

Indian Opinion

No. 7—Vol. XXVII. Friday, February 15th, 1929.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
PRICE FOURPENCE.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE following letter has been received by the President of the South African Indian Congress from the Secretary to the Governor-General in reply to the loyalty resolution passed by the ninth session:—

"Sir,—With reference to your telegram of the 29th January, I am directed to inform you that the resolution of sympathy and loyalty to H.M. the King from the ninth session of the South African Indian Congress in Conference was transmitted by cablegram through the usual channel for submission to His Majesty, and that I have received a reply from the Private Secretary, Buckingham Palace, desiring me to inform you that the resolution has been laid before Their Majesties the King and Queen who have commanded that an expression of their grateful appreciation may be conveyed to the senders."

Readers of INDIAN OPINION will regret to learn of the death of Rasik Gandhi son of Mr. Harilal Gandhi and grand son of Mahatma Gandhi at the very early age of 16. He was a very promising young lad and was lately assisting Mr. Devdas Gandhi, youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi, who is engaged at the Tibia College, founded by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan at Delhi, teaching carding and hand spinning. Young Rasik died of typhoid fever. May his soul rest in peace.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Alexander Eaton, M. P. C., Mayor of Durban and formerly a member of the South African Labour Party has joined the South African Party. His principal reason for doing so, it is stated, is that "this Party, above all others, stands firmly by the Imperial connection." It is a pleasant surprise to know that Mr. Eaton is such an ardent imperialist. In the circumstances Mr. Sastri's appeal to consider the Indian question not from a narrow South African but a broad imperial point of view must, no doubt, have gone home to him. We hope he will be a true imperialist.

The half-yearly meeting of the Capetown branch of the South African Typographical Union decided to send a telegram to the Durban branch congratulating it on admitting members of the Indian community to full membership of the South African Typographical Union "as carrying out the chief principle of the Society in knowing no sect, creed or colour."

The Minister of the Interior, we understand, has agreed to receive a deputation of the South African Indian Congress on the licensing question in Transvaal on Saturday 23rd instant, at Capetown. The deputation will also interview the Ministers of Justice, Labour and Land with regard to the position of Indian waiters in the Transvaal under the new Liquor Act and other matters.

An important Executive meeting of the South African Indian Congress will be held at 12 New Chambers, New Street South (Mr. I. I. Hazaree's office), Johannesburg, on Saturday the 16th instant at 2-30 p.m., for the transaction of the following business:—1. Minutes and business arising therefrom. 2. Transvaal licence and liquor questions. 3. Resolutions passed at the recent Conference and business arising therefrom. 4. Finance. 5. Propaganda and Publicity. 6. Deputation to the Ministers upon resolutions passed at the Conference. 7. General.

The debate in the Union Parliament on General Smuts' motion of no-confidence in the present Government came to an end at 1 o'clock on Tuesday morning. The motion was defeated by 71 to 53 a Ministerialist majority of 18.

FAILURE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

COMMENTING on the Hindu-Moslem riots in Bombay which have caused a deal of blood-shed and loss of lives, reports of which Reuter's agency has been over-generous in transmitting to this and other parts of the world, *Natal Witness* has come to the conclusion that, however well disposed the British Government may be towards Indian aims and aspirations the longed for day of India's emancipation has not yet dawned. Much worse comments than these are not unexpected. It was the desire at the bottom of Miss Mayo's propaganda and it is the desire even now of the British Government that the world should pronounce India as unfit for self-Government. That these riots should take place just after the Congress resolution demanding dominion status before the end of the present year, and just when the Simon Commission is in India, cannot be said to be entirely an act of Providence. The ingenious system of Government in India is capable of anything and it would not be at all surprising if there is behind it all the working of the magic wand of that system. There is every reason why it should be, and it is this: the British Government is not overflowing with sym-

pathy towards India that it is holding fast her reins in its own hands. It is purely out of self-interest that it is doing so. It was self-interest when first the East India Company landed in India and it is self-interest to this day. The fear that has now set in is that in the event of India getting Dominion status—leave alone complete independence—the blood-thirsty hounds of the British Isles who have fattened on the blood of India all these years with an angry groan to devour her altogether if she uttered but one word, may now have to be at the mercy of India, and should she refuse to feed them any longer they might have to face starvation. Everything possible should, therefore, be done to keep India in continuous bondage. To achieve this end the main thing to do is to blacken her in the eyes of the world so that she may not have its sympathy. Is this not what Reuter's Agency in India is doing? What lengthy reports of the Bombay riots are sent out! As though there was nothing else done in India but rioting!

