

Indian Opinion

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MR. C. F. ANDREWS IN JOHANNESBURG

THE following address was given in Johannesburg at a meeting of clergy and laity on December 21st, 1925, and its substance was also delivered at St. Mary's Cathedral after evening on Sunday, December 20th. It was listened to by these European audiences with remarkable attention.

"I will begin by repeating what my father, who was a devout Christian, used to call the Psalm of the Christian gentleman. It runs as follows:—

"Lord who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?"

"Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life; and doeth the thing which is right and speaketh the truth from his heart.

"He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbours; and hath not slandered his neighbour.

"He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his eyes; and maketh much of them that fear the Lord.

"He that promiseth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not; though it were to his own hindrance."

"He that hath not given his money upon usury; nor taken reward against the innocent.

"Whoso doeth these things shall never fall."

In this picture of the true gentleman I want especially to note this one verse:—

"He that promiseth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance."

For my position to-night is, that we who belong to the British Race and who are Christians, are in serious danger of doing the very opposite of this verse towards the Indian neighbour, who is in our midst; we are in danger of arguing from the immoral principle, that we are obliged to break our promises to India, because self-preservation, as a White Race, must come before anything else.

Let me explain the position by historical facts, which cannot be disputed.

When the first Indian immigrants came to Natal, in 1860, they were brought out from India at the special request of the Natal Government under pressure from the Durban Corporation. The desire was so great to keep them in the country, that in 1870 it was enacted, that any indentured Indian at the expiry of 10 years residence in Natal might receive a crown grant of land instead of his return passage. The terms on which they came were those of full domicile, with freedom to engage in agricultural and commercial pursuits as soon as their indenture was over. The Government of India would not have allowed them under any other condition. Mr. J. R. Saunders, speaking before the Natal Commission of 1884, stated as follows:—

"If we look back to 1859, we shall find that the assured promise of Indian labour resulted in an immediate rise of revenue which increased four-fold in a few years. Mechanics found their wages more than doubled. But, a few years later, alarm arose lest Indian labour would be suspended. Simultaneously, down went revenue and wages. Then came a pro-

mise of renewed Indian immigration, and up again went wages, revenue and salaries."

From such contemporary records it is clear, that Natal was brought from the verge of bankruptcy more than once by the supply of Indian indentured labour. Europeans flocked into Natal when each time of prosperity returned.

The Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1921 adds another fact which it is necessary to bear in mind. The indenture system, under which they were brought out, was very little better than slavery. The Lange Report rightly says:—"It should be emphasised that there has been very little spontaneous emigration of the labouring classes from India to South Africa. They were recruited with difficulty and not infrequently by methods which were commonly known in India as "Coolie catching."

Thus these thousands of Indian labourers, who with their descendants comprise by far the greater proportion of Indians in South Africa, were brought out originally as servile, sweated labour, from which enormous profits were reaped for the colony. The iniquitous system was brought to an end in 1911 and the last coolie was set free in 1916, but by this time a golden harvest had been reaped and the prosperity of Natal as the Garden Colony of South Africa had been assured.

Two things need to be made perfectly clear. Natal would never have been allowed by the Indian Government to have this constant supply of Indian labour, at a ridiculously low rate and under compulsory service for five years, unless the Natal Government had allowed traders to enter along with the labour immigration. Secondly, Natal would never have been allowed to have this Indian indentured labour except on the condition of Indians being allowed to settle in Natal after the indenture was over. Thus trading and domiciliary rights formed a definite part of the contract.

There was one galling condition which was imposed with the consent of the Government of India in 1895. This was known as the £3 Poll Tax. After that date Indians who elected to stay in the country had to pay a Poll Tax of £3 per annum for each male over 16 and each female over 13. Animosity against Indian immigration of any kind had become acute among certain classes of Europeans so that this tax was imposed owing to their agitation. The Government of India hesitated to send out any more immigrants under the new £3 tax, but weakly consented to do so owing to the pressure of the sugar planters, the Natal Government and the Colonial Office. The £3 tax was bitterly resented both in India and among free Indians in Natal. Thus two hostile forces arose. On the Natal popular side, among the white colonists, the hostility was directed against Indian immigration altogether, whether indentured or free. On the Indian side the greatest bitterness of all was caused by the £3 racial tax.

