B. Bikjee: "This meeting earnestly appeals to the Union Government and to the Union Parliament to reject any Bill or Bills introduced for the carrying into effect of disabilities threatened and urges that Law 3 of 1885 be repealed in toto, alternatively rather than amended to the disadvantage of the Indian Community, that it be allowed to stand. That the Meeting takes its stand upon the decision in Motan vs. Rex, 1904, T.S.C., and urges the Government at least to maintain the Law as laid down in that Judgement."

Proposed by Mr. E. M. Cachalia, seconded by Mr. A. H. Tagari, supported by Mr. H. O. Alli: "This meeting respectfully implorates that, in the event of the Rooth Bill being passed in the Union Parliament, His Excellency, the Governor-General, will withhold his assent thereto and veto it as it is based on racial discrimination of His Majesty's subjects, which is contrary to the constitution of the glorious Empire."

Proposed by Mr. E. M. Patel, seconded by Mr. Mooka Essopjee: "This meeting authorises the Chairman and Secretary to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to the proper quarters and the Press."

Proposed by Mr. M. Ahmed Mia, seconded by Mr. Ranchodjee Patel and supported by Messrs. R. Sarfodoo and E. M. Cachalia: "That this Mass Meeting ratifies the Election of the Financial Committee elected Thursday, 8th May, 1919, and authorises said Committee to make a levy upon the Members of the Indian Community as follows:

Upon the holders of Wholesale Licences: £3 per annum. Upon the holders of Retail Licences £1 per annum. Upon all Limited Liability Companies registered by Indians: £1 per annum. Upon all Indian Hawkers: 5/- per annum. In addition, a levy of 5/- per annum per head upon all Indian males of 16 years and upwards.

INDIAN QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT

ASIATICS LAND AND TRADING AMENDMENT BILL

Capetown, May 15 (Reuter).—In the House of Assembly this afternoon Mr. Rooth (Pretoria Central) moved the second reading of the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill, as recommended by the Select Committee, of which he was chairman. He pointed out that the Select Committee dealt first with Asiatics trading, and in the second place, with the registration of the companies for the purpose of evading the law, whereby Asiatics individually were prohibited from owning land.

Mr. Rooth proceeded to refer to the arbitration on the question of Indian rights in the Transvaal. In 1887 the Law of 1885 was still in force. Subsequent to the British occupation a case was cropped up in which the granting of trading licenses to Asiatics had been refused, but on appeal to the Transvaal High Court, a decision was given that the licenses could not be refused. Mr. Rooth proceeded to refer briefly to subsequent legislation affecting the Indians, pointing to the Clauses in the Gold Law prohibiting the occupation of premises by coloured persons in proclaimed areas. Subsequent to that again there was the Passive Resistance movement of 1914, and the subsequent agreement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, when the Government undertook that vested rights of Indians would be protected. Mr. Rooth pointed out how, during the course of the present year there arose trouble at Krugersdorp as the result of Indians having opened new businesses at Krugersdorp. The Krugersdorp Municipality, under the Gold Law applied for the ejection of certain Indians who, however, were not made a party to the action. Mr. Justice Mason, on this occasion, granted an order that the Indians should leave the premises on proclaimed ground. The question was what was to be done in the case of Indians on proclaimed land, who had acquired trading rights under the law? In accordance with the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, those rights would be respected up to a date fixed in the Act. Mr. Rooth pointed out that between 1904 and 1917, the Indian population of the Union increased by 30,000. There was no likelihood of the Indian population being increased by immigration, but there would be the natural increase. It was prepared to recognise trading rights on mining areas up to May 3, 1919. Proceeding Mr. Rooth said that since 1914, the number of new general-dealers licences granted to Indians in proclaimed goldfields was 71. The position, therefore was that the Indians who had acquired rights even after 1914 should be recognised.

Dealing with the question of

INDIANS ACQUIRING LAND

through limited liability companies, Mr. Rooth pointed out how, in former years, Indians being prohibited from owning land, they had land transferred in the name of a European, who then passed a permanent bond to them. However, trouble ensued owing to one of the Europeans in whose name the property was held, going insolvent. The new device, which he was told came from Japan, was thereupon resorted to, under which Indians formed themselves into liability companies which were able to hold land, though the individual shareholders could not own land. The company, Mr. Rooth pointed out, was regarded by law as an entity, and could at present hold land. In that manner 37 Indian companies had been registered, while, added Mr. Rooth, a telegram from Pretoria informed him that 14 more such companies had been registered during the past few weeks; while 40 to 50 more had applied for registration. (Laughter.) The Select Committee decided to recommend that the terms of the Law of 1885 should be extended to Limited companies controlled by Asiatics. One member of the Select Committee (Mr. Alexander) suggested and moved that Indians should have no restrictions placed on their

rights and movements, and should be placed on the same plane as Europeans. Mr. Blackwell, on the other hand, suggested that companies of Asiatics should be compulsorily liquidated. (Hear, hear). He, however, regarded this as drastic and unjust. (Hear, hear.) He held that the rights which had been legally acquired should be recognised. The Judge-President of the Transvaal and Mr. Justice Ward had opposite views as to the legality of such companies, but the Select Committee and the Bill did not propose to go so far as to declare existing companies illegal. The provisions of the Bill, therefore, were in the first place to legalise trade rights existing up to the first inst. under the registration of companies, which were controlled by Asiatics. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. De Wet (Minister of Justice) pointed out that in ordinary circumstances the question of Indian administration fell under the Minister of the Interior, but owing to the latter's time having been fully occupied, he (the speaker) had served on the Select Committee. The Bill, which applied only to the Transvaal, dealt merely with two points—trading on the proclaimed areas and the acquiring of property by Indians. The law of 1886 laid it down that no Asiatic could own property in the Transvaal, at the same time respecting the rights of those who already owned land. The law did not prevent Asiatics from trading or leasing ground, although provision was made under which the Government could define areas in which Asiatics were to live. They could, however, carry on business where they pleased. Thus a number of loopholes were left. The question of companies acquiring land had not cropped up in those days. In the legislation of latter days, however, provision was made, for instance, that companies consisting of Natives could not own land. Asiatics, however, were not dealt with. Mr. De Wet proceeded to say that the number of private Indian companies was steadily increasing every day. The Select Committee had felt that it was

THE OBJECT OF THE LAW

of 1885 that neither Indians nor Indian companies should be allowed to own land, and it was with that object in view that the report recommended that companies formed after May 1, 1919, should not be able to own land. There had been a tendency in the committee also to deal with people who had acquired land before May 1, 1919, but, after all, the Indians had acquired the land, although through a loophole in the law. The Minister incidentally pointed out that a case was *subjudice* in regard to the question whether the present Indian companies could legally own land. Mr. De Wet proceeded to deal with the question of trading rights, pointing to the agreement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, which was to the effect that all vested rights would be protected. At the same time, it was understood that there should be no extension of the existing rights. As a result of the war and other circumstances, that agreement was never put into law, and since 1914 some 71 new trading licences had been granted to Indians on the proclaimed areas. It was felt that these new licences had been secured owing to Government, as well as the local authorities, allowing those licences, and in the circumstances the committee had felt that it would be unwise to go back on the licences which had already been granted, as otherwise a great cry of an injustice being done to the Indians would be raised. It was felt that the door must be closed against any further licences or rights being granted. That was the attitude which he had taken up, which Mr. Rooth had taken up, which Mr. Joubert (Pretoria North) had taken up, and also which other members of the committee had taken up. It was useless crying over spilt milk and saying that steps should have been taken in 1914. There was no doubt about it that steps must be taken now, and he urged the House to pass the Bill, and see that it appeared on the Statute Book during the present session.

Sir A. BAILEY (Krugersdorp) said he did not wholly agree that this was merely a Transvaal matter. It did

not require a prophet to predict that they would have this matter again before them, especially if they passed this Bill. This was the most important matter brought before the present session, and he was anxious to have the support of members, and also of the public and the Press, in obtaining amendments to the measure, so as to produce:

A MINIMUM OF EVIL.

He regarded the Bill as an instrument for South Africa to commit suicide, and if they passed this law they would be sharpening the instrument which would make them commit suicide in the future. So far as concerned recognising the rights of Indians up to 1914, he agreed to the recommendation of the committee. As for rights acquired since that time, he could not agree to these being recognised. He was opposed to the provision in the Bill that Indians should be allowed to make over their businesses to other Indians legally residing in the Transvaal, giving them the goodwill. Such businesses in time would be worth enormous amounts of money. He agreed with the principal of rendering the registration of Asiatic companies illegal but he could not understand that there was anything in the Bill carrying out the recommendation of the Select Committee that no further licences to Indians should be allowed. Sir Abe proceeded to say that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent new trading licences being issued after May 1, 1919. He could not understand how the committee had arrived at its conclusions, after the evidence which it had taken. The Indians themselves in their petition acknowledged that there was an agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, and in their petition they asked no more than he now proposed doing. (Hear, hear.) It was recognised that by the agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi the Indian question had been finally settled.

Mr. DUNCAN: No.

Under the Bill, Sir Abe continued, every Indian anywhere in the Transvaal was given the right of becoming the successor of any other Indian anywhere else in the Transvaal. Ever since the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, the Indians had gone out of their way systematically to

CIRCUMVENT THE AGREEMENT.

It was all very well to say that the Government should not have granted the licences, but when the Government tried to refuse, the Court declined them that right.

He wanted to see the Gold Law carried out, the hon. member remarked, in reply to an interruption from Mr. Alexander.

Regarding the registration of Indian companies, Sir Abe said that the time had come to put a stop to that. There was no doubt about it that the Indians had broken the spirit of the agreement, and for that reason he would insist on the Bill going back to the position as it was in 1914. Mr. Rooth had said that a number of members of the community had supported the Bill. Where were those people? There were a number of merchants who had signed a petition stating that they would be sorry to lose the custom of the Indians. (Laughter.) Mr. Jagger's name was on that list, and but for that and another he would have thought that the petition came from the internment camp.

Mr. JAGGER: I have never seen that list.

Proceeding, Sir ABE BAILEY quoted from the report of the Land Bank to the effect that there was a danger of

COOLIE FARMERS IN NATAL

ousting the Europeans. He contended that all the legislation of the Transvaal Parliament, that of British Colonies and the Union Parliament, was against this law. He wanted to know what the policy of the Government was, because the Bill disclosed no policy. It was a compromise without finality. He recognised the good services of the Indians in the war, but they had no better friend than the British Empire, and there had lately been unrest among them. He would move an amendment in committee to the effect that they should abide by the position of 1914. If they wanted to see a social and economic menace they should go to Natal. In conclusion, Sir Abe Bailey urged that we should

take the same action as the other Dominions in keeping out Asiatics.

Mr. DUNCAN (Fordsburg) agreed with the last speaker that this Bill would not bring finality, but finality was in sight. This was one aspect of a wide struggle between white and Asiatic. The Bill was meant to be a compromise pending a more permanent settlement of our relations with Asiatics, but it was intended to draw the line bluntly. Sir A. Bailey was illogical, because he was not prepared to go back to the Gold Law. It was true that the Indians had asked for their rights of 1914, but the interpretation placed by Indians upon those rights was that they be allowed to trade now, though the agreement of 1914 overlooked the existence of the Gold Law. Others had come in since. Mr. Duncan proceeded to point out that the Town Councils had been given certain powers to grant licences, but when the Councils refused, appeals to the Courts had succeeded, notwithstanding the very definite provisions of the Gold Law. The only point in which the Bill could be said to go beyond the agreement of 1914, was in that it proposed to allow businesses which had been established since 1914, and it did so because it did not wish to do a wrong by winding up businesses which had been allowed to be started as a result of the authorities shutting their eyes to the provisions of the Gold Law. He did not say that the Bill was the end of the matter as far as the Indians or the white man was concerned, but it imposed the

LEAST POSSIBLE HARDSHIP

on any section of the community.

Mr. MALAN: It is not a new disability.

Mr. DUNCAN agreed that it was not new, and he considered that the proposal was reasonable, and should be respected. He was not one who advocated unrestricted Asiatic trading. The white traders would disappear under such a system. What was going to be the position in Natal with its Indian population it was impossible to say; but in the other Provinces, as trustees for the white population of the future, they had the duty to see that unrestricted Asiatic trading was not allowed. [The time would come when they would have areas demarcated in which they would be allowed to trade, but the time had passed when we could treat Asiatics as we liked. We had done a good deal by restricting immigration and trade, and were now trying to get back to the position of the old Gold Law. Rights had been created in spite of the old prohibitions, and he appealed to Sir A. Bailey to take a wider view, and look at interests outside Krugersdorp. As for the companies which had acquired land, it might be said that companies formed for an unlawful object should be liquidated, but he considered it would be most unjust to liquidate companies which had been in existence for years. The Bill was necessarily a compromise, and we should not spoil our case by unjust dealing towards Indians. He appealed to the House to accept the Bill, and the hands of Parliament would then be all the stronger in dealing with Asiatics in the future. It was an unpleasant task that they were asked to perform, but it was justified on the ground that European and Asiatic civilisation

COULD NOT LIVE SIDE BY SIDE

with the advantage to either. There must be some demarcation, and in drawing a line, they should do so in a clear, firm and certain way, in order to inflict the least possible amount of harshness. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PAPENFUS (Hospital), said he would accept a Bill to confirm the rights existing in 1914, but he didn't see why the House should go out of its way to legalise what might be declared by the Law illegal, namely, the owing of land by Asiatic companies. If the Indians were given a finger to-day, we should have to give them a hand to-morrow. They were encroaching on European traders, and he was averse to giving them more than they already had.

Mr. De BEER (Harrismith), said that the Free State, fortunately, did not have the difficulty of having to cope with a large Indian population. How, he asked, could a decent white man try to compete with people who

could live on the smell of an oil rag? It struck him as very peculiar that a number of merchants in Johannesburg, whose names included that of Mr. Jagger, supported the Indians, apparently not caring what became of future generations, so long as they kept their profits. He agreed with a great deal of what had been said by Sir Abe Bailey, and also urged that a provision should be made in the Bill similar to that appearing in the Free State Law, that no Asiatic should be allowed to take part in farming enterprises.

Col. COLLINS (Ermelo), regretted that the Bill had been introduced so late in the Session. The Bill was a compromise, but the public of the Transvaal did not wish to make compromises any longer. There was a feeling that the Indians should be compensated, and

BE GOT KID'D

Whether that was fair or not, that was the feeling. There was a great deal to be said for the arguments of Sir Abe Bailey, that they should go back to the position which existed in 1914. However, he could also see much in favour of the arguments used by the Minister of Justice. No provision was made in the Bill for carrying out of the recommendation of the Select Committee, that no further Licences should be granted, and he was going to move that in the whole of the Transvaal, Asiatics would not be allowed to get further licences. He also asked whether the Bill would legalise the holding of property by Indians. If in the case which was at present *subjudice*, the court held that they did not hold land legally and could not do so.

Mr. BRZUIDENHOUT (Heidelberg) also trusted that if the Supreme Court found the Indian companies could not hold property the Bill would not legalise their position.

Mr. SCHURINK (Lydenburg) said that the Free State was in an enviable position as regarded Indians. He feared that the Bill might have the effect that Indians who were unable to get licences on the proclaimed areas would gravitate to the outlying districts, where, even if they were refused licences, the Courts might uphold their applications. He feared that members who so strongly supported the claims of the Asiatics took very little account of the unfair competition which resulted between Asiatics, whose standard of living was much lower than Europeans. Regarding Asiatics and the ownership of land, he felt that in the registration of private Indian companies which had acquired land the Indians had contravened the law, and it was going a bit too far to condone such contraventions.