Those who judge from a distance seem to lose sight of the fact that Bombay is a thickly populated city with various classes and creeds of people living together. The Pathan trouble in that city has been in existence for several years. Day in and day out men, women and children have been molested with the object of robbing and thieving and police have evidently failed to give adequate relief. It is quite possible that this may have reached a climax and the grieved took the law in their own hands. That communal troubles have resulted therefrom, however unfortunate that may be, is also not unnatural especially in a country where it is the policy of the Government to divide and rule. This must happen and it will also subside in its own time when better senses must prevail on both sides. But to come to the conclusion that India is unfit to govern her own affairs because a riot has taken place here and another there is, in our opinion, a hasty judgment. After all if these riots do take place on whom do they really cast a reflection. We would venture to say that they cast a reflection on the British rule in India which has after a period of a hundred and sixty years hopelessly failed to establish peace and contentment in that country. Much

capital has been made out of the state of the depressed classes of India to run down the Indian people, and papers like our contemporary the *Mercury* point out to us that we may not expect equality in this country when we do not give equal treatment to our own people in India. We might be forgiven for digressing just a little from the subject to reply to our contemporary that we did not think as our contemporary obviously does that South Africa is so backward as to copy the evils of another country.

To come to the point, who is responsible for the state of the depressed classes in India? Admitted that India was an unenlightened country, the British rule was there, as it always professes to be, to teach the people. But in that direction, too, a hundred and sixty years' British rule in India has failed to bring any satisfactory results. If any results have come they have come during the last ten years and they have come with leaps and bounds. Not by the efforts of the Government but by the efforts of the leaders of the Indian people the question has been tackled in such a manner that perhaps in another ten years' time the question will be no more. All these and many other reforms which have taken place in recent years would go to prove the utter failure of the British rule in India. These are facts that should impress the Simon Commission; furthermore the fact of its unanimous boycott should also impress the Commission; and yet another thing that should impress it is that though being so unwelcome it was yet able to persist in forcing itself in India with safety whereas a daring step of the kind in its own country would have resulted in it being tarred and feathered and perhaps lynched by its own people. This should impress the Simon Commission as to high standard of civilisation of India which fits her to look after her own destiny.

While we agree with the *Natal Witness* that the cause of Indian nationalism is ill served by such displays as the Bombay riots we are not as pessimistic as our contemporary about India's fitness for Dominion Status.

The Braamfontein Case Judgment

The following is the full text of the now famous Braamfontein case judgment as a result of which hundreds of licensing applications of Indians have been held up by the Johannesburg Town Council. The judgment was delivered in the Witwatersrand Local Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa on Tuesday, 11th December, 1928, in the matter of the application of FRÄNZ KOLTSCH applicant *versus* MAX PIETSCH first respondent and B. B. DABHELIA second respondent :—

In delivering judgment Mr. Justice Greenberg said :—

This is an application by the registered owner of Stand No. 2494, Braamfontein, against the first respondent, who owns the adjoining stand, and the second respondent, who as the tenant of the first respondent occupies his stand. The first respondent acquired the ownership of his stand some six months ago, and when he bought it the second respondent, who is an Indian, was already in occupation, presumably under contract with the former owner, which occupation has continued until the present day. The title deeds of the property of the first respondent forbid him to allow an Indian to occupy the premises, and the applicant bases his claim in the present petition on that provision and on the rights which such provision gives him in the circumstances. He asks for an order against the first respondent restraining him from allowing a coloured person to occupy the premises, and against the second respondent he asks for an order directing him to vacate the stand forthwith. Neither of the respondents offers resistance to this application. The first respondent says that immediately on receipt of the application (which was the first notification he had of the applicant's complaint) he gave notice to the second respondent to leave the premises at the end of the month following the month in which he got notice, and the second respondent is prepared to leave then. And the first respondent says that had he received notification in any other form he would immediately have taken the same steps to eject the second respondent, without the need for the applicant to go to the expense of this lengthy petition. He says that he did not know that he was committing a breach of his title, and although he ought to have made himself acquainted with the terms of his title deed, there is the fact that he found the respondent in occupation and that, according to the affidavits attached to the petition in the neighbourhood other Indians are in occupation of ground which, I understand, is held under similar conditions. Mr. BLAKEWAY for the applicant, on the question of costs (which is the only issue before me) contends that the applicant had a right immediately to have the law enforced and to have the condition of the title observed. I omitted to mention that the respondent's conduct is not only a breach of the title deed but also a breach of Section 130 (1) Act 35 of 1908. And it is argued that on the applicant's behalf that he was *in mora* and that there was no need to give him notice. In certain classes of cases, such as actions on promissory notes, where the amount is payable on due date, it is well established that a previous demand is not necessary, and that immediately the debtor is *in mora* the creditor is entitled to institute proceedings. But I do not think that this rule deprives the Court of the discretion that it has on the question of costs in every case, and I think the principle which must be observed is that if costs are unreasonably incurred the person who incurred those costs is not entitled to an order that someone else should pay them. So the question that I have to ask myself is whether