In 1911, the Indian Government abolished indentured Indian labour for Natal. But the £3 tax remained upon those who had already passed out of their indenture and the immigration of Indian

traders still continued. So the sore remained open on both sides.

Mr. Gokhale came out in 1912, and by a statesmanlike act agreed that no objection would be raised if the door of Natal was finally closed against all Indian immigration in the future, provided only that Indians already domiciled in Natal received sympathetic treatment. The pledge of such sympathetic treatment would be the immediate abolition of the obnoxious £3 tax.

General Smuts immediately took advantage of this agreement with Mr. Gokhale to pass the Immigration Restriction Act of 1913, by which Indians of all classes were finally prohibited from entering South Africa. No objection was raised against this either by Mr. Gokhale, or Mr. Gandhi, or by the Indian Government, in accordance with what was regarded as an agreement reached by Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa. But when it was asked in return that the £3 tax should be abolished, no action in that direction was taken. Mr. Gokhale was the very soul of honour. He had taken that journey to South Africa while in ill health; it was altogether against the doctor's orders and he knew it would hasten his death. But he believed that he had set his countrymen free from the galling bondage of this £3 Poll Tax and he was happy in the sacrifice he had made. I was with him often in the year before he died and I know how intensely he felt that he had been betrayed. He died, very soon after his visit to South Africa, a broken-hearted man; for before that time he had believed the white man's word to be his bond.

Then began the Passive Resistance Struggle under Mr. Gandhi, which ended in the final settlement called the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement and the Indians' Relief Act of June 30, 1914. It was based on exactly the same basis as Mr. Gokhale's attempted compromise in 1912. On the Indian side, it was finally agreed that all Indian immigration in future should be prohibited from South Africa. It was also agreed, that those who wished to return to India by means of the passage money of the Union Government, might do so by forfeiting their right of domicile in South Africa. Under this clause over thirty thousand, out of a population which has never reached above 161,000, have voluntarily left South Africa for India. It will be seen that the concession from the Indian side was a very large one indeed, and that it henceforth entirely relieved the South African Government with regard to any "swamping" of Natal by the growth of the Indian population. For the Indian population (to quote figures) only increased by about 6% between 1914 and 1923 while the white population has increased by just under 40%. In return for this concession on the part of India, South Africa agreed to abolish the £3 Tax and to observe with sympathy and justice the rights of those Indians who were domiciled in the country.

At this period, I was with Mr. Gandhi in South Africa, and actually present at the draft settlement. Though General Smuts was not asked by Mr. Gandhi to concede any further rights, yet those that were already held by Indians were to be respected. The settlement was reached only one month before the outbreak of the European war, and the universal satisfaction which it caused did more than anything else to bring India whole-heartedly into the war as an ally of South Africa and Great Britain.

As a recognition of India's war services, India was at last welcomed within the inner counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet and became an equal partner with South Africa at the meeting in London, in 1917, at which General Smuts was present. When some minor administrative grievances were brought forward by Sir Satyendra Sinha on behalf of the Indian Government, General Smuts replied as follows:—

"In South Africa there has been this fundamental

trouble that the white community has been afraid to open the door too wide to the Indian Immigration. It is because of that fear, that we have adopted a attitude which some times has assumed the outward form, although not the reality, of intolerance. Luckily, we have got over those difficulties. The visit of Mr. Gokhale did an enormous amount of good. So did also that of Sir Benjamin Robertson. The result has been the legislation of 1914, to which both communities agreed. There is still difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail, but I feel sure that once the white community were rid of the fear that we were to be flooded by unlimited Immigration from India, all other subsidiary questions could be easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now that the fear has been removed. The great principle of restricting Immigration is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian Authorities in India. That being so, the door is open now for a peaceful and statesman-like solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and will occur from time to time."

Mr. Burton, at the same Imperial War Cabinet, said as follows:—

"As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say,—and it is the truth,—that we have found the Indians in our midst in South Africa to be law-abiding, quiet citizens and it is our duty to see that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, in a proper manner."

