

# Indian Opinion

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## NOTES AND NEWS

THE following appears in the *Star*, Johannesburg, above the nom de plume "Fair Play":—

"It is rather sad experience to note every now and then the anti-Asiatic outbursts made by several persons and organisations in the city appearing in the local Press. Why these poor Asiatics are singled out for criticism I do not quite understand. It is said that the question of Asiatic trading had cost the city thousands of pounds, and that some of the suburbs were being turned into Asiatic bazaars. Some others declare that they are determined to root out the "Asiatic menace" from their particular suburbs. So far as I can see the Asiatics are not at fault if the City Council has to lose enormous sums in lawsuits in the fruitless effort to eliminate Asiatic trading. The clauses of the General Dealer's Control Ordinance are clear, and they do not give the local authority the right to refuse licences to the Asiatics as a class. The judgments of the courts have been successively emphatic on that point. If thousands of pounds have been wasted, it was not due to the desire to serve the ends of justice, it was due to the evil desire of a community which is voiceless and voteless. Those who are bent upon removing the Asiatics from their midst forget that the latter are mostly born and bred in this country. If the local Federation of Ratepayers believe that theirs is the only right to dictate in the affairs of the city they are sorely mistaken. The non-Europeans and Asiatics could claim to be as perfect ratepayers as they themselves are. If South Africa wants to be happy she must take the path of racial reconciliation in place of the hazardous route of repression. If South Africa is to become a potent factor in the world politics she must unite all the different sections of the population into one single unit, one combined strong nation, else she will be a laughing stock in the eyes of the world. Let the permanent population of this country, be it the Bantu, the Indian, the Chinese, the Coloured or the English and the Dutch, all be given their legitimate rights, and then will dawn the era of peace, unity and prosperity."

Asked in the House of Commons whether a temporary Government of India representative in South Africa would be appointed during Sir Kurma Reddi's absence, Captain Wedgwood Benn (Secretary for India) stated that Mr. Baring (Secretary to the Agent) would for the present discharge the Agent's duties.

Mr. H. S. Done, Hon. Secretary, South Coast Junction Area Indian Advisory Committee, writes as follows to the *Natal Mercury*:—

"Sir,—According to a report in your columns at a recent meeting of the Indian community held at South Coast Junction under the auspices of Clairwood and South Coast Junction branch of the Natal Indian Congress, strong criticisms were levelled against the chairman (Mr. J. Greene) and members of the South Coast Junction Area Local Administration and Health Board in regard to their administration policy. In all fairness to the chair-

man and members of the Board, I desire to state that the criticisms were most unjust and uncalled for. In so far as the Indian community in the area is concerned all matters appertaining to its welfare have been dealt with in a most equitable and just manner by the Board, all representations affecting the Indian community have received very favourable and sympathetic consideration at its hands."

A Chinaman, Wing Lee, applied to the Johannesburg Municipal General Purposes Committee to grant a certificate for a general dealer's licence in Grant Avenue, Norwood. Last December he and other Asiatics were refused a renewal of their licences in Norwood under the title deeds of the township. The North-Eastern Land and Investment Company, consisting of European residents, opposed the application. It was pointed out for the applicant that he had had the licence for some years, and that even if he was prohibited under the title deeds his occupation had been recognised for a number of years prior to the refusal of the licence last year. Councillors W. Wilkinson (chairman), S. Hancock and E. S. L. Taaffe constituted the committee. It was decided to hear evidence for the objectors.

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Star* reports that there are indications that the Left Wing section of the Congress Party composed of those demanding independence, is gaining strength and is confident of securing a majority when Congress meets for the annual session at Lahore at Christmas. Jawaharlal Nehru, the president-elect, is known to be sympathetic to independence, but as in the past, he is likely to be swayed by Mahatma Gandhi who is still the dominating force. The latter is to meet the Viceroy just before the opening of Congress, and it is significant that he will be one of Lord Irwin's first guests at the new Viceregal Lodge. The situation is still delicate, but the fear of Gandhi's civil disobedience threat being carried out on January 1 is gradually passing. Gandhi recognises the Viceroy's sincerity, and he and Lord Irwin hold the key to the situation. Nearly 3,000 delegates will attend Congress and elaborate precautions with the grant of £8,000 for extra police are being granted by the Punjab Government to prevent trouble.