Mr. RENNIS (Springs) said it seem to him an extraordinary thing that they should seek to legalise evasions of the law since 1914. The law was plain, and he thought it was a pity that they did not go a little further and give the municipalities more power in this matter. While he was in England he went generally into the Asiatic question, and found that all

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

had been confronted with it, and each had affirmed its right to treat Indians as it choose, while the Government of India had the right to do the same with people from the Dominions. He preferred that the question of the rights of Asiatic land companies should be settled in the Courts. He would like to see the Bill draw the line more tightly in regard to trading on other than mining areas. If they legalised encroachments now there was no saying where other evasions might crop up. He urged that the date of the operation of the Bill should be July 1, 1914, instead of May 1, 1919. They should be just, but should not punish European traders by sanctioning evasions of the law.

Major VAN HEERDEN (Rustenburg) complained that the Bill did not extend to the villages in the Transvaal, where the Indian trader was ousting the European.

Mr. ALEXANDER (Capetown, Castle) said he had not thought it would be necessary to intervene in this debate, after the admirably fair manner in which the Bill was introduced by Mr. Rooth and supported by the Minister of Justice, but in the course of the debate things had been said which demanded an answer. This

was not a motion, nor was it a Bill dealing with the general grievances of Indians in South Africa. He would remind Sir Abe Bailey that there was a number of other grievances which the Indians suffered under, and which had been the subject of complaints to the Government. Some of the people concerned in this matter were in the Transvaal before it became a part of the British Empire. The first point he desired to make was that the Republic never prohibited the Indian from trading. There was not a single law of the Republic nor of the Transvaal before Union and since Union preventing Indians from trading in the Transvaal. The reason why it had been declared that they could not trade was on account of a judicial interpretation of the Gold Law. The Gold Law of 1885 impliedly authorised them to trade, although they were prohibited from having fixed property under that law. The Gold Law of 1908 did not prohibit them from trading. There was nothing said in the Parliament of 1908 on this aspect of trading. Assurances were given of such a character to the British Parliament at that time that the whole idea was to prevent an Asiatic from getting mining rights on the same areas. They were not considering the question of trading rights. The passive resistance movement was not connected with the matter at all, but was a matter of principle arising largely out of the Immigration Act. There was not a single word in the letter addressed by Mr. Georges to Mr. Gandhi in regard to Asiatic trading. Mr. Georges, *inter alia* said: "With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been, and will continue to be, the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner, with due regard to vested rights." Trading was not mentioned in Mr. Georges' letter at all. It was not one of the points considered between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts.

Sir ABE BAILEY: Read Mr. Gandhi's letter.

Mr. ALEXANDER: I am coming to that. He went on to say that Sir Abe Bailey had given one of the most one-sided, mischievous and partisan speeches that he had ever listened to. Mr. Gandhi only wanted to get some definition of the words "vested rights." There was not a single word in his letter to say that no new licences were to be applied for by Indians. All the talk which they had heard that afternoon about evasions and encroachments was so much eyewash. He could find no undertaking in the correspondence that the Indians would not apply for new licences. Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7, 1914, showed that to talk of this as being a final settlement was absurd. He stated that nothing but full civic rights would satisfy the Indian community. Unfortunately the Government, in 1908, left the matter of trading very vague, but the Indians went on getting their licences. In 1912 an Ordinance was passed in the Transvaal giving the municipalities the right to issue certain licences. One important point he would like to draw attention to was that, when the agreement of 1914 was come to, the Act of 1912 was in existence. General Smuts must have known about that law. There was also the further point that, when General Smuts made the agreement with Mr. Gandhi, there was existing companies of Asiatics holding land in the Transvaal.

Sir ABE BAILEY: How many?

Mr. ALEXANDER: Really, the hon. member for Krugersdorp is too childish! What does it matter how many there were? Mr. Alexander went on to say that it was true there was not many companies at that time holding land, but General Smuts did not refer in the slightest degree to the question of the holding of land. It was absurd to say that the Indians had been guilty of any evasion of the law by the promotion of companies; those companies were in existence at the date of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, but no reference was made to them in the correspondence. Since 1914 the Krugersdorp municipality had granted eight new trading licences to Indians. Was that an evasion of the law? Anything more grossly unfair than to take away those licences had never been heard of. He (Mr. Alexander)

was not satisfied with the Bill, for he did not believe in anti-colour legislation. It would be an act of aggression to close up Indian businesses without compensation. There was no hostility to Indian traders in the Transvaal at all so far as the general white population was concerned. The Bill was asked for by the retailers of the Transvaal. Many of the Transvaal farmers sold their produce to Indian traders. Reverting to the Asiatic land companies, Mr. Alexander maintained that it was incorrect to say that they were an evasion of the law, as those companies had a perfect right to exist. Existing companies were not legalised under the law. They had not pleased the Indian community, and people with anti-Indian prejudice were also not pleased. Therefore he considered it was the fairest compromise that could be expected in the circumstances.

Mr. GRAUMANN (Commissioner Street) said there was no doubt that the antagonism against the Indians on the part of the European community had grown stronger each year by reason of the trading and living conditions of the Indian community as compared with those of the Europeans. Touching on the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, Mr. Graumann said that nobody wished to go back upon that, but the question was whether the 31 new licences granted since 1914 should be cancelled. If he could cancel those licences without doing a very great injustice he would do so. He feared, however, that the cancellation of those 31 licences would constitute a breach of faith, and he was not prepared to break faith. Without going into legal niceties he held that everything that had happened before May 1 in regard to the registration of Indian companies and the acquisition of property by such companies was a matter for the Law Courts to decide. If the Courts said that the Indian companies had not contravened the laws he would say, "Well at any rate we have now a chance to protect ourselves for the future." In all those circumstances, he would support the Bill, making it clear, however, that he desired to get rid of the Indian, because he felt that his presence here was inimical to the best interest of the European community. He hoped, however, that the Bill would bring about the equality which everyone wished for.

Dr. DAVIES (Yeoville) said he was quite prepared to support the Bill if he could be given the assurance that the lawyers knew their minds and that no further vested rights would be created between now and 1925. (Laughter.)

Dr. MACNEILLIE (Boksburg) said the object of the Bill seemed to legalise occupation of land which was declared to be illegal in the past. He was prepared to stand by the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, but did not wish to legalise anything after 1914. If South Africa was to be

A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY

then they were to protect the whiteman from the competition of the Asiatics. There was no doubt about it that the Government should have taken action sooner, although under the conditions prevailing in the past one could hardly blame the Government for not having done so.

Mr. NATHAN (Von Brandis) said it was quiet true that there was no specific legislation in the Transvaal against Indians holding trading rights, yet in 1914 Mr. Gandhi, in a certain letter, gave the impression that the law 1908 interferes with the Indian trading rights. He held that there could be no doubt that by the registration of Indian companies holding land the Indians had evaded the law. If the Indians came to the House with clean hands the House would support them, but if not he did not think the House should uphold them. He could not see how the Indians could have secured a vested right by evading the law.

Col. Sir JOHN HEWAT (Woodstock) supported the Bill as being a fair compromise.

Mr. DREW (Germiston) said the Bill was the only possible compromise which the House could in all equity come to.

The sitting was suspended till 8 o'clock.

(To be Continued)

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE most important item of news this week is the defeat of the Government in committee on the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill. An amendment, strongly opposed by the Government, was passed by 45 votes to 31, whereby the authorities in the Transvaal, who had the issuing or authorising of trading licences, might, without reason assigned, refuse the application of any Asiatic who was not engaged in trade on the 1st inst.

The *Natal Mercury's* Parliamentary correspondent puts the position exactly when he says:—"The Committee of the House has, therefore, declared that the exceptional restriction within the gold areas as to Asiatic licences shall be in future the rule for the whole Province. Thus it widens a disability which the Smuts-Gandhi agreement tended to narrow. The principle is now affirmed, for the first time in the history of South African legislation, that a trading licence can be refused to a British subject, purely on the ground of his nationality."

A further amendment, supported by the Government makes it impossible for a European to hold property on behalf of an Indian as was done in many cases in the past. So, in addition to preventing land being owned by limited companies, the Bill lays down that Indians will not be allowed to hold mortgages on property other than as an investment in the ordinary course of business.

In addition to or independently of, the vow of Passive Resistance, (says the *Mahratta*), Mr. Gandhi has advised people to take Swadeshi vow also. He wrote some articles in the vernacular papers, and the translations of those, which have now been published, clearly indicate that Mr. Gandhi thinks that full Swadeshi vow can only be taken in respect of our clothing only. Patronisation of foreign cloth, or of cloth manufactured in India by foreign mill-owners, he considers as a "deep sin," and one meaning of his Swadeshi vow, he says, is to do penance for that sin. He has very effectively answered those who make a sweeping generalisation that enough swadeshi cloth to supply our wants cannot be available, and therefore the fulfilment of the vow is an impossibility. He says that only a few lakhs in India will take the vow, and to clothe them Swadeshi mills turn out sufficient cloth. Curiously enough Mr. Gandhi says that for a full observance of the vow "it is further necessary to destroy all foreign clothing in our possession." He is not however in favour of Boycott which, he says, "is rooted in ill-will."

We regret to hear of the tragic death, on Monday last, of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee's niece, Mrs. Naval Point

Road, Durban, followed by her husband the following day. Five young children are left to mourn their great loss. Mr. Rustomjee wishes to thank the numerous senders of kind messages of sympathy in his sad bereavement and regrets that he is unable to write letters of thanks to each one.

The Potchefstroom Chamber of Commerce has sent the following telegram to the Minister of Justice and other members of the Assembly:—"We are organising a Conference on the Asiatic question, representing all the Western Transvaal towns, to be held here next week, and we desire to emphasise the increasing seriousness of the position, which is rapidly becoming a matter of life and death for a large number of the European population. We protest against the legalising of evasions of the law since 1914, and ask that the restrictive provisions of the Bill to be passed by Parliament should apply to the whole of the Transvaal, and not alone to mining areas, it being highly important that the transfer of licences or renewals to other business sites should be prevented throughout the Province. The least that can be done to check the menace to the whole of the white population is to ensure that no further licences be granted to Indians. The encroachments of recent years are having the most detrimental effect upon many towns, and it is feared that it is not generally realised by members of Parliament that the danger is even far more serious in country districts than in the large urban areas."

We have been favoured with an article intended for publication by one of our subscribers on the very excellent subject of doing unto others that which we would they should do unto us. It is mainly a dissertation on what is and what is not Christianity; at the same time referring generally, without mentioning a specific instance, to the disabilities imposed on Natives and Indians by the white rulers. Owing to our columns being filled with desperately urgent matters we are sorry that we cannot find room for the article.

We would advise our correspondents generally that, whilst we welcome expressions of opinion from our readers upon matters affecting the community, we do ask that they should deal with real live subjects and not merely discuss virtues and vices. We are, as a community, in the position, practically, of a man in the hands of a robber; and we do not feel in the humour, whilst he is about to deal death upon us, to discuss the abstract beauties of the Christian or any other religion. Our first business is to frustrate the attempts of the robber to rob and destroy us. If we fail in this, our preaching is vain.

We have to thank Mr. A. J. Kajeer for a copy of his letter addressed to the *Natal Advertiser* which is, in many respects, a proper reply to the editorial published by that paper on the position in India. Much in this way could be done by educated Indians to enlighten Europeans of the Indian point of view.

At the third annual congress of S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies held at Johannesburg, the chief debate of the day centred around the Bill now before Parliament to amend and prolong the Public Welfare Act, Clause 4, regarding the registration of aliens, being vigorously condemned, one speaker describing it as a pass law for Jews.

A resolution was carried, emphatically protesting against the proposed introduction of the registration system for all aliens in South Africa, inasmuch that such a system would be violation of the rights of a large number of Jews, and would lower the status of the Jews in South Africa.

The formation in Durban of an Indian section of the Natal Shop Assistants and Commercial Workers' Union marks an epoch in the history of industrial organisation. The parent body is at the present time the most active and powerful of the trades unions. It remains to be seen how far it is possible, in view of the prevailing prejudice against Indians, to co-operate for the mutual benefit of all concerned. We hope that some good will result.

The Committee of the Durban Chamber of Commerce have issued a circular drawing attention to an agreement which was first entered into in November, 1919, which reads: "We, the undersigned merchants of Durban, hereby agree that from the dates of our respective signatures hereto we will not pay brokerage or commission of any kind to Indian or Arab brokers, and that any dealings we may have with such brokers will be on the understanding that they will arrange with the parties who employ them for their remuneration."

We fail to see the necessity of the above resolution. We were always under the impression, and we still are, that the seller in all cases pays brokerage. Why then, if these virtuous merchants do not sell through Indian brokers, should the question arise? Is it a question of black sheep among their own flock?

WAS THERE AN AGREEMENT?

IN reading the evidence given before the Select Committee on "Disabilities of British Indians in the Transvaal," one feels really astonished at the cool manner in which both Government officials and others have formed an opinion that the settlement arrived at in 1914 between the Government and the Indian community was an agreement, binding upon the latter, that no further trade licences should be applied for by Indians. The "agreement" consisted of two letters—one from the Secretary for the Interior to Mr. Gandhi and the reply by Mr. Gandhi. The proposals came from the Government and not from the Indian community. It is important to note this in view of the present change of front.

Obviously enough, not a word appeared in Mr. Gorge's letter regarding trade licences or the right to own or occupy land in the Gold areas. There being no proposition from the Government, naturally there could not be any acceptance on the part of the Indian community. All that was said was this: "With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been, and will continue to be, the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner with due regard to vested rights." And what was Mr. Gandhi's reply? He referred to the fact that some of his countrymen wished him to press for the alteration of the Gold Law, the Townships Act and Law 8 of 1885 so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land etc. Mr. Gandhi was unwilling to prolong the struggle until all these matters were settled satisfactorily. But what he said was that, although they could not be included in the programme of Passive Resistance, it would not be denied that some day or other, these matters would require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. And he added these significant words: "Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been cancelled to the resident Indian population." He hoped that, in course of time, the Europeans would see the justice and necessity of his countrymen being granted the rights referred to. In all this we fail to find any justification whatever for the assertion that Indians have "broken their agreement" in applying for trading licences (which have been legally granted to them by the Government) or in acquiring ownership of landed property by the method (sanctioned by law) of forming limited liability companies.

The present agitation, started by the Krugersdorp and other Municipalities, to deprive resident Indians of the right to trade or own property, is based upon a private letter, which formed no part of the settlement, written by Mr. Gandhi to "E. L. Gorge, Esq.," who was not described as Secretary for the Interior, dated the 7th July, 1914. This letter now sees the light of day for the first time in public print. Mr. H. B. Shawa, the present Secretary for the Interior, told the Select Committee that the Government accepted the definition of "vested rights" given by Mr. Gandhi in this letter. This is the definition: "By 'vested rights' I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township." The interpretation placed upon this definition by the Government officials and European agitators is that no Indian trader should move from one town to another and that no new licences should be applied for by those who were not actually trading in June, 1914. In order to understand the proper value to be placed upon Mr. Gandhi's letter it is necessary to observe what comes before the definition and also what follows: It is clear that Mr. Gandhi hesitated very much in giving any definition of "vested rights." He says: "I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special clause defining 'vested rights' in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt that any despatch in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen." It is perfectly clear that Mr. Gandhi, in referring to "the correspondence," meant the letters constituting the settlement which were published; and that what he was then writing was not to be considered a part of that settlement. He also indicated that he was giving his own

we have already had and that is the bitterness of the feeling between the English and ourselves has been augmented and several innocents have been lost.