At the ensuing Imperial Conference, in 1918, the results of all this were embodied in a series of resolutions, which were framed exactly on the same lines as the Gokhale compromise of 1912 and the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement of 1914. On the one hand, India finally agreed to surrender her right of entry into any self-governing Dominion, which had previously been based on the ground of British Citizenship and on sharing in the same Common wealth of Nations, on the other hand, the dominions promised to do the utmost in their power, having regard to this agreement on the side of India, to deal sympathetically with those Indians who were already domiciled outside India in any of these Dominions. Each Dominion, in turn, pledged itself by its representative to go as far as possible in such sympathetic treatment.

It is impossible to carry the subject through the further Imperial Conference of 1921 and 1923. At these, the added point was pressed, that, in consideration of India's frank acceptance of restricted immigration, full citizen rights should be granted to all Indians domiciled in the Dominions. These rights had been already granted in some Dominions. They have now been granted also in Australia. South Africa held aloof and registered her inability to go further in the matter of conceding citizen rights to Indians in South Africa. But General Smuts and other representatives of South Africa again and again affirmed their intention to deal justly and sympathetically with the Indians who were domiciled in South Africa. I will give only two sentences from General Smuts public utterances at the last Imperial Conference, in 1923. He said, "the Indians in South Africa have all the rights, barring the rights of voting for the Parliament and the Provincial Council that any white citizens in South Africa have; our laws draw no distinction whatever. It is only political rights which are in question." Again he said, "South Africa's fundamental attitude towards the Indians is one of justice and fair play."

Could General Smuts possibly affirm this today, if he accepts, along with S. A. P. Congress, the Asiatic Bill, which Dr. Malan has just put forward? General Smuts words were sufficiently amazing when they were uttered in 1923, but if there is another

Imperial Conference in 1926, he could hardly have the hardihood to repeat them.

It may be asked, "have there not been breaches of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement? Have there not been attempts in the Transvaal to get round the law by forming companies and holding properties in prohibited areas?" I would answer at once that if there have been acts on the part of individuals to evade the present law of the land by discovering loopholes in it, then the legislature may, if it thinks fit, pass new legislation to close up the loopholes. And indeed it has vigorously done so. But this has nothing to do with Gandhi-Smuts Settlement, or with the Imperial Conference resolutions, for these form a solemn pledge of an entirely different nature. If the Indian Government, or the Indian people, have ever repudiated their agreement as to the restriction of immigration, or even as to voluntary repatriation, there might be some cause for complaint that the agreement on the Indian side had been broken. But there has been no such repudiation. On the other hand, the repudiation by the South African Government of its own pledge, to deal sympathetically with the Indians still domiciled in the Union and to administer existing laws in a just manner with due regard to vested rights, has been so open that the long suffering Government of India has at last been compelled to demand that the Union Government's undertakings and assurances would not be any longer dishonoured.

PEACE AND GOODWILL

[BY C. F. ANDREWS]

IN a letter which the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, sent to me in India from America on Christmas Day, in the year 1920, he expressed pained astonishment at the method by which the West was celebrating its sacred festival in his own neighbourhood of New York. Roast beef and plum-pudding, turkey and ham, feasting in abundance,—these material things were everywhere in evidence; but not the spirit of the lowly Christ, born in a manger, in poverty and suffering, destined to a life of perpetual sacrifice whose end was the Cross. He wrote to me: "These people in the West are materialists even in their most solemn religious festivals."

That scene we witnessed in America was so entirely different from the quiet, joyous thanksgiving with which we celebrate Christmas at Santiniketan! There, long before dawn, the boys of the Asram walk in procession slowly through the mango groves singing their morning hymn,

'Awake, Awake, the light is breaking.'

Then follows the gathering of our household,—Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, Parsees, Jews and Christians,—rejoicing together, peacefully and reverently, with meditation, because of the birth of Christ. Rabindranath Tagore himself gives the sermon in the Mander at our Christmas Thanksgiving and in the afternoon the poor are fed and those who do the humble work of sweepers for our Asram are specially honoured. One of my keen regrets, while I am writing these words, is that I shall miss this year my Christmas Day at the Asram; and a home-sickness comes over me at the thought.