the costs were unreasonably incurred in the present case. Probably in such cases as promissory notes the Court will not hold that the institution of proceedings immediately is unreasonable, because that is a well-established procedure, but the present is an unusual form of complaint, and it seems to me that the applicant acted exceedingly unreasonably. The second respondent has been in occupation for some considerable time, and the first respondent has been the owner for some 5 or 6 months; now if the applicant wanted relief in the form that he has asked for if now, I can see no reason why he did not send some form of notification before instituting proceedings, and Mr. BLAKEWAY is unable to offer any reason why he did not. He may not be compelled to do so, but even though he is not compelled to do so, I still have a discretion to decide whether he acted reasonably, and I have no hesitation in saying that his conduct was grossly unreasonable. Not only do I think he ought to have sent some form of notification, other than of legal proceedings, but the form that his demand took is in line with the rest of his conduct. A lengthy petition is filed, with corroborating affidavits by four other persons. It is true that if the matter was contested, that corroboration might be necessary, but the applicant could have found out whether there was any prospect of its being contested. It seems to me that he need not have incurred these costs, and that the proper order to make is that the relief he asks for should be granted, but that each party should pay his own costs. I do not understand that there is any objection taken to the point that the second respondent is only leaving by the end of the present month. The petition will therefore be granted in the terms asked for, but the second respondent will have time until the end of this month to leave the premises; no order as to costs.

[Note.—Section 130 (1) of Act 35 of 1908 known as the Transvaal Gold Law referred to in the above judgment reads as follows :—

“Save as is provided in Section twenty-four no right may be acquired under this Act by a coloured person; and the holder of a right acquired under Law 15 of 1898 or a prior law under this Act shall not transfer, or sub-let, or permit to be transferred or sub-let, any portion of such right to a coloured person, nor permit any coloured person (other than his bona fide servant) to reside on or occupy ground held under such right.”

Transvaal Indians' Trading Rights

Meeting In Johannesburg

A mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress was held in Johannesburg last Friday to consider the licensing situation, says the *Star* (Johannesburg). The chairman Mr. M. D. Bharoochi said the very existence of the Indian in the Transvaal was in jeopardy. When the historic Indo-Union agreement was reached the Indian community in South Africa felt that the solution of the Indian problem had been reached. Now, however, the position of the Indian community was precarious and the only remedy was to urge the amendment of the various laws under which the community suffered.

If the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act of 1908 were strictly interpreted and harshly administered, despite the 1919 Act, the Indian trader would eventually be hounded out of the Transvaal.

Mr. L. W. Ritch explained the legal aspect of the situation and pointed out that if the Indian com-

munity did not wake thoroughly to the danger that threatened them they would find themselves in a pitiable state.

Ultimately the meeting resolved to give full weight of its support to the deputation that is interviewing the Minister of the Interior.

Bombay Riots

'Natal Witness' Comments

Commenting on the communal riots in Bombay the *Natal Witness* writes:—

Whatever the outcome of the present disturbances may be, the whole affair provides a curious commentary upon the claim so insistently put forward since the advent of the Simon Commission by the Indian Nationalists for immediate self-government for India. How the advocates of the Nehru manifesto can possibly support their claim that the time for granting full Dominion status to a country whose people so readily resort to murder and violence for the settlement of religious, racial and even industrial disputes, it is difficult to see.

Those people who have proved so persistent in their demand for self-government for India have urged that India is now so far advanced that the complete co-operation of caste, sect and race is well within sight. How far this claim can be regarded as just the Bombay riots demonstrate. It is difficult to see what the agitators whose preposterous story instigated the riots hope to gain from the chaos they have created. Certainly the cause of Indian nationalism is ill served by such displays.

One thing however the disturbances have done. They have given to the Simon Commission evidence of a state of affairs existing in the country which its investigations were otherwise unlikely to have disclosed. And from this evidence the Commission can draw but one conclusion. However well disposed the British Government may be towards Indian aims and aspirations the longed for day of India's emancipation has not yet dawned.

Indian National Congress

Momentous Calcutta Session

(From the 'HINDU,' Madras)

Calcutta, Dec. 29.

The Indian National Congress commenced its momentous session at Deahabandhu Nagar, Calcutta, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm.

The delegates were welcomed in a striking speech by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. He pleaded for the acceptance of the recommendations of the Nehru Report and showed how co-operation on the part of India with Great Britain had resulted in nothing but economic bondage and political subordination. He explained why he preferred Dominion Status at present to Independence and appealed to his countrymen to engage themselves in active reconstruction work.

The President's Address

Pandit Motilal Nehru the President of the Congress, then delivered his address in which he set himself the task of answering the following three questions: "Where do we stand?" "What is our destination?" and "How can we reach it?" His

answers which were, as he said, those of a plain matter-of-fact man, were that we have to break through the vicious circle of the disabilities imposed upon us by foreign rule and those of our own making, that our destination was freedom in the fullest sense of the term and that we could reach our goal by beginning at the point at which the All-Parties' Convention had now arrived and by following the programme of self-improvement, predominantly social and economic. He has explained ably the reasons which have actuated him in calling upon Congress to accept the conclusion of the Nehru Committee not in parts but as a whole.