The only result to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed the rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by hooliganism. The rights so obtained are not rights at all. They are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Virmangon are an indication of our heroism. They do not in any way prove our manliness. They have simply disgraced us, our movement has received a set back. Satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving now this bare picture, my proposal is to show how thousands of people who disliked such violence put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures. It indicates that at this moment we do not possess the true force of Dharma and truth. Therefore it is that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through Satyagraha. I shall endeavour as best as I can to explain what this Satyagraha is in later leaflets which I entreat my sisters and brothers to carefully read and understand and ponder upon and carry out the suggestions made therein.

INDIA'S PART IN THE WAR

The Acting Editor of the *Times of India* sends the following message to the *Natal Mercury*—

"The special Peace Edition which you are to publish will be, I imagine, symbolic of the unity of the Empire and of the Allies. I am glad to have the opportunity of joining in that symbolic act as a representative of this paper published in the city which proudly claims to be the first in India and the second in the Empire. Few cities have played so great a part in the war as Bombay, for from here have gone forth most of the men who have shouldered India's share of the burden of the war, and to the hospitals here have returned thousands of sick and wounded who have added by their prowess to the glory of India. We have watched other parts of the Empire participating according to their abilities, and, proud as we have been to see how well the Empire has risen to the height of its opportunities, we are still more proud to think that India has been second to none in her efforts. The numbers sent on active service from India have been: British officers, 23,040; British other ranks, 196,494; Indian officers, 13,617; Indian other ranks, 538,724; Indian non-combatants, 391,033; animals, 174,836. The military expenditure incurred has been nearly £25,000,000, and the general public has contributed over two and a half million sterling towards the expense of the war. Those figures tell in a bald way what India has done, and they may well be recalled at the present time. They illustrate a record which will, I sincerely trust, help to bind the Empire more closely together and to dissipate those points of disagreement which still unhappily exist between India and her neighbours."

NATAL SHOP ASSISTANTS' UNION

***INDIAN ASSISTANTS' SECTION**

The hon. Secretary of the above union informs us that a large meeting of the Indian Assistants section of commercial workers was held during the week under the auspices of the Natal Shop Assistants and Commercial Workers Union.

The chairman in opening the meeting mentioned that sometime back it was decided to organise all Indian shop assistants as a section of the European Union. At the first meeting held some time ago some fifty Indian Assistants present signified the readiness to join. A working committee and the necessary officials had been appointed, which had since got to work, with the result that to-day that branch numbered some hundreds, but it had been determined to rope in all those that were eligible, and the committee would not be satisfied until that end had been achieved, and to further this

ideal, this meeting had been called. From what could be gathered, the life of the Indian shop assistant was anything but a bed of roses; the hours worked were a scandal, and the rates of pay were scandalously inadequate, but to attain any alteration in these conditions it was essential for them to continue and use the whole weight of their organisation to remedy the evils mentioned. He called upon all those present, who had not already done so, to join their section at once.

One of the Indian workers present gave an outline of the disabilities under which they labour. In some instances they were compelled to be in the stores at daybreak until ten and eleven o'clock at night. Then again they have what might be termed "imported" assistants. These were brought out from India under contract, at ridiculously small wages, and the wages were not paid until the expiration of the contract, which might be year or two years. They were supplied with board and lodging, of a kind, during that period, but were not paid anything to enable them to have a little amusement or recreation.

Many of the speakers followed, pointing out the need for unity of action. The chairman mentioned that it had been decided that, early next month, the chairman of the Indian section and the organising secretary would have to form branches in Maritzburg, Ladysmith and other up country towns.

Applications were then called for, and the response was excellent. A highly successful meeting was brought to a close with a hearty vote of thanks to the officials of the European section for their attendance and help.

THE PRICE OF RICE

INDIAN WORKERS' PROTEST

A mass meeting of Durban hotel employes was held last Friday, in Rawat's Bio, Victoria Street, the object of the gathering being to protest against the high price of rice.

Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney took the chair, and appealed to those present not to say anything that might be misconstrued. He pointed out that the Indian workers were badly hit by the present rise in prices, and that in consequence they might possibly say something detrimental to their own good. There was no doubt that some of the shortage of rice supplies in Durban was due to the rice famine in India, and to the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government on the exportation of the same, but there were some merchants in the town who were taking advantage of the shortage and were profiteering. It was with those people that the Government should deal, and make an example of some of them. If these profiteers were publicly pilloried, he was certain that the price of rice would drop considerably. There were hundreds of their poorer brethren feeling the pinch, and numerous others had been talking to him about the price. They (as workers) could do nothing by themselves, but they could urge the Government to take control of the rice supplies, which would relieve a deal of suffering.

The following resolutions were carried amid cheers:

"That the Durban Indian workers assembled at a mass meeting strongly protest against the unwarranted rise in the price of rice and other Indian commodities, and respectfully asks the Union Government to prevent the cornering of rice by unscrupulous speculators."

This was moved by Mr. F. C. Pillay and seconded by Mr. Pavaday.

"That this mass meeting of Indian workers urge upon the Government the necessity of Government distribution of rice, in the interest of the poorer Indians, who are practically starving."

This was proposed by Mr. Mastamoney, seconded by Mr. B. M. Bazoo.

"That this mass meeting of workers respectfully requests the Government to put into operation the Moratorium Act against those shopkeepers who are unduly profiteering." Proposed by Mr. J. M. Pillay, seconded by Mr. Joseph.

BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders can be made payable at Durban. We have just received the following books from India. The prices given include cost of postage:—

	Price post free	s.	d.
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3	3	
Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	0	7	
Nation-Building, by Annie Besant	0	7	
Wars in Ancient India	0	7	
FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES. —Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Lord Hardinge, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macclesfield and Lord Ripon. each	0	7	
BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS: —			
Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Bahu Surendranath Banerjee, Bhubuddin Tyabji, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirth, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangacharya, Rao Bahadur K. N. Mudaliar, W. C. Bonkerjee, A. N. Bose, Behanji Sr. Malabari, Raj. Varik, Lal Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Tripathi, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Sarbjit Naidu, Swami Vivekananda, Tori Dutt, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. B. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Ebroozahaj Mehta, Rthimulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohain-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohun Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy each	0	7	
New Indian Tales	0	7	
The Story of the Raja and Apbaji	0	7	
Tales of Kollidi Wit and Wisdom	0	7	
Tales of Tenbattanam	0	7	
Tales of Mariada Ramana	0	7	
	Price, post free	s.	d.
The South Law Abroad	0	7	
Maitreyi	0	7	
Tales of Raja Bahadur	0	7	
Essentials of Hinduism	1	13	
Aspects of the Vedanta	1	8	
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	2	2	
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kulo	3	8	
Essays on Indian Economics, by Ramdas	4	4	
Sri Sankaracharya	1	7 1/2	
Sri Ramanaiahacharya	1	7 1/2	
Essays on National Ideals, by Dr. Coomaraswamy	2	2 1/2	
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	9	0	
Speeches of John Morley	3	3 1/2	
Sri Sankara's Select Works	3	5	
The Life and Teachings of Buddha	1	7	
Sri Madhwacharya	1	7	
Vaishnavite Reformers of India	2	2 1/2	
The Governance of India, by Govindrao Dal	0	4	
India's Untouchable Saints	0	10	
Hindu Psalms and Hymns	0	7	
Aggressive Hinduism	0	4	
Gokhale's Speeches	6	10	
Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches	6	8	
Vivekananda's Speeches	4	7	
King George's Speeches	2	8	
Ten Tamil Saints	0	7 1/2	
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant	1	3	
Speeches on Indian Questions, by Mr. Montague	1	1	
The Indian Deities, by G. A. Narayan	1	1 1/2	

Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, by R. V. Khodke	1	1
Peeps at Many Lands, with 12 coloured plates — City		
Ion, Siam, Burma, Home Life in India	each	2 10
Bhagavad Gita — Mrs. Besant's Interpretation	0	9 1/2
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	1	2
" " " (in Hindi)	1	2
Mentioned 'The Great Asiatic,' by Meredith		
Townsend	2	2
Stories and Sayings of India, Ceylon and Burma	7	0
From Colombo to Almora — Lectures by Swami		
Vivekananda.	2	10
From Colombo to Almora	4	4
Essays in Indian Art, Industry and Education		
By E. B. Havell,		
Rabindranath Tagore, a Lecture by the Rev. G		
F. Andrews of Delhi delivered at Capetown	2	7
Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett	1	0
Letters of John Chinaman	1	9
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Banerji	4	4
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"		
Paper covers	1	0
Bound in cloth	2	0
Position of the Women in the Vedas	0	2 1/2
Memoir of the late J. J. Doka	0	1 1/2
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	0	3
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	0	6
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2	7
M. K. Gandhi, " "	0	7
The Story of the Ramayana; the Epic of Rama		
Prince of India: by J. L. P. Erasmus	0	9
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	0	
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa:		
Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	1	0
A Letter to a Hindu, or the Subjection of India,		
its Cause and Cure, by Leo Tolstoy	0	1
Fields, Factories and Workshops, by Prince		
Kropotkin	1	9
Unto this Last, " "	1	10
English Traits and Representative Men, by		
Emerson.	1	10
Society and Solitude and other Essays, by		
Emerson	1	10
War and Peace, Vols. 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	2	10
Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke	1	10
Asiatic Law Amendment Act (1907) and		
Regulations, in English and Gujarati	6	
Asiatic Registration Amendment Act (1908)		
in English and Gujarati	3 1/2	
Registration Act (1908) Regulations, in		
English and Gujarati	3 1/2	
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	1	6
A Book—and its Misnomer	7	
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	7	

મેળવવાની ક્ષમતા હોવાને આધારે કરનારી સોનેરી કાયદાની શરતો વિષે મ. રૂબે આન ખેત્યુ હવે તે પછી તેણે સલામતની હકત વિષે સારો કીધો હતો કે જે હકત પછી હિંદીઓના સ્થાપિત હોય તે સુધી કરવાની જનરલ સમતો અને મી. ગાંધી વચ્ચે કલુલાત યથ હતી. તે પછી, જનરલ સમતોમાં હિંદીઓએ નવા વેપાર સર કીધા હોવાથી ચાલુ વરસ દરમિયાન તે જ્યાં જ્યાં ઉભી થયેલી કુસીયતો વિષે આન ખેત્યુ મી. રૂબે જણાવ્યું હતું કે અમુક હિંદીઓને કારવાની જનરલ સમતોની મુનીસીપાલિટીએ સોનેરી કાયદાની રૂબે અરજ કરી હતી તેણે એ પગલું તેઓની સામે લઇ લીધું નહોતું. આ પ્રસંગે મી. જસ્ટીસ મેસને દેવોથી પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેલા લતામાંથી હિંદીઓને નીકળી જવાનો હુકમ આપ્યો હતો. હવે જે હિંદીઓએ મજબૂર લતામાં વેપાર કરવાનો કાયદેસર હક મેળવ્યો છે તેઓને મુ. કરવું એ સલામત યથ પડેલા છે. સમતો-ગાંધીની કલુલાત મુજબ કાયદામાં મજબૂર કરવામાં આવનારી એક તારીખ સુધી એ હોને માન આપવામાં આવશે. મી. રૂબે તે પછી જણાવ્યું કે ૧૯૦૪ થી ૧૯૧૬ સુધીમાં મુનીસીપલિટી હિંદી વસ્તીમાં ૩૦૦૦૦ નો વધારો થયો હતો. હિંદીઓની વસ્તીમાં આખાં (ઇમીગ્રેશન) થી વધારો થવાનો સંભવ નથી પણ કુદરતી વધારો થશે. માઇનોના લતામાં વેપાર કરવાના તેઓના હકને ૧૯૧૬ થી મે. તા. ૧ થી સુધી માન આપી શકશે. આજેળ ચાલતાં તેણે કહ્યું કે ૧૯૧૪ ની સાલથી અલાર સુધીમાં માઇનોના લતામાં હિંદીઓને ૭૧ નવા વેપારી પરવાનાઓ આપવામાં આવ્યા છે. અને આ સ્થિતિમાં ૧૯૧૪ પછી પણ જે હિંદીઓએ કોઈ મેળવ્યા છે તે મુજબ માન્ય રાખવા યશે.

જાપાનમાંથી દાખલ થયેલું કાવતરું

તે પછી હિંદીઓ સ્વાવર મીલકતોની માલીકા કેવી રીતે મેળવતાં થયા છે તે વિષે કલુલાત દાખલાઓ મી. રૂબે આપ્યાં અને જણાવ્યું કે હિંદીઓ પ્રથમ એરાઓને તારે બીલકતો ખરીદતા હતા પણ તેમાં નીજી જવાથી એક નવું કાવતરું કોઈ કાલમાં આવ્યું છે જે જાપાનથી આવેલું સલગામ છે. એ કાવતરુંથી હિંદીઓ, લાખબીલીટી કંપનીઓ, ઉભી કરીને મીલકતો મેળવેતાં થયા છે. આવી રીતે હિંદીઓએ ૩૦ કંપનીઓ રજીસ્ટર કરી છે અને મી. રૂબે જણાવ્યું કે પ્રીટરીયાથી પોતાને મળેલા એક તારમાં જણાવવામાં આવ્યું હતું કે છેલ્લા થોડાજ અઢવાડિયા દરમિયાન બીજી ૧૪ કંપનીઓ રજીસ્ટર થઈ છે અને બીજી ૪૦ થી ૫૦ કંપનીઓએ અરજીઓ કરી છે. (હસાહસ) તે પછી મી. રૂબે જણાવ્યું કે સીલેક્ટ કમીટીએ એવી લલામલુ કરવાનો કાર્ય કીધો છે કે ૧૯૧૫ ના કાયદો એથીવાટીકાની અકુલ હેલ્થની કંપનીઓને પણ લાગુ પાડવો જોઈએ. સીલેક્ટ કમીટીના એક સભ્ય મી. અલેક્સાન્ડરે એવી દરખાસ્ત મુકી હતી કે હિંદીઓની ઉપર કંઈ પણ બંધીઓ મુકાવી નહિ જોઈએ અને તેઓની સ્થિતિ અંગ્રેજોની સમાનજ હોવી જોઈએ. બીજી તરફથી મી. અલેક્સાન્ડરે એવી સુચના કીધી કે એથીવાટીકાની કંપનીઓને દરખાસ્ત રીતે નાજુક કરવી જોઈએ. પણ એ પગલું હું ધક્કા આકરું અને અન્યાયી જમલું હું જે હકો કાયદેસર મેળવવા છે તેને તો માન આપવું જ જોઈએ. હવાત કંપનીઓને સીલેક્ટ કમીટી એરકાયદેસર

કરાવવા મુજબી નથી. અને તેથી તા. ૧ થી સુધી હવાતી ધરાવતી એથીવાટીક કંપનીઓના વેપારના હકોને કાયદેસર મળવાનું આ બીલમાં આસ વિધાન છે.