Mr. W. Travers, who presided at the annual conference of the European Association of India held recently in Bombay, referred to the impending constitutional changes and the attitude of the extremist Indian leaders who threatened to launch a non-co-operation campaign in the year and drew attention to the report that an attempt might be made to call a general strike. "Not only will labour suffer loss in wages," he said, "but it may be that blood will be shed and lives lost." He declared that members of the association would defend their rights in India and their legitimate livelihood and trade "with all the vigour of which the British people are capable," but he hoped that those rights would not be assailed.—Reuter.

A conference of immigration officers of the Union and the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs (Mr. H. N. Venn) met last week in Pretoria to discuss the administration of the Act and various matters appertaining to the department, with a view to making the organisation absolutely complete and satisfactory. No matters of a contentious nature or likely to be of public interest were considered, it is stated.

A Renter's message from Pretoria dated Dec. 17 states:—

The Secretary to his Excellency the Governor-General states that with reference to the arrival of the Prince of Wales in January next "we are officially authorised to announce that His Royal Highness is accepting no official engagements whatever during his short private stay in South Africa."

The next Imperial Conference is due to take place in London next year. Preliminary arrangements to enable the South African delegates to attend have already been discussed, and the Pretoria representative of *The Star* understands that the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. N. G. Havenga, will travel to London to represent the Union at these important discussions. It is understood that General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga, accompanied by their private secretaries, Mr. Tolly Hurley and Mr. J. P. Jooste will leave for England as soon as the next Parliamentary session is completed. The Minister of Justice, Mr. O. Pirow, has been mentioned as likely to be a third representative from the Union.

In the course of an interview with a representative of the *Natal Witness*, Mr. G. C. Jolliffe, a member of the Maritzburg City Council, who has just returned from a visit to India, said: "In my opinion, India cannot take its true place in the manufacturing and industrial world owing to the clash of religions, castes and languages, which act as a real barrier to progress. The possibilities are there: material, labour and money awaiting the removal of these artificial hindrances. The position struck me very forcibly in making a comparison with the industrial progress in the Union. How far does the division set by racial, language and political questions limit our own development? Even now India is in a position to supply more than sufficient for domestic requirements, and when they are well organised they will be in a position to make a very big bid for the world's trade in cotton and jute manufactures."

The Nairobi correspondent of the *Sunday Times* writes:—

Hot-air speeches marked the session of East African Indian National Congress which discussed the political position, passing resolutions opposing federation, demanding equal franchise and opposing the European claim for an unofficial majority in the Kenya Legislature, and urging non-co-operation in Kenya.

The term of office of the Madras Legislative Council which is due to expire on December 13, says Reuters, has been extended for six months as the Governor considers that before the next election takes place the electors should be in a position to know what constitutional changes are proposed as the result of the deliberations of the Simon Commission and the Commission on Indian Labour.

According to the Bombay correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (London), there is a great rush to get married in the district of Gujerat in order to escape the provisions of the Child Marriage Act. A

thousand weddings have taken place in Surat causing a grievous rise in prices. Parents are mortgaging their prospects for years ahead through borrowing. For example, the charge of hiring a horse with trappings, which the bridegroom must ride, has risen from five (7s. 6d.) to 20 rupees (30s.) in the city of Surat, and to 40 rupees in the near villages. The hire of large petrol lamps has risen ten times.

## THE CONGRESS STATEMENT

ELSEWHERE in this issue we reproduce in full the statement submitted by the Natal Indian Congress to the Borough Boundaries Commission.

In supporting the scheme of incorporating the areas outside Durban with the Borough of Durban, the Congress observes that certain safeguards should be made. Incidentally it refers to the question of Indian housing to which reference was made in the course of evidence led by the Durban Corporation. The Indian community of Durban will no doubt congratulate the Natal Indian Congress in stating in categorical terms that it is opposed to any scheme that savours of segregation. The sooner the Town Council forgets its pet subject—that of creating an Indian village—the better. This scheme has caused a good deal of irritation to the Indian community and the persistence of the Durban Corporation in creating an Indian village will only widen the gulf that exists between the Town Council and the Indian community. By flouting the advice of the Indian community it is wounding the susceptibilities of its ratepayers, which contribute more than one sixteenth to the Borough's revenue. It would be in the best interests of the Borough if the Indian community were made to feel that there would be no differentiation of treatment between the 'Indians' and the Europeans.