But the Poet has sent me out to South Africa with his own mantram,—

Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam,
and Mahatma Gandhi has bade me become a messenger of peace. Therefore I know that by obedience to their expressed wish I have come out with the Christmas peace in my heart. I shall carry their benedictions with

me wherever I go and shall leave this blessing of peace behind in every household that I enter in South Africa, whether Indian, Bantu, or European. That must be my Christmas festival this year and I know beforehand the joy that it will bring.

Lastly to those, of whatever race, who are my fellow-Christians in this land, I would plead with all earnestness and humility, that we as Christians should think out afresh the full significance of Christ's birth in a world divided by colour and race and creed. We shall find, as we do so, that His mission is entirely incompatible with 'segregation' and the 'colour bar' in Africa, just as it is incompatible with 'untouchability' in India.

Temmyson has sung in 'his Meteorism,'—

The time draws near the birth of Christ:
The moon is hid, the night is still;
The Christmas tells from hill to hill
Answer each other in the mist.

Four voices of four hamlets round
From far and near, on mead and moor,
Swell out and fall, as if a door
Were shut between me and the sound:

Each voice four changes on the wind,
That now dilate and now decrease,
Peace and goodwill, goodwill and peace,
Peace and goodwill to all mankind.

British, Dutch, African, Indian,—are not these four human voices mingling in the wind from hill to hill across the veldt this Christmas? Is it not even yet possible to find among them the harmony of Christmas tide,—

"Peace and goodwill, goodwill and peace
Peace and goodwill to all mankind?"

Things in India

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

II

I have told in my last article the simple facts about Mahatma Gandhi's health which every one, in South Africa, who worked with him in the old passive resistance days, will be anxious to know. I would add that his wife, who is equally loved throughout South Africa, and also in India, by all those who know and love Mahatmaji himself, is now remarkably well. She remains at the Asram for most of the time and is a mother to everyone there, and indeed to Indians everywhere throughout India, especially the so-called Untouchables.

But what, perhaps, is not so well known in South Africa, is the remarkable effect which the movement, called Non-co-operation, has had throughout the world, outside India itself.

It has been my destiny to travel over almost every continent of the globe and to meet every kind of people and nation. I have found, that there are only two Indian names that are everywhere known and revered,—Gandhi and Tagore. In China and Japan and Java and Malaya, in the Far East, I have been eagerly questioned about India by men of every race,—some of whom could not speak English and had to address me by means of an interpreter,—yet everywhere I found that these two great Indian names were well known, and that India has become famous in modern times in the world's estimation chiefly through them.

In Australia and New Zealand and the Pacific, I found the same thing that I have mentioned, es-

pecially concerning Rabindranath Tagore. In the Nearer East also, among Arabs, Syrians and Egyptians whom I have met, the two names which were always brought forward were those of Gandhi and Tagore.

It is true that I have not been personally either to North or South America, but I know well from constant correspondence that these two names have become household words among great numbers of the population.

Last of all, here in South Africa, it is quite natural that the name of Gandhi should be remembered owing to the Passive Resistance Struggle and its noble conclusion. I find also that the name of Rabindranath Tagore has made its way into many English and Dutch homes owing to the amazing beauty of his poems and thoughts. But I have to acknowledge that the prejudice against the very idea of an Indian is so strong among Europeans in South Africa, that here perhaps less than anywhere else in the world the greatness of these two men of genius is understood.

The reason for this united reverence which is paid in nearly every part of the world to these two Indian names—Gandhi, and Tagore—is not far to seek. They are creative minds. They have given entirely new conceptions of human life and human destiny to mankind. I have letters from all over the world concerning them both; and it is an ever fresh wonder and delight to me to find out more and more how universal their influence has become.

Therefore, I think it should be known here in South Africa, among Indians, who are far from their own motherland and have little chance of studying the detailed history of the modern world, that these are the two Indian names that really count to-day both in India itself and in the world outside as representing India. There are many other Indian names that are great; but these two are incomparably the greatest. In a hundred years time, when history comes to be written about the Indian past, these two names will survive.

Let me, then, while telling a little more about India, in this second article, relate what I know personally about the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore's health, just as I did in my last article concerning Mahatma Gandhi.