તે પછી ન્યાય માતાના પ્રધાને મી. રૂબે જણાવ્યું કે સીલેક્ટ કમીટીને એમ જણાયું હતું કે ૧૯૧૫ ના કાયદાના હેતુ કાંઈ પણ હિંદીને કે હિંદીઓની કંપનીને મીલકત નહિ મેળવવા દેવાનો હતો. અને એ હેતુને જ્યાં કરીને એવી લલામલુ કરવામાં આવી છે કે જે તા. ૧ થી ૧૯૧૬ પછી થયેલા કાયદા પણ કંપનીને મીલકત મેળવવાનો હક નહિ હોવો જોઈએ. વેપારના હકો વિષે જાણતાં મી. રૂબે જણાવ્યું કે જનરલ સમતો અને મી. ગાંધી વચ્ચે સંધી સ્થાપિત હોય તે સુધી કરવાની કલુલાત યથ હતી. એ સાથે એમ પણ સમજાયું હતું કે હવાત હકોમાં વધારો થશે નહિ. લેડાં અને બીજાં સંબંધિતે લખેને એ કલુલાતને અલાર સુધી કાયદાના રૂબમાં મુકવામાં નથી આવી. અને ૧૯૧૪ માં હિંદીઓને દેરથી પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેલા લતામાં ૭૧ નવા પરવાના આપવામાં આવ્યા છે. આ નવા પરવાનો સરકારની અને સ્થાનિક અધિકારીઓની છુટથી મેળવી શકાયા છે એમ સમજી એ મંજૂર થયેલા પરવાનાં ઉપર કાંઈ નાખવાનું કમીટીને વાજબી લાગ્યું નથી. કેમ કે તેમ કરતાં હિંદીઓ તરફ એરકાયદેસર થવાની જગ્યાની છુટ મળવાનો સંભવ છે પણ હવે નવા પરવાના અથવા હકો તો મળતાં બધું થવાનું જોઈએ એવું મારું, મી. રૂબે અને બીજાં કમીટીનાં સંબોનું માનવું છે. આ બાબતમાં પગલાં ૧૯૧૪ માં જ લેવા જોઈતાં હતાં પરંતુ કોળાઈ જયેલા કુલ વિષે શોક કરવો ન કામો છે. હવે પગલાં લેવાં જોઈએ એમાં તો કંઈક થક નથી એમ કહી મી. રૂબે બીલ પાસ કરવાની અને ચાલુ મેલક દરમિયાનજ કાયદા ચોથીમાં દાખલ કરવાની વિનંતિ કરી હતી.

તે પછી સર એઇબી બ્રહ્મીએ જણાવ્યું કે આ બાબત કલેટ ડ્રાંસવાલને જ સમતી છે એ મતની સાથે હું સુપુરસુ રીતે મળતો આવતો નથી. આ બાબત આસ કરીને આ બીલ-પસાર કરવાથી ફરી પોલીસ આપણી સમક્ષ આવશે એ જણાવવાને કાંઈ પેગમ્બરની જરૂર નથી. ચાલુ મેલકની સમક્ષ આ એક ધણીજ અમલની બાબત આવેલી છે અને આ બીલમાં સુધારા લાવવામાં અને સંબોની ટેમ્બર જાહેરની અને સરતમાન પત્રોની મદદ મળશે એવી હું આશા રાખું છું. આજેળ ચાલતાં સર એઇબીએ જણાવ્યું કે આ બીલ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને આપવાત કરવાનાં એક હથીવાર રૂપ છે અને જે તેઓ તે બીલને કાયદો બનાવશે તો લવિબમાં આપવાત કરવાને માટે એ હથીવારની કાર કાંઈ જવું થશે. હિંદીઓના હકો વિષે તેણે જણાવ્યું કે ૧૯૧૪ પછી હિંદી ઓએ મેળવેલા હકોને માન આપવામાં હું સંમત યથ થકતો નથી. વળી બીલમાં હિંદીઓ પોતાનો વેપાર, ડ્રાંસવાલમાં રહેવાનો કાયદેસર હક ધરાવનારા બીજાઓને ડ્રાંસર કરી શકશે એવું જણાવેલું છે એથી પણ પોતે વિરહતા દર્શાવી હતી. એવો વેપાર સખત જતાં અતિમોટી કીમતના યથ જઈ શકે. આજેળ ચાલતાં તેણે જણાવ્યું કે હિંદીઓને નવા પરવાના નહિ આપવામાં આવે એવું કશું પણ બીલની અંદર હું જોઈ શકતો નથી. વળી મે. તા. ૧ થી પછી નવા વેપારના પરવાના આપતાં એરકાયદો વિષે પણ બીલમાં હું કશું જોઈ શકતો નથી. જુપાલીઓ લખ્યા પછી કમીટી આવા

જાણી ઉપર કેવી રીતે આવી શકી એ મારાથી સમજી શકાય નથી. હિંદીઓએ પોતાના પીટીશનમાં જનરલ સ્મટ્સ અને મી. ગાંધી વચ્ચે કમ્યુલાત થવાની વાત સ્વીકારી છે અને તેઓએ હું જે માગણી કરવા ધાર કરી છે એ કરતાં વધારે માગણી પોતાના પીટીશનમાં કરી નથી. સર એમ્પ્લીએ જણાવ્યું કે આ બીજીની રૂએ ડ્રાંસવાલમાં કોઇ પણ જગ્યાએ વસતા દરેક હિંદીને કોઇ પણ બીજા ભાગમાં કોઇ પણ બીજા હિંદીની જગ્યા દેવાનો હક મળે છે, સ્મટ્સ-ગાંધીની કમ્યુલાત પછી હિંદીઓએ પોતાનો માર્ગ ભલું રૂડીસર એ કમ્યુલાતને છેતરવાનો, માર્ગ લીધો છે. સરકારે પરવાના આપવા નહિ હતા એમ કહેવું એ બહુ ઠીક છે. પરંતુ જ્યારે સરકારે પરવાના નામંજુર કરવાનો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો ત્યારે કોરટે તેને એ હક નહિ વાપરવા દીધો. છેતરકે સર એમ્પ્લી બેઠકી એ કહ્યું કે હિંદીઓ ૧૯૧૪ માં જે સ્થિતિએ હતા એજ સ્થિતિએ તેઓને મુકવા બેઠકીએ એવી મતલબનો તેણે બીજામાં સુધારો કરવાની દરખાસત કરી અને કહ્યું કે સરકારને જેમ એશીયાટીકને બહાર રાખે છે તેમ આપણે પણ તેઓની નકલ કરવી બેઠકીએ.

તે પછી મી. ડાન્સે સર એમ્પ્લી બેઠકીના મતને ટોચે આપ્યો કે આ બીજા છેવટનો નિકાલ પ્રાવનાઈ નથી. પરંતુ તેણે કહ્યું કે આ બીજામાં અતઃ નજરેક દેખાય છે. ટાઉન કાઉન્સિલને પરવાના આપવાના સંબંધમાં અમુક સલામતો આપવામાં આવેલી છે પરંતુ જ્યારે કાઉન્સિલે પરવાના નામંજુર કર્યા છે ત્યારે કોરટે આ બીજા ચર્ચા તે મંજુર થયેલા છે જે કે સોનેરી કાયદામાં એ સંબંધી એકસ વિધાન રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. આ બીજા ૧૯૧૪ની કમ્યુલાત કરતાં એજન મુદ્દા ઉપર આખરે વધુ ઠીક થકા છે. અને તે એ છે કે ૧૯૧૪ પછી જે વેપાર સ્થાપના છે તેને કાયમ રાખવાની તે છુટ મુકે છે. અને તેમ કરવાનું કારણ એજ છે કે સોનેરી કાયદાના વિધાન વિષે અધિકારીઓ અમોઝા કરી ગયા છે. અને તેને પરિણામે જે વેપાર ચાલવા દેવામાં આવેલા છે તેને કહેવું જોઈ જાય તો તેની ઇચ્છા નથી. આમજ ચાલતાં તેણે જણાવ્યું કે આ બીજા હિંદી અને જોરાને લગતું પ્રજાને છેવટનો નિકાલ લાવનારે તો નથી પણ કામના કોઇ પણ વર્ગની ઉમર એ બેની કહે તેટલી સોજામાં એમ્પ્લી મુસીબત નાખનાર છે. છેવટમાં તેણે સંબોધે આ બીજા સ્વીકારવાની અરજ કરી અને કહ્યું કે તેમ કરતાં એશીયાટીકની સાથે ભવિષ્યમાં કામ દેવાનું પાલમેન્ટને સરળ થઇ શકે. આ એક આપણી ઉપર દુઃખદાય કામ આવી પડેલું છે પણ યુરોપીયન અને એશીયાટીક સુધારો એ એક બીજાની સાથે સાથે શકી નહિ શકે અને એક બીજાને લાભદાયી નહીં થઇ શકે એ આધારે આ એક વાજબી કામ છે. અને પ્રજાને અમુક હક લેવીજ બેઠકીએ કે જ્યાં લીટી દેરી કામ અને જે લીટી એવી રીતે દેરવાની છે કે જેથી સોજામાં એમ્પ્લી દુઃખ લેવું પડે.

મી. ધેવમકસે કહ્યું કે હિંદીઓને જે આજે આપણે આપણી આપીશું તે તેઓ કાલે આજે હાથ દેવાને તકવાર થશે. તેઓ અંગ્રેજ વેપારીઓની જગ્યા વેપારી પાલવા લાગ્યા છે અને તેઓ શીગવે છે તે કરતાં તેઓને વધુ હક આપવાથી કે કિરેક છે.

મી. ડીબીર (હેરીસમીથના) એ જણાવ્યું કે નસીબને કી સ્ટેટ હિંદીઓની મેટી વસ્તીની સાથે કામ દેવાની આવી નક્કીથી મુકત છે. તેલવાળા ચીંચરાની મુક માત્ર થી નબી સકનારા સેમિની સાથે એક સમ્મ મારાથી હરી કામમાં થી રીતેજ ઉતરી થકાય. બેહાનીસમ્પરગના થકા વેપારીઓ અને તેમાં પણ મી. જેમર જેવા વેપારી હિંદીઓને ટેકા આપી રલા છે એ કમ્યુન વિચર છે. કદાચ તેઓને પોતાના નફા સાથેજ કામ હશે પછી ભવિષ્યની એલાદોનું ભલે ગમે તે થાય. પછી મી. ડીબીરે સર એમ્પ્લી બેઠકીના મતને થણી માખતોમાં ટેકા આપ્યો અને બીજાની અંદર કી સ્ટેટના કામદારો છે એવું એક વિધાન લાવવાની અરજ કરી કે જેથી કોઇ પણ એશીયાટીકથી ખેતીના ઉદ્યોગમાં પણ ઉતરી ન શકાય.

મી. કોલીસ (બરમીસેવાળા) એ જણાવ્યું કે આ બીજા આટલું મોટું કામ થયું છે એ પણ શોચનીય છે. આ બીજા તો સમાધાની કરનાર છે અને ડ્રાંસવાલની બહેર પ્રજા હવે સમાધાનીઓ કરવા હચ્છતીજ નથી. બહેર પ્રજામાં એવી લાગણી વરતી રહી છે કે હિંદીઓને તેઓની મોટા ભાગી આપી જેમ તેમ કરી કાલવા બેઠકીએ. પછી ભલે તે ન્યાય કહેવાય કે અન્યાય કહેવાય.

મી. સ્યુરીક (લાઇનપરગવાળા) એ જણાવ્યું કે આ બીજાની એવી અસર થવાનો સંભવ છે કે જે હિંદીઓ ટેકાથી અસિક થએલા લતામાં પરવાના મેળવવામાં નિમ્મજ જશે તેઓ બહારના પ્રજાઓમાં જશે અને આ તેઓના પરવાના નામંજુર થશે તો પણ કદાચ કોરટે તેઓની અરજીઓ મંજુર રાખશે. એશીયાટીકની શીમકતની માલીફીના સંબંધમાં તેણે જણાવ્યું કે ખાતગી કમતીઓ રજીસ્ટર કરી શીમકતો મેળવવામાં હિંદીઓએ કાયદો તોડેલો છે અને એવા ચુન્કાની પણ મારી આપવી એ વધારે પડતું જ ગણાય.

મી. બેની (સમીગસવાળા) એ જણાવ્યું કે જ્યારે હું ઇન્ડિયામાં હતો ત્યારે મેં એશીયાટીક સલાલનો કામચ રીતે અભ્યાસ કર્યો હતો અને હું એમ કહ્યો છું કે સળળા લીટીના સંસ્થાનેની સમક્ષ એ સલાલ આવી પડેલો છે. અને દરેક સંસ્થાને હિંદીઓની સાથે પોતાની અરજ મુજબ વરતવાનો પોતાનો હક સાક્ષત કર્યો છે. હિંદી સરકારને પણ સંસ્થાનેમાંથી આવનારા સેમિની વરક તેમ કરવાનો હક છે. છેવટમાં તેણે બીજાને સમલમાં મુકવાની તારીખ મે તા. ૧ થી ૧૯૧૬ ને બહુ લુલાઇ તા. ૧ થી ૧૯૧૪ રાખવાની વિનંતિ કરતાં જણાવ્યું કે આપણે ન્યાયી પણે વરતવું બેઠકીએ છે પણ કાયદો તોડવાની છુટ આપી યુરોપીયન વેપારીઓને કલ્યા કરવી બેઠકી નથી.

મેજર વેન હીરાન (સ્ટનપરગવાળા) એ એવી કિરિયા કરી કે આ બીજા ડ્રાંસવાલના પ્રજાઓને કે જ્યાં હિંદી વેપારીઓ યુરોપીયનોને નહસાડી રલા છે તેઓને મારે બાગ પડતું નથી.

મી. એલેક્સાન્ડર (કેટાઉન, કેસલ વાળા) એ જણાવ્યું કે એવો એક પણ કાયદો નથી કે જે હિંદીઓને વેપાર કરતાં અટકાવી શકે છે. પણ ૧૮૮૫ નો સોનેરી કાયદો, જે હિંદી વેપારીઓને મારે રજીસ્ટ્રેશન થી કારવનારો છે, તેના પર પડતી ચતા આવતી તરલુમાના કારણથી એવા કાયદો

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 नवीता चीर पुत्रोनी अने सत्याग्रह पत्रे
 देवायेली छणीओ

सुदुस्मरत वेपर उपर छपयेली नीयेनी छणीओ 'छडिन-जोपिनियन' प्रेस, इन्डिअस, नासिक, यी थी इन्डिअस लेवे मळी सडके. अमला वांचोने आ छणीओ राजवाणी अये नास सत्याग्रह छीये अये. इमडे मजे गांधीने छीये हे व छणीओ नदरे पत्रेरी पत्रेरी हिवावे उपर पीताना करती आनी छणीओ नदारी राजवा मेषां वधारे मान रहेले छे.

सत्यम जोग, महात्मा, अहिंसा, अहिंसक, जो. भी. जोषी, मरहम सर प्रेमचंद, मरहम सर रवींद्र नाथ टागोर, मरहम सर वीवीयम बेडरनम, मरहम कान्हो टागोर, मरहम रेव रुद्र ने, ने. टोड, मरहम भी. सीतलच साधु, मरहम वीर, मरहम भी. नाथान, मरहम भी. नाथ साणी, मरहम भी. जोग जोग, नाथ, मरहम भी. वकीलम गोवलीवर, मरहम भी. हाथ हाथ हुसेन, मरहम भी. नरहम हाथ नाथम.

सत्यम जोग, वेरड जोषी, भी. देवनेक, सविट, जोग, सविट, जोगीरमणी, भी. पैलाड, भी. उभाय नरहम हाथर आ वाशीर, भी. जली, भी. वी. जे. वेदीवर, सा. आ. वेर डू, भी. जेले इतराव, भी. उपर हाथ जाले अनेरी, भी. वेरड राजपण (नेरीरर वरीके तेमळ इरीवाणा वरीके) भीरीर तेडा, भीरीर तेम महेला, इनीका भीरी, भी. सवाली स्वती सके रानेड, श्री जोगावला हाड वेरडमर्ग मडिर, इतिहास इतरपडे वयेता 500 हीदीयेने मजे.