Much stress has been made by the Congress on the question of representation. It would be a bitter experience for the Indian in the areas to be incorporated if he were not given representation. The number of Indians resident outside Durban exceeds that of Europeans by more than one half. It is therefore reasonable that the Indian should receive representation. The European has always entertained the fear that if Indians were given the vote they would swamp the European voters. This has evidently been in the minds of the officials of the Congress when they set up a qualification

or a voter. The setting up of a fairly high educational qualification ought to dispel that fear. The Capetown Agreement has recognised the Indian as an integral part of the Indian population and it would, therefore, be most unreasonable to exclude him in the affairs of any local authority.

The licensing question within the Borough has been a thorny problem with the Indian community. Col. Molyneux, the Licensing Officer for the Borough of Durban, has seen considerable service on the fields of battle. That service has, however, not changed his policy towards the Indian. Instances can be quoted where his discretionary powers have been used most arbitrarily. The Congress is justified in its fear that a similar policy would be pursued if the areas were incorporated. Unless an impartial Board were created which would have the control of the issue and renewal of licences, we are afraid the Indian licence holders would be placed in a predicament.

The Commission, we have no doubt, will give due consideration to the interests of the Indians in its Report.

## Borough Boundaries Commission

### Statement By Natal Indian Congress

The following statement was submitted by the Natal Indian Congress to the Commission now sitting at Durban to enquire into the extension of the Borough boundaries. Mr. Sorabjee Rustonjee, Advocates J. W. Godfrey and Albert Christopher and the Joint Secretaries Messrs. A. I. Kaje and P. R. Pather appeared on behalf of the Congress. Mr. Christopher made a statement amplifying the Statement:—

The Chairman and Members  
of the Borough Boundaries Commission,  
Durban.

Sirs,—We the undersigned, officials of the Natal Indian Congress, as representing the Indian community of Natal, wish to thank you for affording us this opportunity of presenting the views of our community on the question of the extension of the Borough boundaries.

- (1) Our community whilst regretting that the Durban Corporation has not put forward any definite scheme of incorporation, submits that it is of the opinion that the incorporation of the peri-Durban area with the Borough of Durban is natural and inevitable.
- (2) Due to their limited resources the small and independent local authorities adjoining one another do not make for the progress of the areas concerned. The benefits likely to be derived from incorporation with a large local authority such as the Borough of Durban with its huge assets and enormous resources, are obvious, and, therefore, our community is in favour of the principle of incorporation,

subject to the observations and safeguards enumerated hereunder.

- (3) Although our community constitutes over three fourths of the population in the peri-Durban area, no steps have been taken either by the Durban Corporation or by the Health Boards to ascertain the views of the Indian community with regard to the enquiry Commission; and therefore we respectfully submit that expressions of opinion made either by the Durban Town Council or by the Health Boards, represent, if they do, only European opinion, and the views of the 55,290 Indians residing in the peri-Durban areas have been ignored.
- (4) We regret to have to state that Indians receive little or no attention at the hands of the Durban Corporation or the various health boards and that the localities in which they reside are the last to receive any attention by way of improvements.
- (5) We attach herewith copy of the report of the Central Housing Board that inquired into and reported upon the housing and sanitary conditions prevailing in and around Durban which has so far received no attention either from the Durban Corporation or the Health Boards.
- (6) The attitude of the Durban Corporation in regard to Indian housing will be apparent from the following extract of a letter from the Town Clerk of Durban, who wrote to the Secretary for Health of the Union in reply to the request by the Minister to appoint a member from the Town Council on the Housing Committee:

"I have, on behalf of the Council, to thank you for the compliment in affording this Council an opportunity of nominating one of its members on the Committee of investigation; but I am directed to say that as this Council has already carried out investigations; has provided and is arranging for additional accommodation for Indians, and as the findings of the Committee of investigation referred to may possibly result in my Council being involved in heavy expenditure, it prefers not be associated as closely with the Committee by having a nominated member thereon. The Council is, however, prepared to give all the assistance possible when the Committee is carrying out its investigations, and I have been instructed to take steps to attend the meetings of the Committee with a watching brief over the Council's interests.