Where Do We Stand?

We have first to make sure of where we stand so as not to lose our bearings after we start. The point has a two-fold aspect—one in relation to the Government and the other in relation to ourselves. As to the former we all know that whatever political or civil rights we possess they are in the nature of a conditional gift enjoyable during the pleasure of our rulers. They can deprive us, and indeed have from time to time actually deprived thousands of us, of those rights at any moment with or without reason at their sweet will by using the vast reserve of arbitrary power which they retain in their own hands.

The process of forging new chains to keep us in perpetual bondage has gone on simultaneously with a long protracted, ruthless exploitation of our material resources. While, however, Government has to answer for a great deal it must be frankly confessed that we cannot honestly acquit ourselves of all strength or weakness of a nation depends upon the strength or weakness of the tie which keeps its component parts together. In our case this tie has not for centuries been very strong and with the march of the new order of things has lost much of what binding force it ever had. There is no overlooking the fact that we are divided into a number of large and small communities, more or less disorganised and demoralised. The Government is undoubtedly responsible for the prevailing ignorance and poverty among the masses and in a very large measure for the growing hostility among the classes. But it certainly is not to blame for the evils of our own social system, which has relegated millions of our people as good as ourselves, to the category of untouchables and depressed classes, and has put our women under restrictions which deprive them not only of many natural rights but also of the opportunity to render national service. Nor is the Government solely accountable for all the communal differences which have contributed a dark chapter to the recent history of our own times.

But this is not all. A strange fatality has been pursuing our political activities from a very early stage. We have never been entirely free from serious differences among those who have taken up the patriotic duty of liberating their country in right earnest and have not winced at any sacrifice in discharging it to the best of their ability. These differences have inevitably set back the hands of the clock and opened the door to disruptive forces. There have been serious splits among the leaders which have spread with lightning rapidity to the rank and file on almost every occasion when a forward move has been taken or even contemplated. We would do well to profit by the lesson of the past lest the inexorable fate which has been pursuing us for the last 20 years or more should overtake us again. It is close upon our heels already in the garb of Socialism and will devour both complete independence and Dominion Status if you let it approach nearer.

The brief outline I have given above will show that we stand at present in the thickest part of the wood. We suffer from two sets of serious disabilities—those imposed upon us by foreign rule and those

of our own making. It is difficult to stand against the foreigner without offering a united front. It is not easy to offer a united front while the foreigner is in our midst domineering over us.

The two sects of disabilities together form a vicious circle around us and we stand in the centre, heavily handicapped by one in trying to get rid of the other. We have to break through the vicious circle before we can hope to be out of the wood.

This is my answer to the question—Where do we stand?

What is Our Destination?

The second question is: What is our destination?

My answer straight and simple is "Freedom" in substance, and not merely in form, by whatever name you call it. The Madras Congress has declared the goal as complete independence. The All-Parties' Committee has recommended dominion status. I have explained my position more than once but with your permission I shall re-state it here as clearly as I can. To put it in a nutshell it comes to this: I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full dominion work throughout the country—as full as any Dominion possesses it to-day—provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for severance of British connection as it subsists with us to-day but am not against it as it exists with the Dominions.

A Misapprehension Removed

I must here ease the minds of those who fear that the moment dominion status is granted to us, we shall use it to throw off British connection altogether.

There is no foundation for this apprehension and there is no reason whatever why we should seek complete severance of the British connection if we are put on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions. If we are not put on such terms it will not be dominion status; we will not take a colourable imitation. It must therefore be clearly understood that dominion status has to be offered and accepted with all its implication, its rights and obligations, which both parties will be in honour bound to respect and uphold. But as Mahatmaji has put it, "we would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became necessary through Britain's own fault." It is conceivable that we may be driven to separation by the treatment accorded to us by Britain herself, and in that case we shall have precisely the same remedy as the dominions now have. I will, I hope, now be clear why I say that I am for complete independence and at the same time not against dominion status, if the latter comes without avoidable delay. It is impossible to say which of the parties will have the whip hand at the psychological moment. Great Britain has the whip hand to-day, and the psychological moment for her to offer, and for India to accept, full dominion status, has arrived. If Great Britain will not avail herself of the opportunity India will have the whip hand to-morrow, and then will come the psychological moment for her to wrest complete independence from Great Britain. No offer of dominion status will then be acceptable.

Our destination is Freedom, the form and extent of which will depend upon the time when, and the circumstances under which, it comes.

How Can We Reach It?