आपु स्वी-दनाथ धवेर, सर जेजभेने सेवकसम. पडाड तावे मरहम भी. जोगनेरी इतिहास आदिनी पुलाडा पत्रेरी तेमळ इतराव पत्रेनी छणीओ छे.

बंकिम निबन्धावली

(श्रीयुक्त बाबू बंकिमचन्द्र के साहित्य, बर्म, सवान और मनोरंजन विवेकाका अनुवाद.)

स्वरुप

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खामो विवेकानन्द

(श्रीयुक्त चन्द्रकान्त कोरडकरके लिखे गयी नाटकका अनुवाद.)

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THE SITUATION IN INDIA

BRITISH PRESS COMMENTS

The *Westminster Gazette* remarks in an editorial note—

"These resignations (of Roshdi Pasha and the Egyptian Cabinet) must be considered together with those of the three members of the Viceroy's Council in India who resigned as a protest against the Rowlatt Acts. At a difficult time like the present we feel that it is particularly important that the British authorities on the spot and the Imperial Government itself should do all in their power to make things easy for those native statesmen who are progressive, but, at the same time, moderate and loyal. The position of such men is terribly difficult in a time of crisis and unrest, but they are, after all, our strongest allies and the mainstay of our rule. That they should be resigning in both Dominions leads us to fear that there has been a lack of tact and of consideration for their opinions. Nothing could be more fatal than the impression that our policy is alienating even the moderate and statesmanlike opinion of those who in the past have been ready to co-operate loyally with our rule."

Mr. S. H. Swinny, writing in May number of the *Posturing Review*, says—

"In an hour of England's danger, India had no hesitation. She did not stay to think of old grievances; she did not bargain for favours or even bare justice in the future, but boldly placed all her resources at the service of the Allied cause. She contributed more men than all the self-governing Colonies together; and the Viceroy was able without misgiving almost to denude the country of European troops. It has, therefore, seemed all the greater grievance that new and drastic criminal legislation directed against anarchy and sedition has been passed through the Viceroy's Legislative Council, against the vote of the Indian representatives and amid the determined opposition of the country. The new Bills are considered in India to take away safeguards vital for the protection of the innocent; they are held to be unnecessary in time of peace, though during the war drastic restrictions caused no complaint; and in India the Government already possess large, and even extravagant, powers. All Indians seem united in opposition. Moderates and Extremists put aside their conflicts. When will the Indian Government learn the importance of carrying the people with them? The successful fight against anarchy depends much less on the powers of the police than on its efficiency, and still more on the whole-hearted support of the people."

The *Saturday Westminster Gazette* has the following notes—

"The Indian situation is still serious and there is a grave danger not of rebellion on a large scale but that these demonstrations of unrest may frighten the Government into an unnecessarily reactionary policy. That they are ready to be frightened is shown by the Rowlatt Acts themselves. We have justifiably congratulated ourselves on the spirit of loyalty which prevailed in India during the war, in spite of the attempts by enemy agents to disturb the country, and the strain necessarily put upon the Moslem population by the mere fact that we were at war with the Sultan. It is therefore most unfortunate that the first obvious result of that period of loyalty and good service should not be an initial instalment of the Montagu Reforms but a Coercion Act. It is no doubt quite easy to produce evidence of the necessity for the Rowlatt Acts; it is fairly always easy to produce such evidence in favour of any Coercion Act. But the fact that the last difficult five years have gone by without trouble should count for much as an answer."

"Whatever may be the truth about the necessity for the Rowlatt Acts and the possibility even now of modifying their terms, no time should be lost in proceeding with the promised reforms. Above all the existing un-

rest must not be used as an excuse for delay. If that is allowed we shall have entered upon a repetition of the unfortunate history of our relations with Ireland. As it is, the analogy between Indian Reforms and the Rowlatt Acts on the one hand, and Irish Home Rule and Conscription on the other, is close enough to cause us grave disquietude. We must remember that five years ago, even two years ago, a very moderate settlement would have been accepted by a contented Ireland. The outcome of the present situation no one can prophesy. We must avoid a similar failure of courage for that is all it is, in India. We must demonstrate to moderate Indian opinion and to the world at large that we do honestly intend to promote Indian self-government and that no specious argument will cause us to deviate from that course."

THE RICE SHORTAGE

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Recently in the House of Commons Mr. MACQUISTEN asked the Secretary of State for India (1) whether the African ports in East Africa, South Africa, Somaliland, and the ports of Aden, Bombay, Bura and other places along the Indian Ocean were being supplied with food from India; and whether the allotment for these ports was being deducted out of the allotment of the Bombay Presidency. (2) If famine conditions existed in the Bombay Presidency; whether the export of grain in India was still going on, or, if not, at what date it ceased; and whether rice was still being sent to Java and Sumatra from Burma.

Mr. MONTAGU: Famine conditions exist in parts of the Bombay Presidency. The exportation of food grains from India has for some time past been prohibited except under licence. Export under licence is reduced to a minimum, and is practically confined to countries including those mentioned by the hon. member, in which there is a more or less considerable Indian population ordinarily dependent on India for much of their food. The limited export is not thought to affect materially, if at all, the food supply of the Bombay Presidency. From Burma no rice I understand at present is being exported to Java or Sumatra.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. GANDHI

Hon. Mirza Muhammad Shah has sent an open letter to Mr. Gandhi in the *Expatriate and Military Gazette*. After praising Mr. Gandhi for his heroic fight in South Africa Mr. Shah says—Use of passive resistance in South Africa was one thing and its adoption as a political weapon among 319 millions of countrymen a vast majority of whom are illiterate and easily moved by passion is something entirely different. Mr. Shah concludes his letter thus—High fights in the realm of idealism are beyond the power of Indian masses. They are not a crowd of rioters having unshakable faith in their own force. Here he dominates the forces and passions such as have already been roused in Russia mutually self-destructive and ruinous of ordered progress. It is the bounden duty of all true lovers of India to be aware of them. It should be their sacred task by constitutional method to co-operate with British statesmen in the gradual realisation for our country of the ultimate goal embodied in the solemn declaration of 20th August 1917. I appeal to you in the name of sacred cause we all hold dear to abandon passive resistance. You have already seen for yourself the grave results of this impracticable and disastrous movement. Its resumption bound to involve heart-rending consequences many times more serious than those who have just seen. You, I know are inspired by genuine love for the cause of common Motherland, and I sincerely trust that this appeal for the final abandonment of passive resistance made to a patriot like yourself will not go unheeded.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN COLONIES

India thus discuss the problem of the late German Colonies—

It is just here that the altered status of India may become a very important factor in her world-position. Let us take three concrete examples. The Indian population in the Union of South Africa, mostly confined to Natal, will, as the years pass, become increasingly Colonial-born in composition. It will require an outlet, sooner or later, either by the breaking down of the barriers against inter-provincial immigration or by emigration to neighbouring territory, either foreign, as at Delagoa Bay, or British, as in Rhodesia, or mandatory, as in South-West Africa. But the Union, having, with the permission of the League of Nations, applied its own legislation to the conquered territory, will have built a ring-fence around it and refused entry to these Indian immigrants. Similarly, the congested Indian population of Fiji, where large numbers of Indian labourers have been taken under indenture, may desire to seek fresh fields for their enterprise in the island now handed over under mandate to Australia and New Zealand, who will probably have imposed their restrictive legislation barring out Indian immigration. Great Britain, being the mandatory for German East Africa, may, as in the case of the neighbouring British Protectorate, be unable to resist the pressure of the European interests, to which, administratively, she has already succumbed, and may be desirous of applying in the new territory the same differential treatment against Indians of which a representative deputation has recently bitterly complained to the Government of India.

What, then, is India to do if she cannot secure redress? It is just here that the wisdom of those who insisted upon proper recognition of her Imperial and her international status displays itself. Should she, as against Australia and New Zealand, fail to secure a satisfactory settlement, she will appeal, as heretofore, to Great Britain to arbitrate. But should her appeal fail, or should she, after negotiation, not succeed, in changing the administrative methods of Great Britain in the conquered East African territory, she may now proceed to a higher court of appeal, the Council of the League of Nations itself. At first, this may, indeed, not be of much practical advantage, having regard to the circumstances of the case. But a new and important principle has been admitted, a new international tribunal has been erected, and time is on the side of India, who thus becomes a new world-factor.

MR. GANDHI ON STRIKES

A large number of Tramwaymen met Mr. Gandhi recently at his residence while in Madras. Mr. Gandhi addressed them as follows:—

I have heard something about your strike. I know on the surface what your demands are. But I have not gone deeply into the whole matter. Nor do I know the Company's side of the question. I, therefore, cannot say as to whether your demands are absolutely just or not. But assuming that your demands are just I am sure that you are quite justified in declaring a strike. Whenever a body of workmen state their legitimate grievances before their employers and the employers do not listen to them the only clean weapon in their hands is a strike. So, for a good and successful strike the first thing essential is that the cause should be good and just. The second thing is that the strikers should never resort to violence. That is to say, you may not hurt your employers nor may you hurt those who do not join you in the strike. And you should always, no matter what difficulties you have to suffer, stick to truth. And in going, therefore, on strike you must be prepared always to suffer whatever difficulties you may

have to go through, even privations. That strike is a religious strike and is always bound to be successful. I hope that your strike is of that character. I am simply filled with delight to see that you are all acting in such perfect co-operation and that not a single employee is working there. I am also delighted to see that you are conducting yourselves in a most orderly way. And having gone so far I hope that you will continue your strike till your demands are granted. But I would like you to bear this in mind that your demands should be reduced to writing and every one of you should know what those demands are and when the time for settlement comes not to increase those demands. If you increase your demands from time to time or change them you will place yourselves in a wrong way. If an arbitration is suggested, of men in whom you can place perfect reliance, I should like you to agree to the arbitration, because the arbitrators will be able to say to you, to the company and to the world whether your demands are just or not. Lastly, granting that your demands are just and that you are satisfying the other conditions that I have laid down, what are you to do if the strike is prolonged? Now I know that all of you do not possess money enough to go on with an indefinitely prolonged strike. You are all workers, able-bodied men, and I would advise you not to rely for your bread and butter on public support. It is beneath the dignity of a man who has got strong arms and legs to depend for his bread and butter on public support. I will, therefore, advise you to seek some work which all of you can do, of a temporary nature. No honest work is dishonourable for any man on this earth. Therefore, if I were you, and if I get spade work I would do it and would prolong the strike indefinitely. I have not got the time to tell you the history of the strike in Ahmedabad where the strike continued for twenty-three days. You will ask some friend what the strike was. But this I want to tell you about that strike, that the men earning Rs. 40 per month did not mind doing spade work and carrying mud from place to place. And so they supported their families on Ans. 4 a day. The result was that ten thousand men who were engaged in it were entirely successful. I hope that your demands are just. I hope that you will behave in the manner that I have ventured to advise you and in that case you may depend upon it if you shall have success. I thank you very much for having come here all the way to see me.

A LETTER TO MR. GANDHI

By Mr. DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's eldest brother Babu Dwijendranath Tagore, who is eighty years old, and who leads the life of a recluse at his peaceful hermitage at Shantiniketan has addressed the following letter to Mr. Gandhi, supporting his passive resistance movement:—

Shantiniketan, April 11

My most revered friend Mr. Gandhi.

I wish with all my heart that will go on unflinchingly with your work of helping our misguided people to overcome evil by good. At times it seems to me that penance and fastings, etc. which you enjoin are not quite the things that are necessary and therefore may be dispensed with. But on the second thought I find that we are not competent to judge the matter aright from our stand point. You are deriving your inspiration from such a high source that instead of calling in question the appropriateness of your sayings and your doings, we ought to thankfully recognise in the fatherly call of providence full of divine wisdom and power.

May the Almighty and Allmerciful God be your shield and strength in this awful crisis.

Your affectionate old friend

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

પુસ્તક ૧૭ મું.

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નં. ૨૦

નોંધ અને સમાચાર

કાંસાલના શીટીંગ હિંદીઓનાં સંકેત સંબંધી તપાસ સલાવવા બેઠેલી સંવેદક કમીટીના રીપોર્ટની નકલ ક્રમે જમારી પાસે આવી છે. તેના ૯૬ પાનાં સમાપ્ત છે અને તેમાં કમીટીના રીપોર્ટ અને બહામણો ઉપરાંત પત્રવ્યવહાર અને યાદીઓ, હાઉસ ઓફ એસેમ્બલીની સમક્ષ મુકાબલુ બીલ અને કમીટીમાં લેવાયેલી બુથાનીઓની નોંધો આપવા માં આવી છે.

શ્રી. ગ્રાંધીએ મુલ્કી ખાતાના પ્રધાનના સેક્રેટરી, શ્રી. ગાર્લસને લખેલા એક ખાનગી પત્ર તેમાં આપ્યો છે કે જે આ પહેલીજ વખતે પ્રસિદ્ધિમાં આવ્યો છે. આ પત્ર ૧૯૧૪ ની સુલેહ થયા બાદ લખવામાં આવ્યો હતો અને હિંદી કોમ અને સરકારની વચ્ચે થયેલી કબુલાતની સાથે કસ્ટોર સંબંધ ધરાવતો નથી. આ પત્રમાં શ્રી. ગ્રાંધીએ "સ્થાપિત હોમ" ના અર્થ વીધી પોતાને અભિપ્રાય મુકેલો છે જે જણાવ્યું છે. કમનસીબે હાલના મુલ્કીખાતાના પ્રધાનના સેક્રેટરી કરનલ શા એ એ ખાનગી પત્રની નકલો બુદી બુદી મ્યુનીસીપાલિટીઓ ઉપર મોકલવાની કુટુંબીયા છે. અને મ્યુનીસીપાલિટીઓએ હિંદી કોમના વેપારના હકોને નાશ કરવાના એક કચ્છ તરીકે તેનો ઉપયોગ કર્યો છે. આ પત્ર કે જેને કલેબર ગેરવાળબી રીતે ઉપયોગ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે તેને વિષે અમે વધારે લખાણ કર્યામાં હવે પછી ઉતરીશું.

કરનલની હિંદી માર્કેટની સ્થિતિ વરસો વરસ આવડતી રહેતી જણાય છે. સહેરના ખજાનનીના કમચૂબ પહાર ખોલા રીપોર્ટ ઉપરથી સમજાય છે કે બુલેટિંગ ત્યાં ૨૧ ૧૯૧૮ ના પુરા થતાં વરસમાં માર્કેટમાંથી કુલ માઉન્ડ ૨,૦૩૮ નો નફો થયો હતો. તેમાંથી ખરચ બાદ જતાં માઉન્ડ ૧,૧૦૨ ની રકમ રહી છે જે સહેરના કરનાં ફાળાં જેટલો જ છે. આવીજ રકમ જર સાલ સહેરના સામાન્ય કરના ફાળા જેટલો જ છે. હેલ્લા પાંચ વરસ કરમીયાત એ ફાળાને માઉન્ડ ૯,૮૬૭ નો ફાયદો થયો છે. આટલું જતાં ખેલનક એ છે કે બીચારા ખેડૂતો જે જેઓને લાંબાં વડકાં સહન કરવા પડે છે તેઓની સગવડને માટે મ્યુનીસીપાલિટી તરફથી એક સુબ રકમ પૈસુ ખરચવામાં આવી નથી.

હિંદી સંસ્થાઓને મ્યુનીસીપાલિટી તરફથી અપાયેલી ઈક મદદમાં પા. ૧૦૦ હિંદી ઓ અને હોકરોએને માટેની સેન્ટ એન્ડ હોસ્પિટલને અને પા. ૨૦૦૦ની રકમ રમશાન ૬૫ જેટલા આપવામાં આવી છે.