"In the event of this Committee being appointed, I shall be glad if you will be good enough to favour me as soon as convenient with a schedule of the dates and times that it proposes to hold its meetings in Durban.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) A. O. JONES,

Town Clerk."

- (7) The relation between the Durban Town Council and our community has not been always satisfactory, and such relationship has certainly not improved since the passing of the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924, by which the Municipal franchise was taken away from our community.
- (8) Our community enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise until the year 1896 when, by the passing of Act 8 of 1896, it was deprived of it.
- (9) The Municipal franchise was exercised until the passing of the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924, wherein by Section 13, Indians were

deprived of same. It may be of interest that four Ordinances, having for their objects the deprivation of our community of the municipal franchise, were disallowed by the Smuts Government at various times between the years 1920 to 1923.

- (10) The Health Committees for the peri-Durban areas were brought into existence in the year 1924. A qualification on the same line as that in the Boroughs Ordinance was embodied in the Ordinance creating these Committees. In this manner out of a population of over 75,000 Indians and Europeans, the Indians totalling 55,000 were deprived of any voice in the constitution of or in the management of these Committees.
- (11) While approving of these objects our community opposed the creation of these Health Committees on the ground that it had no vote. As a result of litigations that followed the opposition by the Indians, the Appellate Court held that these Health Committees were *ultra vires* the Provincial Council.
- (12) As a result of this judgment the Union Act known as Local Government (Provincial Powers) Act of 1926 was passed. The promulgation of the Local Administration and Health Ordinance No. 4 of 1926 followed the Union Act, which sought to maintain the policy of exclusion of our community from the affairs of those Boards.
- (13) It is considered opinion that this unjust policy of excluding a community such as ours which has created, by its ~~virtue~~ and industry, large vested interests in the form of landed properties and trade, from a voice in local affairs is a cause for much hardship.
- (14) We earnestly hope therefore that the Commission will give its due consideration to this most important question of representation of our community in local affairs.
- (15) We would strongly urge, in any scheme of incorporation that the Commission will be pleased to recommend, the amendment of Section 13 of the Boroughs Ordinance so as to enable Indians to be enrolled as voters. We suggest that the qualifications of a voter shall be:
- (1) Owners of properties.
  - (2) Educated up to Standard VI and paying rental of £10 per year.
- (16) In the Health areas Indians less fortunate have suffered considerable hardship by the imposition of the interest on overdue rates at the rate of 10% per mensem and the legal machinery that is employed in the collection of these rates and interest.
- (17) Indians resident outside the Borough boundaries may be divided up into two classes, (1) agriculturalists, market gardeners and dairy keepers who occupy by title or by lease land ranging from  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre upwards from which they produce and dispose of their products in the Borough of Durban. (2) The artisan and the labourer who earn their livelihood in the Borough of Durban.
- (18) The concentration of the latter class outside the Borough boundaries is due to economic conditions.
- (19) On the question of rating we suggest that the present rate of taxation in the various Health Boards be maintained for the ten years following incorporation and that, therefore, it shall be increased gradually but the rates assessed in the Borough shall not be fully extended to the areas to be incorporated until the benefits of all the amenities as are available in the Borough are given.
- (20) We suggest that for the period of ten years the Durban Corporation shall capitalize the amount of rates collected in the various areas and expend that amount in the improvements of and in providing all the amenities in the said Borough.
- (21) We submit that agricultural land shall be subject to the minimum taxation.
- (22) In the Health areas licenses are controlled under the Dealer's Act No. 18 of 1897, as amended by the Rural Licensing Amending Ordinance of 1923. In six of the areas namely South Coast Junction, Umhlatuzana Malvern, Pinetown and Sydenham, licences are controlled by the Durban County Rural Licensing Board, which sits in Pinetown. And in the Greenwood Park Area they are controlled by the Victoria County Rural Licensing Board sitting at Verulam. The sanitary reports on the suitability of the premises to be licensed both for new and yearly renewals are submitted by Inspectors employed by the various health Boards and in this manner the local authorities have all the control that is necessary. The licences so controlled include all trades and occupational licenses excepting Liquor and Professional licenses.
- (23) This system has given our community every satisfaction in that Indians have always received justice and fairplay from the hands of the Licensing Boards. This is no doubt due in the main to the fact that these Boards are presided over by a Judicial Officer, the District Magistrate.
- (24) In the Borough of Durban, trade and occupational licenses are granted under Act 18 of 1897 as amended by the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924 under which discretionary powers are solely vested in the Licensing Officer. The issue of licences within the Borough of Durban has always given our community grave concern because of the arbitrary manner in which these discretionary powers are applied. In cases of refusals by the Licensing Officer an appeal is allowed to the Town Council but no appeal lies to the Supreme Court. This state of affairs certainly does not add to the feelings of goodwill that one expects between a local authority and the Indian community. In view of the considerable hardships that Indian traders have been subjected to in connection with the issue of licences in the Borough, we would strongly emphasise that the system presently obtaining in regard to the issue of licences in the areas to be incorporated shall be maintained by the creation of Licensing Boards, or we urge that in all cases an appeal to the Supreme Court shall be allowed.
- (25) We have referred to the little attention that the localities in which Indians reside, receive from the Borough of Durban and the Health Boards. We suggest therefore that the development of any locality where Indians reside shall be commensurate with the capitalised value of rates collected in respect of such locality.
- (26) In the course of evidence tendered by the Durban Corporation reference has been made that one of the objects of incorporation is Indian housing. If by this it is meant the creation of an Indian Village, we desire to emphasise our strong disapproval of any such scheme, as our community is totally