The news, unfortunately, is very disquieting and anxious. Last year, he set out to South America, after a long and arduous journey in Japan and China, during part of which I was his companion. From China he returned quite well. But, sadly for us all, in the midst of the South American journey he was taken very ill. Then in Italy, on his return to Europe, this serious illness increased. He suffered from some kind of influenza and he had the best doctors that could be obtained. They pronounced very alarmingly at that time concerning the state of his heart and urged him to return to Europe during the summer in order to undergo a thorough medical rest cure.

Twice over last summer he prepared to start, but he was prevented. The doctors did not think that he was fit enough to make the sea-journey,—though he is a very good sailor, and a sea voyage always does him good. After the second refusal of the doctors in Calcutta to let him travel, he fell ill again. He had another attack of influenza, which is always weakening for the heart; and besides this he had such acute inflammation of the ear, that he was compelled to endure an agony of suffering, and at one time it appeared as if he would become permanently deaf.

During this illness, I had to tell him about the call which had come to me to go out once more to South Africa. At first, he seemed to be somewhat unwilling to let me go; and I was so intensely reluctant to leave him, that I fought against it in my own mind, night and day, and day and night. Even

in sleep, I seemed in my dreams to be struggling against it. But the oppression became overpowering in my own mind; and at last the inner voice prevailed. Then, when I went to him finally and told him that I *must* go, he gladly gave me leave and sent me away with his blessing, telling me on no account to stay behind in India on his behalf, now that the inner voice had once been clearly heard. For, when that voice came, to hear was to obey.

Once more, he gave me the same *mantram* to take out to the Indian community in South Africa, which Mr. W. W. Pearson and I were privileged to take out from him before, as a help and strength in the Passive Resistance Struggle of 1913-1914. The *mantram* ends with the Name of the Supreme God,

Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.

"The All-Peace, The All Good, The One."

In the strength of that Divine Name I have come out to South Africa, sent by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. All my anxiety concerning the state of the health of my two friends day by day is laid to rest, in the thought of what that Divine Name denotes, for the Poet and Mahatmaji are both in the keeping of the

Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.

I am writing this on the eve of Christmas Day and in the Christmas message of peace and goodwill to all mankind I find the same truth and the same message which the Poet himself has given me to deliver in South Africa. But I shall write further on this subject in the leading article which I am contributing to INDIAN OPINION this week.

Disabilities of Indians

Under the Laws of the Union of South Africa

Continued from page 326

NATAL.

Till comparatively recently no restrictions upon residence were imposed upon non-indentured Indians. Strenuous efforts are now being made to follow the example of the Transvaal in the direction of segregation. The Natal restrictions will be dealt with in a later number.

CAPE

There are no legal restrictions.

ORANGE FREE STATE:

Indians not being admissible cannot of course reside. As previously explained Indian servants under contract are alone accepted.

Trading

TRANSVAAL:

The restrictions as to residence under Law 3 of 1885 were held not to include occupation for purposes of trade (Motan versus Transvaal Government 1904 T.S. page 404). This was a test case brought against the refusal of a licence to trade on a stand in the City of Pretoria. The refusal was based on the construction placed by the authorities on Law 3 of 1885. The Supreme Court held that "residence" did not include "trading."

The Gold Law (35 of 1908 amending Law 15 of 1898) restricts Indian residence on or occupation of any ground held under any right granted under the Gold Law and further restricts the residence by any coloured person (which term includes Indians) on proclaimed land in Johannesburg, Boksburg and Krugersdorp, save locations as provided by Law 3 of 1885. The whole of the Witwatersrand is a proclaimed gold bearing area. The term occupation "has been held to include occupation for purposes of trade." The prohibition is not applicable to colour-

and persons in the employ of white persons who live on their employers' premises nor to coloured persons lawfully in occupation at the commencement of the Act.

Act 37 of 1919 Sec. 1 amends the above to the extent that it accepts any British Indian, who, on the 1st day of May, 1918, was lawfully trading on such a stand, or to the lawful successors in title to any such in respect of such business so long as such British Indian or his successor in title continues to carry on business in the same township in which it was being carried on on the 1st of May, 1919.