The position, as I view it, is this: Here is a constitution agreed upon by the various parties, invited by the Congress to frame it. These parties know that the goal of the Congress is complete independence. They do not ask the Congress to change its goal, but present to it the result of their

labours such as it is, and say that they are prepared to go thus far and no further at present. They offer their co-operation and demand that of the Congress, to enable both to reach the point up to which they are prepared to go. After that point is reached they reserve liberty to themselves and to the Congress to consider the next step. Is the Congress going to refuse them this co-operation and this liberty? Is the Congress after bringing them together going to send them back to the wilderness in isolated groups, each to shift for itself, and leave the Congress to wrangle over the respective merits of complete independence and dominion status to the end of time? If the Congress will do that, it will abdicate its proper function to guide the nation on its forward march. The occasion calls for skilful generalship, and not academic discussions which take us nowhere. The nation is knocking at your door. You must open it wide—wide enough for every one to enter, or lose your rightful place of high command. My advice to you is to accept the offer. If you do so the way to your destination is clear.

Begin at the point at which the All-Parties have now arrived push forward with them as far as they would go, then pause and take stock of your equipment, and finally throw the strength of your whole being into one great effort to reach the goal.

That is my answer to the question: how can we reach our destination.

The Future Programme

The first, and the most obvious step is to set our own house in order. For this purpose, rally all the parties under the banner of the Congress and prepare to march shoulder to shoulder with them to the farthest end of the common road. That will be the first part of the arduous journey. I suggest the following programme for it:

1. Popularising the communal solution, agreed in at the All-Parties' Conference, in the country, by intensive propaganda in the press and on the platform and organising village to village lectures.
2. Organising similar propaganda in regard to the resolutions of the Delhi Unity Conference and the Madras Congress, with such improvements as this Congress might make on communal matters, other than those dealt with by the Conferences.
3. Work among the untouchables and depressed classes.
4. Organisation of labour, agricultural and industrial
5. Other village organisation.
6. Popularising khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.
7. Campaign against social customs which retard social inter-course and national growth, more especially a crusade against the purdah and the other disabilities of women.
8. Intensive campaign against the drink and opium curse.
9. Publicity.

It will be observed that this is a predominantly social programme. I claim no originality for any of its items and have merely selected them out of a long list which, with the exception of the first item, has been before the Congress and the country for years past. I may however, be pardoned when I say that we have so far not done much worth speaking in carrying out the constructive work. Commonplace as this programme may appear, it is the only true foundation on which the hopes of the high priests of complete independence, as well as those of the votaries of dominion status, can be safely built. To the former I say, that the measure of their capacity, for the tremendous sacrifice that the first real step towards their goal will demand is the measure of their success in carrying out this

Unbleas'd let me live, or die unknown;
(b) grant an honest fame, or grant me none!—Pope,

Not he that has little but he that desires much is poor.

seemingly unpretentious programme. To the latter I say, that the only chance there is of dominion status being ever offered to them lies in the complete fulfilment of this very programme.

Large sums of money and organised effort is necessary if we are to set about the business in right earnest. It is not merely the business of any particular organisation or individual, but of all organisations and all individuals who have the least desire to attain any measure of freedom. Among those who took part in the Convention there were the representatives of all interests in the country—there were the wealthy, the well-to-do, and the poor. Let the wealthy give of their abundance, the well-to-do of their savings, and the poor of the pittance. Let the Indian Princes, great and small, come forward with munificent donations, and give practical proof of the great solicitude they profess for the general well being of their country. In the social part of the programme all can join including Government servants. But will the Government let them? This is the acid test of the honesty of the pious intentions and wishes expressed by British statesmen in England and India. Let the Government, if it honestly means what it professes, publicly declare that the Indian Princes, the Indian commercial and industrial magnates, the great zamindars, and Government servants, have full liberty to help the social work in every way possible. Let there be no secret instructions to the contrary in sealed covers or in cipher, circulated at the same time. Let the English Banks undertake that they will not turn away Indian commercial and industrial concerns from their door if they subscribe to this fund. Let these three things be done, and I shall see that enough money is forthcoming within a very short time for the full fruition of this programme.

(To be Continued)

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

Part V. Chapter III.

WAS IT A THREAT?

From Bombay I went to Rajkot and Porbandar where I had to meet my brother's widow and other relatives.

During the Satyagraha in 1914, I had altered my style of dress so as to make it more in keeping with that of the indentured labourers, and in England also I had adhered to the same style for indoor use. For landing in Bombay I had a Kathiawadi suit of clothes consisting of a shirt, a dhoti, a cloak and a white scarf all made of Indian mill cloth. But as I was to travel third from Bombay I regarded the scarf and the cloak to be much of an encumbrance, so I shed them and invested in an eight to ten annas Kashmiri cap. One dressed in that fashion was sure to pass muster as a poor man.

On account of the plague prevailing at that time, third class passengers were being medically inspected at Viramgam or Wadhwan—I forget which. I had a slight fever. The inspector, on finding that I had a temperature, asked me to report myself to the Medical Officer at Rajkot and noted down my name.

Some one had perhaps sent the information that I was passing through Wadhwan, for tailor Motilal, a noted public worker of the place, met me at the station. He told me about the Viramgam customs and the hardships railway passengers had to suffer

on account of it. I had little inclination to talk because of my fever, and so tried to finish with a brief reply which took the form of a question :

'Are you prepared to go to jail?'