against segregation. A glance at the report of the Central Housing Board will reveal that there is still considerable land within the Borough that is suitable for Indian housing. The Capetown Agreement is a clear vindication of our struggle to maintain our principle.

We would summarise the safeguards mentioned herein as follows:—

- (a) That the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924 be amended so that Indians could be enrolled as voters, their qualifications to be (1) Owners of properties. (2) Educated up to VI and paying rental of £10 per year.
- (b) That the present rating as assessed by the Health Boards be continued for a period of 10 years, following incorporation and thereafter the rates shall be increased by a gradual process, but in no case the rates shall equal those assessed in the Borough until the areas have been fully developed and all the amenities of the Borough are given.
- (c) Agricultural Lands shall be taxed on a minimum basis.
- (d) The issue and renewal of licences in the areas to be incorporated shall be controlled by Licensing Boards, or right of appeal to the Supreme Court be given.
- (e) That localities in which Indians reside shall be developed commensurate with the capitalized value of rates derived from such localities.

We beg to remain, Sirs,

Yours truly,

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE, President.

A. I. KAJEE } Joint Hon.

P. R. PATHER } Secretaries.

Durban.

17th December 1929.

## My Position

Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in his *Young India* dated Nov. 14:—

English friends have been sending me cables, as I suppose, to others, telling me in substance to reciprocate the effort of the Labour Government to help India. After the joint manifesto which bears my signature in common with others, nothing more remains to be said or done. Nevertheless, perhaps I owe it to the personal friends, who are interested in what I think and do, and who are affectionately solicitous that I should think or do the right thing, to explain my own position more definitely than a joint manifesto can ever do.

Let me repeat what I have said before in these pages that I am dying for co-operation. My non-co-operation is a token of my earnest longing for real heart co-operation in the place of co-operation falsely so called. I have therefore responded on the very first opportunity that offered itself. But I have meant every word of the joint manifesto as I have the now famous Calcutta resolution of the Congress. The two are in no sense contradictory. The letter of a document is nothing if the spirit of it is preserved in fact. I can wait for the Dominion Status constitution if I can get the real Dominion Status in action, if, that is to say, there is a real change of heart, a real desire on the part of the British people to see India a free and self-respect-