Act 36 of 1908, amending the Townships Act of 1907 must be read together with the Gold Law of 1908. Its effect is to prevent the sale of stands in townships in leasehold and to compel such transactions to be made in freehold only. Indians are thereby effectively debarred from acquiring any colour of ownership under cover of leasehold title. Leasehold grants running at the date of the passing of this statute were required to be converted into freehold within a defined period. The statute was designed to close any loopholes that any defects in earlier anti-Asiatic legislation might have left.

Traders in towns generally require to take out one licence termed a Revenue Licence issued by the Government and another licence issued by the local Municipality. The Municipality controls the licences held by vendors of foodstuffs and applications must be made to a board elected by the Municipality. One result of the anti-Asiatic agitations has been a long series of refusals of Indian applications for such licences and in some cases of renewals of old licences on the ground that Asiatics are regarded as undesirable persons to handle foodstuffs. A notorious example is that of Mr. M. M. Dadoo of Krugersdorp, a sometime partner in the firm of Chotabhai and Dadoo and more recently his successor in business. Mr. Dadoo is the proprietor of probably the largest department store in Krugersdorp. His grocery department requires to be licensed by the Municipality as above indicated. His licence was refused one year on the score of his unsuitability as an Asiatic.

The Gold Law specifically refuses to Asiatics and coloured persons the right to carry on business as jewellers or workers in precious metals. It also debar Indians from prospecting for gold and from holding claims in gold bearing areas.

NATAL:

DEALERS LICENCES ACTS 1905, 1906, 1909, 1913, ETC.

Trading licences are controlled by a licensing officer who may refuse to grant the issue of renewal of a licence to a shopkeeper either of standing or who wishes to commence business. From his decision there is an appeal to a board elected from residents of the same town or village. These are not unusually business men of the same place, perhaps rival traders. The result has been extremely serious to Indian applicants for new licences or for the renewal or transfer to other premises of old licences. The Natal licences will be dealt with more fully in a later number.

CAPE:

Although somewhat similar conditions obtain the difficulties here have not been nearly so strongly accentuated. In fact, it may be remarked generally that the atmosphere of the Cape is much more tolerant than that of any other Province. Still, difficulties have occasionally arisen in regard to Indian applicants for licences indicating danger of the spread into this Province of the intolerance and prejudice experienced in the others.

Education

TRANSSVAAL (ACT 25 OF 1907):

Non-whites may be supplied only with primary education; secondary and higher education is for whites only (Chap. 4). No coloured children may

be admitted or be a pupil or member of any school class or institution other than such as are set part for non-Europeans (Chap. 4) The education of Indian children ordinarily proceeds in the same schools with native and Cape coloured children. There are some Indian schools originally privately founded and since adopted by the Government.

NATAL:

The standard up to which Indian children are allowed to remain at school is considerably lower than that up to which white children are allowed to remain. They are generally allowed to go up to the fourth standard only.

Travelling

The railways throughout the Union are Government owned railways. Indians may travel only in compartments either with natives and other coloured persons or in the case of superior classes in compartments "reserved" for non-Europeans (Act 22 of 1916, Sec. 4 (6)). The administration has "power to reserve for different classes of persons or natives." Considerable friction arose some few years since over an endeavour to compel Indian passengers to wait on certain fenced-off portions of the platforms.

Tramcars

The tramcars of Johannesburg and Pretoria are Municipal property. Indian travellers are relegated to the back seats. In wet weather, this imposes grave discomfort. In Natal considerable friction has from time to time arisen between conductors and Indian passengers due to an endeavour to apply a similar practice.

Franchise and Political Status

TRANSSVAAL:

NIL.

NATAL: Vide recent legislation and proposed legislation designed to deprive Indians of vested rights.

Taxation

Indians are subjected to exactly the same taxation as Europeans, irrespective of whether they have or have not any measure of representation.

General

The disabilities originally imposed, since the annexation of the Transvaal, and the incorporation of Natal into the Union, have gone steadily from comparatively bad to almost the possibly worst and there can be no doubt about this having been the carrying into effect of a carefully calculated policy. The ultimate objective is either complete segregation or alternatively to make conditions so impossible that Indians shall leave the Union.