I had taken Motilal to be one of those impetuous youths who do not think before speaking. But not so Motilal. He replied with firm deliberation :

'We will certainly go to jail, provided you lead us. As Kathiawadis, we have the first right on you. Of course we do not mean to detain you now but you must promise to halt here on your return. You will be delighted to see the work and the spirit of our youths, and you may trust us to respond as soon as you summon us.'

Motilal captivated me. His comrade eulogising him said :

'Our friend is but a tailor. But he is such a master of his profession that he easily earns Rs. 15 a month—which is just what he needs—working an hour a day, and gives the rest of his time to public work. He leads us all putting our education to shame.'

Later I came in close contact with Motilal and I saw that there was no exaggeration in the eulogy. He made a point of spending some days in the newly started Ashram every month to teach the children tailoring and to do some of the tailoring of the Ashram himself. He would talk to me every day of Viramgam and the hardships of the passengers which had become absolutely unbearable for him. He was cut off in the prime of youth by a sudden illness, and public life at Wadhwan suffered without him.

On reaching Rajkot I reported myself to the Medical Officer the next morning. I was not unknown there. The doctor felt ashamed and was angry with the inspector. This was unnecessary, for the inspector had only done his duty. He did not know me, and even if he did, he should not have done otherwise. The Medical Officer would not let me go to him again and insisted on sending an inspector to me instead.

Inspection of third class passengers for sanitary reasons is essential on such occasions. If big men choose to travel third, they must voluntarily submit themselves to all the regulations that the poor are subject to, and the officials ought to be impartial. My experience is that the officials instead of looking upon third class passengers as fellowmen regard them as so many sheep. They talk to them contemptuously, and brook no reply or argument. The third class passenger has to obey the official as though he were his servant, and the latter may with impunity belabour and blackmail him, and book him his ticket only after putting him to the greatest possible inconvenience, including often missing the train. All this I have seen with my own eyes. No reform is possible unless some of the educated and the rich voluntarily accept the status of the poor, and instead of taking avoidable hardships, dig-courtesies, injustice, and as a matter of course, fight for their removal.

Wherever I went in Kathiawad I heard complaints about the Viramgam customs hardships. I therefore decided immediately to make use of Lord Willingdon's offer. I collected and read all the literature available on the subject, convinced myself that the complaints were well-founded, and opened correspondence with the Bombay Government. I called on the Private Secretary to Lord Willingdon and waited on His Excellency also. The latter expressed his sympathy, but shifted the blame on Delhi. 'If it had been in our hands, we should have removed the cordon long ago. You should approach the Government of India,' said the Secretary.

I communicated with the Government of India, but got no reply beyond an acknowledgement. It was only when I had an occasion to meet Lord Chalmersford later that railways could be had. When

I placed the facts before him; he expressed his astonishment. He had known nothing in the matter. He gave me a patient hearing, telephoned that very moment for papers about Viramgam, and promised to remove the cordon if the authorities had no explanation or defence to offer. Within a few days of this interview, I read in the papers that the Viramgam customs cordon had been removed.

I regard this event as the advent of Satyagraha in India. For during my interview with the Bombay Government, the Secretary had expressed his disapproval of a reference to the Satyagraha in a speech which I delivered in Bagasra (in Kathiawad) and of which he had a report.

'Is not this a threat?' he had asked. 'And do you think a powerful Government will yield to threats?'

'This was no threat,' I had replied. It was educating the people. It is my duty to place before the people all the legitimate remedies for grievances. A nation that wants to come into its own ought to know all the ways and means to freedom. Usually they include violence as the last remedy. Satyagraha on the other hand is an absolutely non-violent weapon. I regard it as my duty to explain its practice and its limitations. I have no doubt that the British Government is a powerful Government but I have no doubt also that Satyagraha is a sovereign remedy.'

The clever Secretary sceptically nodded his head, and said: 'We shall see.'

News In Brief

The following were among the many Indian students who left last week for Lovedale. They were from Maritzburg and Durban:—

E. Kaje, Vasuthaven Naidoo, G. Soobiah, T. Soobiah, Ramachandra Jugadoo, Ismail Badat, Ismail Amod Moosa, Ismail Asmal, Ratilal Parbhoo, Ruthnum Moodley, Dayanand Naidoo, S. Damjee, N. Shapurjee, E. Dinshaw and a few others.

The recent Junior Certificate contained 12 names of successful Indians, including a few passes in the first class. Practically all the candidates were from the Carlisle Street School, Durban.

Professor S. Radhakrishnan, of Calcutta University, has been appointed at Oxford as the University Professor of Comparative Religions. It is believed to be the first time that an Indian has been selected to this appointment.

Miss Maude Royden, the preacher who went on a world tour which lasted over a year was received on her return to England with great enthusiasm by her admirers. Miss Royden also visited India and met Mahatma Gandhi whom she is reported to have described as "the greatest man in the world—absolutely incorruptible and courageous."