ing nation and on the part of the officials in India a true spirit of service. But this means substitution of the steel bayonet by that of the goodwill of the people. Are the Englishmen and Englishwomen prepared to rely for the safety of their lives and property upon the goodwill of the people rather than upon their gun mounted forts? If they are not yet ready, there is no Dominion Status that would satisfy me. My conception of Dominion Status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to. Therefore, there can be no such thing as compulsion in the regulation of relations between Britain and India. If I choose to remain in the Empire, it is to make the partnership a power for promoting peace and goodwill in the world, never to promote exploitation or what is known as Britain's imperialistic greed. It is highly likely that the Labour Government has never meant all the implications mentioned by me. In my opinion I have not stretched the meaning of the manifesto in stating the implications. But whether the manifesto can bear the weight of these implications or not, it is due to the friends in England and in India that they should clearly realise my own fundamental position. I am fully aware that India has not developed strength enough to assert the position here adumbrated. If therefore it is realised now it will be largely through the good grace of the British people. It will be nothing strange if they exhibit it at the present juncture. It will be some reparation for the past wrongs done to India.

But if the time is not yet ripe for India to come to her own, I have patience enough to wait. I can work and live for no other goal. I recognise that mine is but the voice of an individual. How far it is representative of Indians millions, no one can say; I certainly cannot.

## Farmer Charged With Murder

### Alleged Shooting Of Indian

The trial of Theodore Johannes Olaf Harms, farmer in the Estcourt district, on a charge of having murdered an Indian storekeeper, Suleman Ismail Kharwas, on Friday, May 17 last, outside a Amatamo store, about 24 miles from Estcourt in the direction of Loskop, was continued before Justice T. F. Carter (Maritzburg). The Attorney-General, Mr. Lennox Ward, K.C., prosecuted and Mr. Theo Hellett and Mr. A. A. de Waal were for the defence.

Mashiy Anshwala, a native employed by Kharwas at the time of his death, said as he left the store on a certain Friday in May he saw Harms standing by Kharwas's bedroom window. It was a bright moonlight night and there were clouds in the sky. Harms, he said, had a rag over his eyes like a veil worn by a woman. It was transparent and extended from the forehead to the nose.

Mashiy Anshwala called out, "Who are you?" Asked why he called out when he knew who it was, the native said there was no reason except that Harms was carrying something nasty—a gun. Mashiy Anshwala said he did not know the difference between a shotgun and a rifle. Harms, went on the native, did not reply to his challenge, but turned and faced him. The native said nothing more, but turned and walked away. He had left Kharwas in the kitchen making bread, and the door between the kitchen and the bedroom was open. After the

challenge; the native said, Harms moved to the kitchen door.

The native said he heard the report of a gun later but did not go back. "After Harms shot Kharwas," went on the witness, "he turned and fired at me. I ran away. I heard the shot, which passed my right ear. Running away saved me. This was the third shot I heard." After she entered the wattle plantation, declared witness, he heard a fourth shot.

At the conclusion of the evidence of the native who was the chief witness for the prosecution, the Attorney-General said he could not ask the jury to place any reliance on his testimony, and the jury were instructed to return a formal verdict of not guilty.

## Back To Non-co-operation

We take the following from the *Modern Review* :—

In our last issue we published some extracts from the article which S. J. Rajendra Prasad is contributing to the *Hindustan Review*. The first portion of his article was devoted to a survey of the non-co-operation movement. He now brings his argument to a close and re-iterates his faith in non-co-operation as the only means open to the people of India to realise their political demands as embodied in the Nehru Report :

"As I understand the matter, Dominion Status means nothing less than a partnership at will with the other parts of the British Commonwealth, and it will depend entirely on the attitude of the Britishers and the British Dominions, both before and after India attains her goal, as to whether India will exercise that option in favour of maintaining that partnership or dissolving it. If, however, Dominion Status means anything less, many who are at present content to accept it will not care for it. If "independence" means perpetual war with the British and the other Dominions, I do not think many who support that ideal now will like to keep India in that condition. The practical proposition for consideration is what steps can and should be taken to enforce the national demand as embodied in the Nehru Report. The present state of affairs is intolerable to all and can be perpetuated in future only by force, as it has been so long, and steps have therefore to be taken and means adopted to counteract it. Three programmes may be taken into consideration. The oldest and much tried one is that of "constitutional agitation." It is still accepted by the bulk of the moderate and liberal politicians—though some of them now are veering round in favour of boycott of imported cloth—but has been definitely abandoned by the Congress and has been irrevocably rejected by that body as wholly inadequate. The next to be considered may be a programme of violence and open revolt against Government; I am not aware of any such programme, nor is it likely that it can be openly preached and organized by any section of the people, circumstances as India is to-day. Government advertises, from time to time, the existence of secret societies, whenever it chooses to pass some repressive legislation. But it is admitted on all hands that violence has, at any rate at present, to be ruled out as utterly impracticable. Then there is the third and last alternative of non-co-operation, and that is what the Congress proposes to adopt for enforcing its demand on Government, on its failure to respond to the national demand at the end of the current year. Even if we are not prepared to accept non-violence on the ground of its ethical superiority to violent methods, it has to be adopted as the only way open to the people of India at