કરનલની હિંદી એન્ડો ગુજરાતી સુલના એન. આલી-સલ સેક્રેટરી લખી જણાવે છે કે ગાયા સ્વીચાર્ડ તા.

૨૮ મીના રોજ હિંદુ એન્ડો ગુજરાતી સુલ કમીટીની એક મીટીંગ તા. શ્રી. વલ્લભ દેવશીનાં મકાને તા. શ્રી. વલ્લભ દેવશીના પ્રમુખપણા હેઠળ મળી હતી. જે વખતે એવો કારણ કરવામાં આવ્યો હતો કે સરકાર સુલને માટે ખાસ મકાન થતાં સુધી એક ભાડેનું મકાન લઈ જેમ અને તેમ જલદી સુલ આહુ કરવી તેમજ એક માર્કેટની જોડણી કરવી અને તે સુલનું કામ કરવાનું હાથ ૧૨ લેવામાં આવ્યું છે. આ ઉપરથી સરવે ગુજરાતી હિંદુ ભાષાઓને બહેર વિનિતિ કરવામાં આવે છે કે આ કામમાં બનતી મદદ કરશે અને આપણા બચ્ચાંઓના આશિર્વાદ મેળવશે.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૨૩ મે ૧૯૧૯.

ધુનીયત પાલમિન્ટમાં હિંદીઓના પ્રથમ સંબંધી થયેલી ચર્ચા ઉપરથી એવું જણાય છે પાલમિન્ટમાં થયેલી ચર્ચા કે જેઓ આપણા ખરા અને દિલસોજ મીત્રો જ્યાં તાં આવ્યા છે તેઓ પૈસુ કાંસાલના હિંદીઓના સોનેરી લવાઓમાં વેપાર કરવાના અને સ્થાવર મીલકાતની મલેકી ધરાવવાના હકોને છીનવી લેનારો સુચવવામાં આવેલા કાબો દેલો અન્વાયી છે એ સમજી કહ્યાં નથી. શ્રી પેટ્રીક હેન્ટ જેવાએ એક તરફથી એવું કહ્યું કર્યું છે કે આ એક મહુ જ દુઃખદાયક કામ તેઓની સમક્ષ આવી પહુ છે. જતાં બીજી તરફથી તેમણે એવો ખત દર્શાવ્યો છે કે મુરોપીયન અને એશીયાટીક સુધારો સાથે સાથે રહીને એક બીજને ઘાલ કરી નહીં શકે અને એ આધારે આ ખરખરે તેમણે વાળબી ચલ્યો છે. તેમણે એમ પૈસુ કહ્યું છે કે એવા એક વખત આવશે કે જ્યારે એશીયાટીકને માટે અધુક સતાઓ ખાસ મુકરર કરવામાં આવશે, અને લાં તેઓને વેપાર કરવાની છુટ આપવામાં આવશે. શ્રી. કરમ કે જેને આપણે આપણા એક ખરા મીત્ર તરીકે ઓળખતા આવ્યા છીએ તેમણે પૈસુ એમ કહ્યું છે કે આ બીલથીજ આ સલાથી એક વાળબી પ્રમાણની ઉપર આવી શકશે, વળી શ્રી. મોરીસ અલેક્ઝાન્ડર જે હિંદીઓને માટે ન્યાયનાં એક અજુતમાં અજુત હીમાયતી ગણતા આવ્યા છે તેમણે પૈસુ એક તરફથી હિંદીઓની સામે કબુલાત લેવામાં મુકાબલા ખેટા આરોપની સાથે વિરોધ દર્શાવી બીજી તરફથી બીલના બીજા પાંચવને ટેકા આપતાં જણાવ્યું છે કે એ કે એ બીલ કુ ઈન્ડી સુકુ તેવું નથી. જતાં હાલના સંજોગમાં એવ એક વાળબી સલામતી લાવી શકનાર છે, અને એ પચાર

યશો એવી મારી ઉમેદ છે. સર એમની એટલી અને ખીજા એશીયાટીકાના દુસ્ખનેલી ઉદ્ધતીએને વિષે તો કંઈ કહેવા પશુ રહેતું જ નથી. સહુ કાંઈ જાણે છે કે તેઓ હિંદીઓના કદા દુસ્ખને છે અને જે તેઓનાથી બની શકતું હોય તો તેઓ આ દેશમાંથી એક એક હિંદીને દારૂ પ્રકાશ વિના ન રહે. મજુર પક્ષે આ બીજાને કેટલા આપ્યો છે તેવું એક જ કારણ છે કે તેઓની સાથે તે કરો સંબંધ ધરાવતું નથી. યુરોપીયન કામદારોને જ સીધી રીતે લાગુ તેડતી ન હોય એવી કોઈ પણ વ્યાખ્યામાં તેઓ ખરી રીતે ભાગ લેતા જ નથી. હિંદીઓને વેપારના હોંકા છીનવી લેવામાં આવે તેમજ વેપારના હોંકાને લાવવાની કોઈ કંપનીઓને નામે મીલકતો મેળવવામાં તેઓના કામદાર દેશ છીનવી લેવામાં આવે તેમાં તેઓને કાંઈ પણ જાતનો વાધો છે જ નહિ. કરમલ કે સવેલ જે મજુર પક્ષના વક્તા છે તેમણે શાહી દ્રષ્ટીબીંદુ ઉપર બોલતાં એવો મત દર્શાવ્યો છે કે રંગીન પ્રજાઓની આવાતાના સંબંધમાં બાંદીશ સંસ્થાનેના હકોની પીજાન થઈ છે એ જોતાં આ પગલાંથી શહેનશાહતનું અપમાન થવાનો ભય રાખવાની કશી જરૂર નથી. પણ "શહેનશાહતનું ભાગીદાર" ગણાવતું હિંદુસ્તાન આ વ્યાખ્યાને વિષે શું ધારશે તેના સંબંધમાં તો કશું બોલાયું જ નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનની લાગણી દુઃખાય તો ન દુઃખાય તેની કોઈ દરકાર કરવામાં આવે છે એ આ દાખલા ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ બીજું સંકાય છે એ દેશનો કશી જાણીને છે જ નહિ એવું તેને વિષે ધારવામાં આવે છે. એક ખીટીય સંસ્થાનની પાલમેન્ટને આ પ્રમાણે હિંદુસ્તાનને શું લાગશે તેનો શેષ પણ ખ્યાલ કીધા વિના હિંદી વેપારી ઓને સહતર નાશ કરવાનો શાંતથી પગલાં લેતી આપણે મજુર પક્ષે એક એક સ્થાને હિંદુસ્તાનને સ્વરાજ્ય મળવાની કોઈ જાણી જરૂર છે તેના વધુ પુરવાની ભાગ્યે જ જરૂર હોય શકે. વળી ખીજા એક ભાષણકાર કરમલ પ્રીટોરીયસે એમ કહ્યું છે કે પુરાણા દિવસોમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને હિંદીઓનો પ્રથમ હાથમાં લેવાનું સંગઠન અશક્ય હતું કારણ કે શહેન શાહતની સાથે તેકરોકે થવાનો ભય હતો. આજે એ ભય વીતી ગયો છે અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા "પોતાનું ધર નીચમ માં મુકે" તેમાં શહેનશાહતને કશી દરકાર નથી. સીલેક્ટ કમીટીના પ્રમુખ મી. રથે ૧૯૧૪ની સમટસ-ગાંધીની કચુલાત વિષે ખ્યાલ એવું છે અને ભવિષ્યમાં હિંદીઓને તુલા વેપારી પરવાના લેવાનું અને તેઓના વેપારના સ્થળોની માલીકી ધરાવવાનું અશક્ય કરી દઈ કેમ જાણે એ કચુલાતનો પેતે એમલ કરતાં હોય એવું તે માનતા જણાય છે. ૧૯૧૪ની કચુલાતમાં જે કંઈ પણ વ્યાખ્યા સહી કરતાં વધારે સ્પષ્ટ હોય તો તે એ જ છે કે એ કચુલાત હિંદીઓની સંખ્યા યુરોપીયોડી છેવટની સમાધાની તરીકે કરવામાં આવી જ નહીં હતી. હકીકતમાં જેનેરી કાયદા નીચેની યુરોપીયોડી મી. ગાંધી તરફથી ખાસ ખ્યાલ એવેવામાં આવ્યું હતું અને એવી વ્યાખ્યામાં બહેળી અને ઉપર કમીટી કામ લેવાની કોઈ રીતે વિષે મી. ગાંધીએ સરકારને ખાસ અરજ કરી હતી. જેને બદલે હવે તો "સ્થાપીત હકો" નો પણ અલંત સંમુચિત અરજી કરવામાં આવે છે અને અમુક વ્યક્તિ ઓને જ લાગુ પાડવામાં આવે છે. ખરી રીતે વેપાર કરવાનો હક એ સચ્ચ કામને સ્થાપિત હક છે અને હિંદી એ એક એક પરવાના મેળવી લીધેલા હોય તેના અમુક દાખલો તો જ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના રાજ્યપટ્ટીયાઓ-તેઓને અમે

રાજનીવીરો તો નહિ જ કશી સંકીએ-પાય અને મટલ પશુનું જાન બુદ્ધી મવા છે એવું આ ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ જાણ શકાય છે.

જે વખતે મુખી પ્રધાન તેમજ જનરલ સમટસ યુરોપમાં બેઠેલા છે તેવે વખતે આવા તકરારી કાયદો યુનીયનની પાર્લામેન્ટમાં દાખલ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે એ અમારા મન પ્રમાણે યજ્ઞ જ શુભ ભરેલું થયું છે. સર થોમસ વોટ જે દાલ મુશ્કી ખાતાના મુખી છે તે હિંદી પ્રથમ વિષે કચુ જ જાણતા નથી. તેથી સીલેક્ટ કમીટીમાં પણ તેમણે બીજા કશી નહીં લી. અહિના રીલેક્ટ હિંદીઓના હકોના જેવો યુએપશુ ભરેલો પ્રથમ હાથમાં લઈ શકે એવો એક પણ પ્રધાન યુનીયનમાં હાજર નથી.

આ વ્યાખ્યામાં ટ્રાંસવાલ ખીટીય ઇન્ડિયન એસોસીએશનને અમે એટલી જ સલાહ આપી શકીએ છીએ કે તેઓએ આ કાયદો જનરલ સમટસના આવતા પહેલાં પસાર કરવાનો પગલાં લેવાય તે સામે સરકારની સમક્ષ તેમજ નામદાર ગવરનર જનરલની સમક્ષ પોતાનો સખત વિરોધ રજુ કરવો જોઈએ. મી. ગાંધીની સાથે અને હિંદી કામની સાથે થએલી કચુલાતનો અરથ જેવળ જનરલ સમટસ જ કરવાને શકિત માત છે.

દરમીયાન અમારા ટ્રાંસવાલના ભાષણોએ એ પણ વીસરી જવું જોઈતું નથી કે તેઓની ઉપર યુરો વખત આવી લાગેલો છે. તેઓના હકોની ઉપર કુમલો કરવાના આવા દર નિશ્ચયની સામે થવાની તેઓની શકિતની આ વખતે ખરી કસોટી થવાની છે અને ભવિષ્યમાં તેઓ એક સ્વતંત્ર અને વ્યવસ્થાપી દરકાર કરનારી પ્રજા તરીકે રહેશે કે યુવા-ઓની હારમાં મુકાશે તેનો સંધળો આધાર તેઓની શકિતની ઉપર જ રહેલો છે.

યુનીયન પારલામેન્ટમાં હિંદીઓનો સવાલ

એશીયાટીકસ લેન્ડ એન્ડ ટેરરીંગ એમેન્ડમેન્ટ બીલ

એ ઉપર થએલી ચર્ચાનો સાર

કેપટાઉનથી મે તા. ૧૫-મીના રૂટર જણાવે છે કે હાલિસ એક એસેમ્બલીમાં ટ્રાંસવાલના હિંદીઓની મુસીબતો સંબંધી તપાસ ચલાવવા બેઠેલી સીલેક્ટ કમીટીના પ્રમુખ મી. રથે સદરકુ કમીટીની ભલામણ યુજબ ધરાવેલું "એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ એન્ડ ટેરરીંગ એમેન્ડમેન્ટ બીલ" માને એશીયાટીકાના વેપાર અને સ્થાવર મીલકતની માલિકી સંબંધી કાયદાના સુધારેલા ખરકાનું બીજું વાંચન રજુ કર્યું હતું. મી. રથે ટ્રાંસવાલમાં હિંદીઓના હક સંબંધી સવાલ વિષે બોલતાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે એ મુલક ખીટીયાના હાથમાં આવ્યા પછી એક કેસ એવો થયો હતો કે જેમાં એશીયાટીકાને વેપારના પરવાના આપવાની ના પાડવામાં આવી હતી પરંતુ ટ્રાંસવાલની વડી મદાલતને અપીલ થતાં તેઓના પરવાના નામજુર ન થઈ શકે એવો મુકાદમો આપવામાં આવ્યો હતો. તે પછી હિંદીઓને લાગુ પડનારા ખીજા કાયદાઓના સંબંધમાં ઇસારો કરતાં હોંકારી પ્રસિદ્ધ થએલા લતાઓમાં સ્થાવર મીલકતો

personal opinion only when he said: "However, so far as my (italics are ours) interpretation of 'vested rights' is concerned, I think that I should reduce it to writing." In concluding this private letter, Mr. Gandhi, realising, possibly, that his definition might lead itself to misinterpretation, says: "Certainly prior to the passing of the Gold Law, no restrictions were, to my knowledge, placed upon the movement of the trade of British Indians in the Gold Areas. There can therefore be no justification for any restriction now, especially in regard to those who are already settled in their respective townships." We think that any reasonable person will agree that the real point is contained in the words we have put, in italics, the after-thought regarding those who were already settled being introduced merely to urge the acceptance, without any question at all, of the claims of such.

Mr. Shawe, in his evidence before the Select Committee said that this letter from Mr. Gandhi was filed away for some years. Upon representations made by the Krugersdorp Municipality, he quoted for their information the definition of "vested rights" given by Mr. Gandhi. He favoured agreeing with the same information, and now blandly says: "The question which have arisen now are due entirely to the actions of the local authorities." By quoting a portion only of Mr. Gandhi's letter and representing it to be a part of the official settlement of agreement, we think Mr. Shawe is guilty of a grave violation of trust, and has created a false impression regarding an alleged agreement which never existed. On his own admission, he is the direct cause of the present attempt to deprive Indians of their existing rights. The settlement, if it constituted an agreement, it was an agreement on the part of the Government not to put into force the Gold Law and to administer all existing laws in a sympathetic and just manner towards an unrepresented people. It is still up to them to carry out their agreement by withdrawing the present Bill which has gone even further than the recommendations of the Select Committee in depriving Indian residents of the Transvaal of their existing rights.

INDIAN QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT

ASIATIC LAND AND TRADING AMENDMENT BILL

(Continued from page 87.)

Mr. DREW (Germiston) said that he looked upon the Bill as the only possible compromise on grounds of policy or equity that the House could come to. What Gandhi got as a minimum by his agreement with General Smuts was security for existing Asiatic licences in the Transvaal and for those who might be the successors in the business. He gave in exchange unqualified recognition of the right of the Transvaal Government to restrict Asiatic immigration, and he also stopped passive resistance. Under the new law an old restriction would be reimposed, and also provided there should be no new licences and no expansion for the growing Indian community in trade privileges, whilst the formation of Asiatic land companies was to be stopped. He considered they had come to the fact that the Asiatic trading menace had ceased to become a menace and had become a service. He asked if it was not possible to buy out the 71 licences referred to. To expropriate rather than rob. Was it worth while for the sake of those 71 miserable licences to court trouble with India?