Mr. Ramdas Nathoo, a wellknown figure in the Tailoring community and a member of the Young Tailors' Sporting Club to which he has rendered valuable service, has left for India on Monday the 11th inst per S.S. Karagola. His many friends were at the Point to bid him farewell and God-speed. Among others who left per the same boat were Messrs R. Nabhad Dayal, Parsotam Vallabh, Phika Parsotam and Chottu.

Indian Legislative Assembly

Viceroy's Opening Speech

Delhi, Jan. 28.—In his address at the reopening of the Legislative Assembly the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) emphasised that the policy of the Government in regard to Afghanistan was one of "scrupulous non-intervention." He announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the Indian labour problem, and said the chairman would be the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons. The Government, he added, had decided to reintroduce proposals to deal with Communist agents from abroad.

With regard to Mr. Sastri's mission to South Africa, the Viceroy said the Agent-General had laid India under a deep debt of gratitude.

Referring to the Hilton-Young report, the Viceroy said his Majesty's Government had agreed that before any decision was taken the fullest consideration would be given to the views of the Indian Government, and the Governor of Kenya, with the consent of the Secretary for the Dominions, would temporarily appoint an Indian civil servant to be nominated by the Viceroy to a seat on the Executive Council.

Referring to the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, the Viceroy stated that the Government had decided to establish a central organisation for research work. The Government had gratefully accepted a gift for the new capital of four stone pillars on the model of the famous Asoka Columns, from Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

Wanted

Indian merchants throughout the country to stock our special Native Snuff. Once tried always used. Ensures customers' return. 5 lb. lots 2/- per lb.

KING COLE TOBACCO AGENCY,
P.O. Box 7326, JOHANNESBURG.

Natal Indian Congress

Annual General Meeting

Notice is hereby given that the annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress will be held at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, Queen Street, Durban, on Sunday 17th March 1929 at 2-30 p.m.

Agenda: Minutes, Secretary's report, Treasurers' Financial Report, Revision of Rules, Election of Officials, General.

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE,
President.

A. I. KAJEE } Sec. Hon.
P. R. PATHER } Secretaries

ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન.

પુસ્તક ૨૭ મું.

ફ્રીનીક્સ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૫ ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૨૯

અંક ૭

નોંધ અને સમાચાર

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીનાં પૌત્રનું અવસાન

શ્રીયુત હરીલાલ ગાંધીના પુત્ર અને મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના પૌત્ર બાઈ રસીક ૧૬ વર્ષની કુમળી વયે મરણ પામ્યો છે. તે ધણેજ અપભ્રંશ ઓકરો હતો અને કેટલાક વખત થતાં મરહુમ હકીમ અબમલ ખાનની દિલ્હીમાં ટીખીયા કોલેજમાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના સહથી ન્હાના પુત્ર બાઈ દેવદાસ ગાંધી જે આં કાંતવા પીંજવાનું થીખવી રહ્યા છે તેમની સાથે હતો. આં તેને ટાઇફોઇડ રીવર બાધ પડ્યો જેમાંથી તે બચવા પામ્યો નહિ. ઇશ્વર તેના આત્માને શાંતિ આપો.

ટ્રાંસવાલનો લાયસેન્સનો સવાલ

ટ્રાંસવાલના લાયસેન્સના સવાલના સંબંધમાં મુલ્કી-પ્રધાને કમીવાર તા. ૨૩ મીએ કેપટાઉનમાં સાઉથ આફ્રિકન ઇન્ડિઅન કોંગ્રેસના ડેપ્યુટીને સુલાકાત આપવા કબુલ્યું છે. ડેપ્યુટીને લીકર એક્ટથી ટ્રાંસવાલમાં હોદી વેટરોની ચએલી સ્થિતિના સંબંધમાં અને ખીજ બાબતોમાં ન્યાયખાતાના, મળુરીખાતાના અને જમીનખાતાના પ્રધાનોની પણ સુલાકાત લેશે.

સા. આ. ઇ. કોંગ્રેસ એકઠેકયુટીવ

ટ્રાંસવાલના લાયસેન્સ અને લીકર એક્ટના સવાલની અને અધ કોંગ્રેસની એકે પસાર કરેલા ઠરાવોનો અમલ કરવાની વિગેરે ચર્ચાઓ કરવાને સા. આ. ઇન્ડિઅન કોંગ્રેસની એકઠેકયુટીવની મીટીંગ જોહાનીસબર્ગમાં ન્યુએમ્સર્ગમાં મી. ૧૨મીની ઓપીસમાં કમીવાર તા. ૧૬મીએ મળનાર છે.