present. But India should adopt non-violent non-co-operation not as the last resort of the weak and the helpless, not because she is unable to organise an armed revolt at present, not because no other method is available, but because it is the only method which can and will do for India and even for the world at large. Swaraj won by violence—assuming it were possible—will be the Swaraj of the strong. It is bound to create in time mutual jealousies among our various castes and communities and sure to lead to a trial strength amongst them. A civil war in India is sure to have repercussions outside it and to entangle many neighbouring countries in its meshes. The prospect of a civil war as a result of the establishment of Swaraj in the country cannot appeal to sensible Indians and will not attract thoughtful people in its favour. For these cogent reasons, it seems to me that non-co-operation is the only safe method left open to us for bringing necessary pressure on Government. Whether we shall adopt the identical programme of 1921 or vary it in detail to suit present conditions, will have to be decided by the next Congress at Lahore, when it finally makes up its mind to revive non-co-operation. But there can be no doubt that the country has to be made ready for some kind of non-violent direct action, on a mass scale, in the near future, and the last Congress laid down a programme for organising the country with that end in view, by strengthening Congress Committees throughout the country, and effecting a boycott of foreign cloth through khaddar propaganda. It is up to the nation to make good its promise and be prepared for the serious struggle before it. Let our slogan therefore be: "Back to Non-co-operation," for that alone will bring India to her destined goal.

## The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[ BY M. K. GANDHI ]

Part V, Chapter XLI.

AN INSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE

From its very inception, the Khadi movement, Swadeshi movement, as it was then called, evoked much criticism from the mill-owners. The late Umar Sobani, a capable mill-owner himself, but only having the benefit of his own knowledge and experience, but kept me in touch with the opinion of the other mill-owners as well. The argument advanced by one of these deeply impressed me. I agreed. Mr. Sobani arranged the interview. The mill-owner opened the conversation:

"You know that there has been Swadeshi agitation before now?"

"Yes, I do," I replied.

"You are also aware that in the days of the Partition we, the mill-owners, fully exploited the Swadeshi movement. When it was at its height, we raised the prices of cloth and did even worse things."

"Yes, I have heard something about it and it has grieved me."

"I can understand your grief, but I can see no ground for it. We are not conducting our business out of philanthropy. We do it for profit; we have got to satisfy the shareholders. The price of an article is governed by the demand for it. When demand is high and supply is low, the price goes up."

Bengalis should have known that their agitation was bound to result in the price of Swadeshi cloth by stimulating the demand for it.

Interrupted: "The Bengalis like me were trustful in their nature. They believed in the fulness of their faith that the mill-owners would not be so utterly selfish and unpatriotic as to betray their country in the hour of its need and even to go the length, as they did, of fraudulently passing off foreign cloth as Swadeshi."

"I know your believing nature," he rejoined, "that is why I put you to the trouble of coming to me so that I might warn you against falling into the same error as these simple-hearted Bengalis."

CREATE FRESH MILLS

With these words the mill-owner beckoned to his clerk who was standing by to produce samples of the stuff that was being manufactured in his mill. Pointing to it he said: "Look at this stuff! This is the latest variety turned out by our mill. It is meeting with a wide-spread demand. We manufacture it from the waste. Naturally, therefore, it is cheap. We send it as far North as the valley of the Himalayas. We have agencies all over the country, even in places where your voice or your agents can never reach. You can thus see that we do not stand in need of more agents. Besides, you ought to know that India's production of cloth falls far short of its requirements. The question of Swadeshi, therefore, largely resolves itself into one of production. The moment we can increase our production sufficiently and improve its quality to the necessary extent, the import of foreign cloth will automatically cease. My advice to you, therefore, is not to carry on your agitation on its present lines but to turn your attention to the erection of fresh mills. What we need is not propaganda to inflame demand for our goods but greater production."