A DANGEROUS BILL

Lieut.-Col. PRETORIUS (Witwatersburg) said he regarded the Indians as a very real menace to the existence of the white trader in South Africa, because wherever the white and Indian trader competed, the European went to the wall. The Bill was a very dangerous

one, as he considered that it gave the Indians rights which they had never had in the past. In older days South Africa had found it practically impossible to cope with the Indian question because of the danger of coming into conflict with the Empire. To-day, however, that danger had passed, and the Empire did not mind South Africa putting its house in order. In Krugersdorp the European traders had practically disappeared as a result of Indian competition, and he appealed to members for assistance to put a stop to this danger. Let the Indians be paid out to go to British East if they liked, but there was no reason why they should come here.

Mr. FRIEDHART (Ladybrand) referred to the consequences of transferring the existing rights of the Indian population in the future. Those Indians would increase and would be South African born. They could not live on their original ground and there would be trouble and fresh grants would have to be made. The question would have to be tackled before going any further, and the Free State would go wholeheartedly with the Government in supporting this Bill and in taking whatever other steps might be necessary.

Mr. JACOBZ referred to the mention of his name by Sir Abe Bailey, and said that the signature of J. W. Jagger & Co. to the document in the Select Committee's report was signed by his partner in Johannesburg without any knowledge for himself. Personally, he took up much the same attitude as that of Mr. Duncan. He knew of the intense competition with the Indians, but he looked on things not from the trade point of view but of the best interests of South Africa.

Mr. McALISTER (George Town) said the matter was of great local importance to the Rand, and he intended to support the proposition made by Sir Abe Bailey when an opportunity to do so came forward. The first duty, he said, was to their own race.

Mr. STUART (Tembuland) said that as a member of that House he preferred to consider matters from the point of view of the Union of South Africa, and he had the greatest sympathy with the Johannesburg members. It would be a most lamentable thing if the Indian trader got into what were known as the Native Territories. From the coloured and the Native standpoint, the Indian was a decided danger, and they did not want to add another tangle to the already complicated problems of South Africa. He would support Sir Abe Bailey's proposal. Enlightened self-interest was still the best for the good of the community.

LABOURERS OR TRADERS?

Mr. CRESSWELL (Troyville) made a plea for consistency all round, saying that they should stop flooding their industries with cheap native labour from elsewhere, if they so strenuously objected to the influx of Asiatic traders—for when it came to the trading population of landowners, they exerted far more influence in that House and had more advocates there. He wanted to see that country one which built up a vigorous population, and had advocated that policy for the past 15 years. But he asked, who patronised the Indian traders and hawkers? In the country districts it was the European farmer, and in the larger centres of population the European housewife. He did not think they need worry very much about offending the Empire in that matter, because each Dominion could frame its own immigration laws, he took it; and if they had to open their doors to every alien race, they might as well abrogate their immigration laws. It would be news to him if they had to do so.

Mr. JOUBERT (Pretoria District, North) regretted that nothing had been done to settle the whole question, as it concerned the whole of the Transvaal. Indians could not object if they were all repatriated, after having been given an opportunity to settle their affairs.

Mr. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERS (Waterberg) also regretted the attempts to deal piecemeal with the question, and supported the views advanced by Sir Abe Bailey.

The Bill was read a second time, and the committee stage fixed for Monday.

ASIATICS (LAND AND TRADING) AMENDMENT BILL

THE COMMITTEE STAGE

Capetown, May 21 (Reuter).—Mr. PAPENFUS moved an amendment, the effect of which would be to legalise the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, but would go no further than 1914. He also moved an amendment that the Bill should apply not merely to the proclaimed areas, but to the whole of Transvaal.

Sir ABE BAILEY supported Mr. Papenfus's amendment, and agreed with him that they should stand by the agreement between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts in 1914. This measure would, he hoped, serve as a finger-post to the Indians, because next year it was intended to bring up a much stronger measure, whereby Indians would have to leave this country unless they complied with its laws. It was said that if the amendments to the Bill were adopted it would be thrown out, but as far as he was concerned that prospect left him with a dry eye. He contended that the so-called vested rights existing before 1914 should come under the Gold Law of 1908. He would like the members on the Labour benches, who seemed inclined to wobble, to know that public opinion was behind these amendments, so they could safely support them. (Laughter and cheers.) He had read a telegram from Dr. Adams to the effect that the Provincial Council had unanimously passed a resolution against the extension of Asiatic rights; in fact, the whole of the country was behind any movement for curtailing the rights of the Indian. The hon. member proceeded to refer in detail to the agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi in 1914. People who had not read the evidence might think the present Bill was harsh, but he would call it

A SECOND INDIAN RELIEF BILL.

Personally, he could not see where could be vested that were illegally acquired. He complained that, instead of standing faithfully by that agreement, and acting in a constitutional manner, the Indians had evaded the law. If the House passed the Bill without amendment it would be condoning breaches of the law, encouraging fresh evasions, and be setting up on the Rand a class of Indians who might possibly become very dangerous to the white community. Moreover, the Indians would be placed in a better position than the coloured people. Mr. Duncan had advanced an argument as to the Imperial aspect of the matter. That appeal had not left him cold; because the British Empire stood for civilisation, but the Viceroy of India had reported that the major portion of India was in rebellion, and the leader of the rebellion was Gandhi. (Cries of dissent.) The Gandhi movement was ostensibly to oppose the Rowlatt Acts, but really aimed at overthrowing British rule in India, and the Indians in South Africa supported that movement. He asked, therefore, how members could support the cause of these Indians in that House. He appealed to his British friends on the opposite Benches to respect the Dutch feeling towards these Indians, and let the Indians work out their own salvation, whilst carrying on the affairs of this country as its people desired. (Hear, hear.)

Sir THOS. SMARTT regarded Sir A. Bailey's remarks as most unfortunate. Sir A. Bailey had been so prejudiced, so unreasonable, and so unfair that he failed to recognise the great services which India had rendered in the war. If Sir Abs had recognised those services, he should accept the compromise arrived at by the Select Committee. One would be wanting in one's duty if one failed to recognise the great services rendered in the war. It would be unfortunate if at a time like the present South Africa were to start on a propaganda of injustice.

Mr. ROORN in traversing the arguments, pointed out that the Chief Justice, in the course of a judgment, had made it quite clear that not a single restriction to trade had been imposed on the Indian community in the past. The proposals of the Bill were in the nature of

a compromise, and it was incorrect to say that nothing at all was given up by the Indians. In view of the position occupied by the Indians he regarded the amendment of Sir Abe Bailey as unfair, unreasonable, and improper.

Mr. BLACKWELL supported the amendment, and referred to an Ordinance under which the Indians were restricted to trade in certain areas or localities. He quoted from the old Gold Law to the effect that no Asiatic or coloured person should be allowed on proclaimed ground except as a domestic servant in the employ of a European. Any Asiatic, therefore, who had come to the Transvaal had known that he came to a Province in which there were restrictive regulations in regard to Indian trading.

Mr. DE WET (Minister of Justice) said he was not going to enter into the question of high politics. The only question before the House was whether the provision of the Bill were to date from 1914 or 1919. Personally, if he followed his wishes, he would vote for 1914, but they must look facts in the face. It was perfectly true that in the old legislation there had not been a single restriction on Indian trading. There had been the question of living in certain parts or of residence, but trading had never cropped up. Even the Attorney-General of the Transvaal in introducing the Gold Law, had not been very clear on that point. He said that they now should draw a line, and in order not to do any injustice, let them draw that line from 1st of May, 1919.

Mr. DEWDNEY DREW said the coloured question was becoming

A WORLD QUESTION.

and the present was a particularly unfortunate time in which to set up friction between white and coloured people.

Mr. STUART (East London) urged that the question be dealt with in a broadminded manner, in view of the length of time the Indians had been in this country. The evidence given in regard to the Bill was interested, and there was nothing to show that the workers of this country were opposed to Indian trading.

On the 22nd instant, the House resumed in Committee on the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill.

The ACTING PRIME MINISTER appealed to the Committee to come to a vote. He pointed out that the two specific points referred to the Select Committee were the trading of Asiatics on proclaimed ground, and the securing of land by Indian limited liability companies. He asked the House to confine itself to those matters, and not to bring matters into the Bill which had not been inquired into. Mr. Malan said the Gandhi-Smuts agreement was nothing but an agreement which had never been passed in law. This was due to the fact that the war had broken out, and it had been considered undesirable to deal with the matter during the war. One could not say that the Indians had contravened the law although it might be argued that a number of them had broken the

SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT.

At the same time he pointed out that the agreement not having been made law, the receivers of revenue had not the right to refuse trading licences to Indians who applied for them; in fact, the Court had held that licences could not be refused, and even the municipalities, which so strongly protested, could not refuse the granting of licences. In the circumstances he appealed to the House not to do anything that might be construed as being an injustice. After all the people who had got their trading licences since 1914 had not done so in contravention of the law. In a country like South Africa where the white man was faced with a large coloured population, and where the white man was regarded as a trustee of the coloured people, it was all the more necessary that they should act with the utmost meticulous justice. If they wished the Bill to have been in force since 1914 they should have passed it in 1914. In reference to extending the provisions of the

the whole of the Transvaal, and even to the Union, Mr. Malan asked whether those proposals were reasonable. This point had not been inquired into by the Select Committee. Both sides of the question had not been looked into, and he asked the House not to interfere with anybody's rights without the most careful inquiry. He promised the House that

A COMMISSION

should be appointed during the recess to go into the whole question, and he trusted that this assurance coming from him as a responsible Minister, would be accepted by the House.

Mr. STEWART (East London) said every unbiassed man who read the Smuts-Gandhi letters must arrive at the conclusion that it was not a final agreement, and did not deal with trading. A number of the people dealt with Indian dealers. It did not mean that these dealers were cheap, but that these dealers gave credit to others would not. Unless the municipalities saw to it that the trading and dwelling places of Indians were of a high standing, they could not expect much sympathy. It was a tall order to ask the House to sweep away what has been granted through the legal channel. What was to be done, he asked, with those Indians who were born in this country?

Mr. DUNCAN said he did not regard the Smuts-Gandhi agreement as an agreement or an assertion that no more Indian licenses should be obtained after that date. The agreement was a protective agreement, under which an undertaking was given that the law should be administered with due respect of vested rights, and that the Gold law would not be put into force against the Indian community. The matter of 1914 or 1919 was a very small one in comparison with the far greater question, which was at issue. If the amendments on the paper were carried, most serious interference with the Indians would result. He urged that South Africa should not step into a matter of the kind without the most and most careful inquiry. He was not looking at the matter from the Imperial point of view, but speaking from a South African point of view. He feared that by accepting the amendments South Africa would place itself in

A VERY SERIOUS POSITION

from which it would be extremely difficult to extricate themselves.

Sir ABE BAILEY said he did not think Mr. Malan or Mr. Duncan realised the feeling in the country or in the House. At the next elections the cry of the Indian policy would undoubtedly be raised, as the Transvaal was groaning under the Indian evasion. All parties were asking the Government to take steps, and even the Provincial Council of the Transvaal, the only body through which the Transvaal public could make itself heard, was urging that steps should be taken, and that the steps should be more drastic than those proposed in the Bill, because it was felt that the Indians were eating the vitals out of the country and out of the inhabitants of the country. For that reason he appealed to the House to pass the proposed amendment.

Col. CRESWELL said he was going to vote for the Bill. He did not think that General Smuts had any right to make the agreement with Mr. Gandhi. It seemed to be an arbitrary proceeding to deprive people of rights that the municipalities had given them with their eyes open without giving them compensation.

On Mr. Papendur's amendment fixing the operation of the Act as from July 7, 1914, instead of the 1st inst., Sir A. Bailey challenged a division, whereupon the amendment was negatived by 49 votes to 37. The Clause as amended was adopted.

Col. COLLINS moved a new Clause 2, whereby the authorities in the Transvaal, who had the issuing or authorising of trading licences, might, without reason assigned, refuse the application of any Asiatic who was engaged in trade on the 1st inst.

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE said that, in common with

other members from the Transvaal, he had received sheaves of telegrams, but they had to look the facts in the face. He read the telegram from the Conference on Asiatic trading, and claimed that it showed a misunderstanding and uttered a warning against panic legislation such as the amendment would be. The amendment would throw on the Government the responsibility for issuing further general dealers' licences. Moreover, it would work a great hardship on Indians born in this country. Unless they were prepared to deport all Indians they must investigate the question. The amendment attacked vested rights, because a licensee would not be able to pass his licence on to his son. This amendment would

IMPERIL THE WHOLE BILL

because the position was serious, and the Bill would be a great blessing to the Transvaal. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MALAN gave Col. Creswell the assurance that when the Bill became law it would be strictly enforced.

After further debate, in which all the Transvaal members strongly supported the new clause, a vote was taken, which resulted in its adoption by 45 votes to 31.

On clause 2, dealing with the prohibition of companies of Asiatics from holding land in Transvaal.

Sir ABE BAILEY moved an amendment to tighten up the provisions of the law so that no mortgages could be held by Asiatics, and in place of debarring companies in which Asiatics held a controlling interest he moved "companies in which one-third of the issued capital was held by Asiatics."

On the 23rd instant the House resumed in Committee on the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Bill.

Cap. RENNIE moved a series of amendments to Clause 2 prohibiting companies in which Asiatics hold a controlling interest, from acquiring land after the 1st of this month. He proposed that such prohibition should be confined to companies formed since July, 1914, and that the prohibition should not apply to the ownership of property acquired since July, 1914, and that companies which had acquired land since July, 1914, should dispose of such land within two years, under pain of compulsory liquidation.

Mr. BISSET argued that the Government must have been aware of the existence of these Asiatic companies since 1914. The decision of Judge Ward in 1916, moreover, was that these companies were legal. He denied that there had been a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement that Mr. Blackwell alleged, or that General Smuts intended to recognise only vested rights existing in 1914.

Mr. ROOTH moved his amendments in a revised form, thereby providing that any company which acquired fixed property since the 1st inst. should dispose thereof within two years from the commencement of the Act, or within such further period as might be fixed by a competent Court, and on its failure to do so such fixed property might be sold by the order of a competent Court.

Sir ABE BAILEY withdrew his amendment, and concluded by saying that the Indians appeared to be awake at night thinking out schemes how to evade the law.

Capt. Rennie and the Minister of Justice withdrew their amendments.

Capt. RENNIE, however, moved a further amendment substituting July 1, 1914, for July 7, 1919.

Mr. ROOTH moved an amendment to Sir Abe Bailey's amendment under which Indians would not be allowed to hold mortgages on property otherwise than as security for a bona fide loan or investment in the ordinary course of business.

Sir ABE BAILEY agreed to this, and withdrew the second part of his amendment relating to a controlling interest on businesses.

The above amendment was agreed to.

On the original provision in the Bill being put (to the effect that the clause should not apply to the ownership of fixed property acquired by Asiatic com-

parties before the 1st inst.) this was adopted as against Capt. Rennie's amendment fixing the date as July, 1914. The voting was 60 to 22.

On Mr. Rennie's rider as to the disposal of land acquired since May 1, 1919, being put, it was adopted by 53 votes to 29, and Capt. Rennie's amendment that the date should be July 1, 1914, was negatived.

The Bill was reported with amendments, the consideration of which was set down for Wednesday.