The Crisis in Natal

In the course of an article in the *Indian Review* (Madras) Mr. C. F. Andrews writes:—

There cannot be a shadow of doubt remaining in our minds, after the text of the New Asiatic Bill has come before us in its printed form, that the very worst is about to happen. When *The Statesman*, a newspaper of Calcutta, can write such an editorial as that which I am about to quote, things must be desperate indeed. It writes as follows:—

"The worst feature of this measure is its dishonesty. It proposes to aim at providing special reservations to which Asiatics are to be restricted, but its real object, as was calmly admitted by Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, is to force as many Indians as possible to leave the country through sheer inability to tolerate the new conditions to be imposed upon them. It is bad enough that Indian citizens of the Empire should be denied the ordinary rights of citizenship by their fellow-citizens in South Africa; but there is something almost diabolical in the equality which would be applied

them, not by summary expropriation, but by a process of slow torture."

An inspection of the terms of the Bill itself shows that the words used above are none too strong; for one clause after another strikes at the root of all the truly remarkable growth, under incredible hardships, which the Indian community has made in Natal. That which has been gained by slow and steady industry and patience is to be cut down in a moment, just as a tree is cut down and overthrown by successive blows of the axe. Indeed the Bill spells destruction, root and branch, for the whole Indian community in South Africa. It is deliberately intended to accomplish this very purpose, and now we are told, that it is to be brought forward and passed into law as early as January next. There is to be no delay at all. The new session of the South African Union Assembly begins about January 26th. It would appear that this Bill is to be one of the very first to be carried through in both Houses after the South African Parliament meets.

We are told also by the Press that in Natal and the Transvaal it would be as good as sacrificing one's seat to vote against the Bill—its clauses are so popular. The only open question is, whether it can be made more stringent. It would seem that the European community in South Africa are blindly determined to carry through the measure at all costs; and they have the full power to do so. There is not a single representative of any other race than the European in the South African Union Central Legislature. Therefore they have the matter entirely in their own hands.

But Dr. Malan has declared that, between the present time and January, he is prepared to 'negotiate.' This can only mean one thing. He is prepared to negotiate about Repatriation. If he can get the Government of India weakly to agree to surrender on that vital issue and to recall Indians now domiciled in South Africa from that country, then the weakness of the Government of India in giving way can be exploited and the South African Union Government will be relieved from doing much of its own dirty work. But negotiations on such a basis are condemned from the very first. They are bound to go wrong at the very start. To enter into such a false position with eyes wide open is a thing that should never be done by any responsible Government.

My own clear conviction is that no negotiations should be entered into at all on any such basis. There can be no compromise whatever on the question of repatriation. For Mahatma Gandhi went to the extreme limit of concession in June, 1914 when he allowed repatriation under a definite clause in the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. So long as the War lasted that clause was faithfully observed: but as soon as the War was over this concession was used as a lever to get more concessions on this subject. To-day the full weight of the agreement made between General Smuts and Mahatma Gandhi is already being applied, and every effort is being made to expatriate Indians under a strained interpretation of the repatriation clause. But even this is not enough, and the South African Union Government is willing to 'negotiate' on this very point. As I have said, to enter into any such negotiations would be to go into them foredoomed to failure. It would mean that the Europeans in South Africa expected the Europeans in India, who hold the reins of Government, to make concessions for them and to give away wholesale Indian interests. That is the long and short of what Dr. Malan means by entering into 'negotiations' after formulating the Colour Bar Bill and the New Asiatic Bill.

Before this article is published, the whole question may be decided. But I cannot make it too clear that, on this one point of Repatriation, there can be no further concession of any kind whatever

made to the African Government. We may be called upon by force to surrender our rights, but let us give nothing away by weak concession. Let us never 'negotiate' concerning Repatriation.

Natal Indian Congress

A request is being made by the Acting Secretary of the N.I.C. Mr. P. R. Pather, Foundry Lane, to all owners of Indian Refreshment Room Licence-holders outside the Borough whose licences have been objected to on the ground that they fall under the category of eating room licences, to call on him with all the papers with a view to taking concerted action.

South African Indian Congress

Natal's Delegation to India

Mr. E. M. Ally acknowledges with thanks the following subscriptions. Further subscriptions are earnestly requested, all cheques to be made in name of Mr. E. M. Ally, and addressed to him at 109, Field Street, Durban.

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