ડરબનના મેયર શાહીવાદી

ડરબનના મેયર મી. એલેક્ઝાન્ડર ઇટન જે પહેલાં સાઉથ આફ્રિકન લેબર પાર્ટીના હતા તે હવે સાઉથ આફ્રિકન પાર્ટી સાથે જોડાયા છે. તેમ કરવાનું મુખ્ય કારણ તેમણે એ જણાવ્યું છે કે “એ પાર્ટી ખીજ બંધીના કરતાં શાહી સંબંધને વધારે દ્રઢતાથી વળગી રહેનારી છે. મી. ઇટન એટલા ચુસ્ત શાહીવાદી છે એ અરેબર સાનંદામર્મ ઉપજવનાર છે. એ સંજોગમાં હોદી સવાલને સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની સંકુચિત નહિ પણ બહોળા શાહી દ્રષ્ટિએ વિચારવાની શાહીજીની વિનવણી મી. ઇટનને તો બરાબર ઠસેલી હોવીજ જોઈએ. આપણે ઇન્ડિઅને કે. મી. ઇટન ખરા શાહીવાદી બને.

ડરબન ટાઇપોગ્રાફીકલ યુનીયનને કેપટાઉનનું અભિનંદન

સાઉથ આફ્રિકન ટાઇપોગ્રાફીકલ યુનીયનની ડરબનની શાખાએ પોતાના યુનીયનમાં હોદી પ્રોન્ટરને જોડીને એ સંસ્થાનો બની, શાંતિ કે વર્ણનો બેઠ નહિ રાખવાનો મુખ્ય

હેતુ પાલ્યો છે તે બદલ કેપટાઉનની શાખાએ પોતાની અર્ધ માસિક મીટીંગમાં ડરબનની શાખાને અભિનંદન આપવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો છે.

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી વિષે અંગ્રેજ બાધનો મત

મીસ મોડ રાઇડન નામની ઉપદેશક ઇંગ્લાંડથી એક વર્ષની કુનીયાની મુસાફરીએ નીચળી હતી તેણીએ હોંડુસ્તાનમાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની સુલાકાત લીધી હતી. તેજોને વિશે ઇંગ્લાંડમાં તેણીએ કહ્યું છે કે: “તેઓ કુનીયામાં સહથી મહાન પુરુષ છે અને નિર્વિકારી અને હોંમતવાન છે.”

“ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપીનીઅન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૧૫ ફેબ્રુઆરી સન ૧૯૨૯

મુખ્યમાં ચએલા હોંડુ-મુસ્લીમ ઝગડા કે જેને પરિણામે ધણું લોહી વહ્યું છે અને ધણા જન હોંડુસ્તાનમાં ખીટીશ ગયા છે અને જેના હેવાલો રૂટરની અમલની નિષ્ફળતા એન્-સીએ આખી કુનીયાને આપવામાં અતિઉદારતા બતાવી છે તેને વિશે ટીકા કરતાં ‘નાટાલ વિટનેસ’ એવા ઠરાવ પર આબું છે કે હોંડુસ્તાનની આજા અભિલાષાઓ તરફ ખોટીક સરકાર અમે તેટલી લાગણી બતાવે છતાં હોંડુસ્તાનના છુટકારાનો આતુરતાથી રાહ જોવાઇ રહેલો દિવસ હજુ ઉગ્યો નથી. હજુ એથીયે સખ્ત ટીકાઓ થવી અસંભવીત નથી. મીસ મેથોની ચળવળની પાછળ પણ ખોટીક સરકારની એક જ ઇચ્છા રહેલી અને એ જ ઇચ્છા આજે પણ પ્રવર્તી રહી છે અને તે એ કે કુનીયા હોંડુસ્તાનને સ્વરાજને માટે નાલાયક જાહેર કરે. માલુ વર્ષની આખરી પહેલાં હોંડુસ્તાનને માટે સંસ્થાનના ઇરજનની માગણી કરનારો મહાસમાનો ઠરાવ થયા પછી તુરતજ અને સાઈમન કમીશન હોંડુસ્તાનમાં છે તે જ વખતે આ રમખાણો થવા પામ્યા તેમાં કેવળ કુદરતનો જ હાથ છે એમ નહિ કહી શકાય. હોંડુસ્તાનની સરકારની પ્રવૃત્તિ રૂઠી જે નહિ કરી શકે તે આજુ છે અને જે એ બધાંની પછળ પણ એ રૂઠીની જ જાડુ લાકડી કામ કરી રહેલી હોય તો નવાજ જેવું કંઈ જ નહિ ગણાય. તેમ થવાને માટે કારણ પણ સખળ છે અને તે આ છે: ખોટીક સરકાર હોંડુસ્તાનની લગામ પોતાના હાથમાં મજબુત પકડી રહેલી છે તે એ દેશ પ્રતે પોતાની લાગણી ધણીજ ઉભરાઇ જાય છે તે કારણથી નહિ. કેવળ આપમતલબથી જ તે તેમ કરી રહી છે. ઇસ્ટ ઇન્ડિઅન કંપનીએ પ્રથમ હોંડુસ્તાનમાં પગ મુક્યો તે ધડીથી આજ