ASIATICS (LAND AND TRADING) BILL

FULL TEXT AS INTRODUCED

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

1. Those provisions of section one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Transvaal) which relate to the residence or occupation of ground held under a stand licence or proclaimed land by coloured persons and any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any deed of grant or (freehold title in a Government Township (as defined in Act No. 14 of 1908, Transvaal) issued under the last-mentioned Act shall not apply:—

(a) to any British Indian who on the first day of May, 1919, was, under the authority of a trading licence lawfully issued, carrying on business on proclaimed ground or on any stand or lot in such township, or to the lawful successor in title of any such Indian in respect of such business; or

(b) to any person *bona fide* in the employment of such a British Indian or his successor in title, so long as such British Indian or successor in title continues so to carry on business on the same ground or stand or lot on which or in the same township in which it was being carried on on the first day of May 1919.

Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as abrogating any exceptions contained in the said sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one or in the conditions aforesaid.

2. Those provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal) and any amendments thereof heretofore enacted which prohibit a person belonging to any of the native races of Asia from being an owner of fixed property in the Transvaal subject to certain exceptions specified in such amendments shall, subject to the same exceptions, be construed also as prohibiting the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by any company or other corporate body in which one or more persons belonging to any of those races have a controlling interest.

Provided that the provisions of this section shall not apply in respect of the ownership of any fixed property acquired by any such company or corporate body before the first May, 1919.

3. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act, 1919.

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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

પુસ્તક ૧૭ મું.

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અંક ૨૫

નોંધ અને સમાચાર

આ શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૦ મીએ કેપ્ટાઇન ખાલે ડ્રાઇવલ ઓફીસ ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયનને તેની પ્રમુખ, સેક્રટરી અને તેની કમીટીના સભાસદ મમી પાંચ બહુવું એક ડેપ્યુટીન ના. ગવર્નર બનવાની કુલાકાને ગવર્નમેન્ટ ફાઇનલ મમુ હતું. ઓપિનિયનને તરફથી એ ડેપ્યુટીને એકીપટીક એમેન્ડમેન્ટ બીલ કે જે ખાલેને ના. ગવર્નરે ફાઇનલમાંથી પાસ થઇ મમુ છે તેને પોતાની સમતી નહિ આપવાની નામદારને જિલ્લિ કરી હતી અને એ વિનંતી કરવાનું કારણ સમગ્રી બહુવું હતું કે એ બીલ ઓપિનિયનથી પલુ સ્વીકારી કાઢાય તેમ નથી અને તેઓના ખાલેના કુળના ડ્રાઇવલની આખી દિલી કામને એ બીલ માન્ય નથી. ના. ગવર્નરે જનરલે એ જાળનમાં વિચાર કરવાનું વચન આપ્યા પછી તેમને ખાલાર માળી ડેપ્યુટીન વિદાય મમુ હતું.

મી. પોલાકાન આધિપતિપલુ હેકાન લડનમાં પ્રમુદ મમુ 'ઇન્ડિયા' પત્ર બહુવું છે કે ડ્રાઇવલના દિલીઓના સાલો અને હકાને હરમત કરનારો એટી એકીપટીક કાપદો યુનીયન એસેમ્બલીમાં કાપલ થવાની અને તેનું બીલું વાંચન પલુ થઇ જવાની સાથે આફ્રિકાથી તારથી આવેલી ખબર અલંત અશુભસુચક છે. કેક ખબરો ઉપરથી જોતાં યુનીયનનેટ ગેમરોએ પલુ ખબર કરવામાં કામ લીધેલો બહુવું છે અને બીલને આકિર્ક આપવાનાઓના નામેમાં મી. પેટીક હકનનું પલુ નામ જોઇ અને પલોન એક થાય છે. જો કે સાલી સરકાર ઉપર આથી એક વધારે મુરકલ કામ આવી પડશે જતાં તેની દરમ-તે તલન ચોખ્ખીન છે અને તે એ છે કે એક વખતસરની ચોવણી આપવી અને જરૂર પડે તો એ કામદો પસાર થાય ત્યારે તેને સાલી મંજુરી નહિ આપવાની શલામલુ કરવી. જો તે આ દરમમાંથી મુકશે તો પછી દિહુતાનને એ તેનામાં સ્વમાનને કાઢી હરો તો મેન વસ્તુ કરવાપલુ રહેશે. એક તો એ કે અલ્લા બહલા ('રેસીપ્રોસીટી') ના ઇલાને સાલિય આફ્રિકાની સામે જમલમાં મુકશે. બીલું એ કે સાલી પરિષદમાંથી નીકળી જવું. એ તો દેખીતું છે કે તેની સ્થિતિ લ્લ એક આડીમાં પાંચમાં પહાડા જેવી છે. જો આ વસ્તુના સુદર બાલલોનું જમલ પરિષદમાં હોય તો સાલિય આફ્રિકાની સામે સહકારી પલુ રાખવું કેવલ અશક્ય છે, કેમ કે આ એક મુકનું પત્રલુ હેવાનું છે અને દિહુતાને બીલુ અપવું પડશે.

યુનીયન ગવર્નમેન્ટની એક સમાપ્ત થઇ છે અને તેણે વચાર કરેલ કામદોના લીસ્ટમાં એકીપટીકસ હેન્ડ ડેન્ડ ડ્રોઇન એમેન્ડમેન્ટ (કાંચીલ) એકનું નામ પલુ બેવામાં

આવે છે. એટલે એ કામદો પલમિન્ટમાંથી તો એવે વચાર થઇ ગયો બહુવું છે.

આજકાલ ચોખ્ખાની મેધિવારીનો પ્રમુદ એ એક પેટી વિંતા વાલો પ્રમુદ થઇ પડ્યો છે. જરીન વર્ગના લોકોના સિલમાં એમ આવી મમુ છે કે વેપારીઓ—જોરા તેમજ દિલીઓ—તેવા દવાલીલુ કામ છે નહિ. અને તેઓ તો કહત પોતાના ખીસા બરવા તરફનુ જુવે છે અને જરીઓની શી લ્લા મામ તેની તેઓને જરા પલુ દરકાર નથી. વળી એવી મમુ માન્યતા વસ્તે છે કે દિહુતાનમાં કામરો પાક આ સાલે પલોન આજે થયે છે તેને અલિના વેપારીઓ લાભ થઇ ચોખ્ખા ઉપર ગેરવાબળી નકામો કરવા લાગ્યા છે. આવો આરોપ ખરેખર નામો શી બરેલો છે અને એમ મામ તો તે જરીઓના મેલમાંથી અમ લાઈ લેવા જેવું જ મમુવ. આ સંલેઓમાં આપલુ મીમંત વેપારી લાભઓને એટલીન વિનંતિ થઇ હકે છે કે તેઓએ જરીઓનો ખ્યાલ કરવો જોઇએ અને ચોખ્ખા વાબળી કામથી વેચાલુ કરવું જોઇએ. વળી એ કે મલુ વેપારીઓ જો પોતાના મકલર કામની ઉપર લોડાન નકે, લ્લ ચોખ્ખા વેચવાનો નિશ્ચય કરી નાખે તો એણે શાવે વેચવાનુ હેતુથી ચોખ્ખાની આવાત કરવાની સરકારની પાસે મંજુલી રલુ કરે તો આ પ્રમુદને નિવેડે સહેલાઈથી આવી શકે અને જરીઓને સહત મલવા વગર નજ રહે.

ચોખ્ખાના કામ ઉપરનો અંકુસ દુર કરવાનો એ સરકારે જુલ નહિ કીધી હોત તો જેટલી મુમ બલારે પડી રહી છે તેટલી મુમ નહિન પડતે એ દેખીતું છે. પરંતુ એ અંકુસ દુર સવાથી ચોખ્ખા વખતની અંદર ચોખ્ખાને લલક લગભમ જમલો મમુ ગયા છે, અને હવે આ સ્થિતિ દુર કરવાનો સરકારને માટે એકલ ઉપાય છે અને તે એક છે કે દીલ કીધા વગર ચોખ્ખાને બાવ કરીથી વાબળી રીતે કરાવી પોતાની જુલ સુધારવી.

એડીનબર્ગના સર જમ્સ વીલ્સન, 'ધી ટાઈમ્સ' પત્રમાં લખતાં બહુવું છે કે દુનીયાનો સોનાનો જલો જેટલો દલ વસ્ત પહેલાં હવે તે કલ્ક પાઉન્ડ હજુ કરોડની કીમતને હવે વધારે છે. તે એવો અડસટો કરે છે કે કુલ પાઉન્ડ કે અબજ ૫૦ કરોડની કીમતના સોનામાંથી પાઉન્ડ ૬૫ કરોડની કીમતનું સેનું દાલ ચલણી નાલુ તરીકે ઉપયોગમાં લેવાય છે અને આડીવું ખાનગી બાકીઓ તરફથી લરેલામાં વપરાયું છે અર્થેલ સંધરવામાં આનું છે. આ સંબધમાં તે બહુવું છે કે હવે સામાન્ય રીતે દુનીયાના લાભને ખાલર સોનાની અસરકારક મામણીને ઉતેજન આપવાને બનવું મમુ એ જરૂર છે. જો જો દેશોથી બની શકે તેમ હોય

તે તે દેશોએ અને ખાસ કરીને યુનાઈટેડ કિંગડમને સેન્ટ્રલ આસિયાની રીતે આલુપ્ત કરવામાં બીજાકુલ દીકરની નહિ જોઈએ કે જેથી તેનો આ રીતે ઉપયોગ થવા માટે. વળી હિંદુસ્તાનના ઠોકા કે જેઓએ સેન્ટ્રલ યુરપી જવાની અભ્યુક્તિ આતાવેલી છે તેઓને પણ વૃત્તી થાય લાગે સુધી તે મેળવવા દેવું તે એકંદરે દુનીયાને લાભકારક છે. અને હિંદુસ્તાનમાં તેમજ બીજા જે દેશો બીજી વસ્તુઓનાં કરતાં સેન્ટ્રલ મેળવવાને વધારે ઈત્સુક છે તે દેશોમાં તેની આખાત ઉપરના સવળા અંકુશો બનતી તાકાદે જેથી સર્વ છુટથી આખત થવા જેવી જોઈએ

દરનો મુખ્યનો ખબરપત્રી તા. ૭મી જુનના તારમાં જણાવે છે કે આ યોગાસાની સરખામણ થઈ ગઈ છે. આ ખબર આ દેશના ઠોકાને ખરેખર એક વધામણી રૂપ થઈ પાશે. બીજા ખબરોને વિષે જેટલી ચિંતા થતી હતી તે કરતાં પણ હિંદુસ્તાનની ઉપરનો આ પ્રથમી કોપ ક્યારે દુર થશે તેની ચિંતા સહુને વધારે થઈ રહી હતી. આ વખતનું યોગાસુ હિંદુસ્તાનને સુખરૂપ નીવડા એજ અમારી અને આ દેશના હિંદીઓની હાથર પ્રથે અનકરણની પ્રાર્થના છે.

હંદ મુખારક

અજલ

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- હવા માગતે હેમ સુએ આસમાનકી.
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શેખ મહેતાબ.

આવના સોમવારે મુસલમાન લાઇએનો ખદ ઉલ શીતરને નહવાર છે. આ પ્રસંગની અંગે અમારા મુસલમાન લાઇએને મુખારકબાદી આપીએ છીએ અને છદ્દનો દિવસ સહુને મુખદાયક થાએ અને આવતું વરસ સુલેહ શાંતિ અને આ આદીથી પસાર થાએ એવું અંગે ખુદા પાસે માગીએ છીએ.

“ઇન્ડિયન ઓપીનીયન”

જુનવાર, તા. ૨૭ જુન ૧૯૧૯.

આ લીડીએ ઉપાધિને વહાર પડો તેટલા સુધીમાં સુલેહના કાલકારો ઉપર જરમનોએ સહી કરી દીધી શાંતિ હશે એવી કુરોપથી આવેલા ઉલ્લા અખરો ઉપરથી આશા રાખી શકાય છે. એ સહી થતાની સાથે ઉલ્લા પાંચ વરસ થવા પહોંચના દેશોમાં જે મહાન લડાઇ ચાલી રહી હતી તેનો અંત થયો ગણાયો. ઠોકાની નદીઓ વહેતી અટકશે અને ૧૯૧૪ના યોગસરમાં જે શાંતિ દેવી કાષ કરી અદષ્ટ થઈ ગયા હતા તે ફરી એકવાર દરશન દેશે. આપણે આશા રાખીશું કે એ શાંતિ આપણે પાછો લાગ નહિ કરી જાય. આ મહાન લડાઇના અંતથી કેટલાક ઠોકાને તો વર્ષાન ન થઈ શકે તેટલો આનંદ થતો હતો. જ્યારે કેટલાકને અનહદ દુઃખ પણ થતું હતું. જે ઠોકરોએ પોતાના માખાપને ઠોડીને લડવા ગયા હશે જે પુરખો પોતાની સ્ત્રીઓ અને કુમળા બાળકોને ઠોડીને લડવા ગયા હશે તેઓને સહીસલામત પોતાને ઘેર પાછા આવતા જોઈને કોને આનંદ નહિ થાય. વળી બીજી તરફથી જેઓ રણજીતીમાં પડ્યા હશે, જેઓ હુમેલને માટે અપંગ બન્યા હશે જે આખાપો ઠોકરોએ વિનાના થઈ પડ્યા હશે જે ઠોકરોએ ખાપ વગરનાં થઈ પડ્યા હશે જે સ્ત્રીઓ પછી વગરની થઈ પડી હશે તેઓને આ વખતે જે શોક થશે તેનો ખ્યાલ કરી શકાતો નથી. પરંતુ તેઓને પણ એક અખાસન મળશે અને તે કે તેઓએ પોતાના દેશને ખાતર પોતાના દેશની સ્વતંત્રતાને ખાતર જોએ આખ્યા છે.

આ મહાન લડાઇમાંથી આપણે એક મહાન સલામતી જોઈ શક્યા છીએ કે જે રાજ્યમાં અભિમાન વધી જાય છે, પોતે સર્વોપરી થવાની પ્રવૃત્તિ કરે છે અને જે સર્વોપરી હાથર-ખુદા છે તેને સંહાર જીલી જાય છે, પોતાની સુખવત ઉપર સીતમ ચુમ્બરે છે અને ન્યાય અન્યાયનું જાન સુધી જાય છે એ રાજ્ય નબી શકતું જ નથી. બધે મોડા વહેલો તેનો નાશ થઈ જાય છે.

આ મહાન લડાઇમાં બીડીશની છત્ત થઈ છે કારણ કે તે એક મહાન અને ખુદાઈ સિદ્ધાંતને ખાતર આ લડાઇમાં ઉતર્યું હતું. એ સિદ્ધાંત નાની અને નિરખળ પ્રબળોને જરમનના રાક્ષા પંજમાંથી બચાવવાનો અને એ પ્રબળોના હકો અને સ્વતંત્રતાનું રક્ષણ કરવાનો હતો. આવા પવિત્ર સિદ્ધાંતને ખાતર થએલા કાર્યમાં સફળતા ન મળે તો પુરંદરમાં જ કંઈક ગંભીર ખામી ગણાય; પરંતુ કુદરતમાં કશી ખામી નથી અને તેથી જે મહાન સિદ્ધાંતને ખાતર મીનરાજ્યો લડાઇમાં ઉતર્યા હતા તે મહાન સિદ્ધાંતને ખાતર તેઓને તેમાં કલેહ મળી છે. આ સિદ્ધાંતનું અમલ હવે દેવો થાય છે એ જોવાનું રહ્યું છે. લડાઇનો અંત આવી