"Then, surely, you will bless my effort, if I am already engaged in that very thing," I asked.

"How can that be," he explained, a bit puzzled, "but may be you are thinking of promoting the establishment of new mills in which case you certainly deserve to be congratulated."

REVIVE THE SPINNING WHEEL

"I am not doing exactly that," I explained, "but I am engaged in the revival of the spinning wheel."

"What is that?" he asked, feeling still more at sea. I told him all about the spinning wheel and the story of my long quest after it and added, "I am not entirely of your opinion; it is no use my becoming virtually an agent for the mills. That would do more harm than good to the country. Our mills will not be in want of customers for a long time to come. My work should be, and, therefore, is to organize the production of hand-spun cloth and to find means for the disposal of the Khadi thus produced. I am, therefore, concentrating my attention on the production of Khadi. I swear by this form of Swadeshi because through it, I can provide work to the semi-starved, semi-employed women of India. My idea is to get the women to spin yarn and to clothe the people of India with Khadi woven out of it. I do not know how far this movement is going to succeed; at present it is only in the incipient stage. But I have full faith in it. At any rate it can do no harm. On the contrary, to the extent that it can aid in the production of the country, be it ever so small, it will represent so much solid gain. You will thus perceive that my movement is free from the evils mentioned by you."

He replied, "if you have additional production in view in organizing your movement, I have nothing to my gain in it. Whether the spinning wheel can make headway in this age of power machinery is another question. But I for one wish you every success."

Suratee Mahomedan Estate Company (In Liquidation)

NOTICE is hereby given that the Second and Final Liquidation Account and Plan of Distribution will lie open for inspection at the Offices of the Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria; and of the Resident Magistrate, Johannesburg, for a period of three weeks from date hereof.

LESLIE P. KENT, Liquidator.

P.O. Box 6255, Johannesburg.

13th December, 1929.

સુરતી મોહામેડન ઇસ્ટેટ કંપની ફ્લુઈડેશન

અને એવંચી આપવામાં આવે છે કે સુરતીની મોહામેડન અને વહેવણીની બવરેલા તપાસવા બોલ્ડ અને ઉવેરને માટે આભેથી તમા આલોડીયા સુધી પ્રોડીસીયો માસ્ટરે આઈ ધા સુપીમ કોર્ટની આશીસ અને નેશીનીસેમંઈની રીસીડેન્ડ મેસ્ટરેટની આશીસે પુલ્કા રહેશે.

પી. એ. એલેસે ફરપે,

નેશીનીસેમંઈ.

લેસલી પી. કેન્ટ,

તા. ૧૩ ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૨૯

સુખવંદી.

મફત! તદન મફત!! સુરતી સુધી આપવામાં આવે છે કે સુરતીની મોહામેડન અને વહેવણીની બવરેલા તપાસવા બોલ્ડ અને ઉવેરને માટે આભેથી તમા આલોડીયા સુધી પ્રોડીસીયો માસ્ટરે આઈ ધા સુપીમ કોર્ટની આશીસ અને નેશીનીસેમંઈની રીસીડેન્ડ મેસ્ટરેટની આશીસે પુલ્કા રહેશે.

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# ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

પુસ્તક ૨૭ મું.

ફ્રીડેસ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૨૦ ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૨૯

અંક ૫૧

## નોંધ અને સમાચાર

ગલ્ફ હાઇ સ્કુલ

અમને સમાચાર આપવામાં આવી છે કે નાટલ ઇન્ડિયન કોલિસને સુપ્રીન્ટેન્ડટ એફ એલ યુકેચન મી. ધ્યાન વરદથી એક ભયાનક મૃત્યુ છે જેમાં દર્જાવવામાં આવ્યું છે કે ડેવલપ્મી ખાતાનો એવો ધરાદો છે કે મીચેલ કેસ્ટ યોગ્ય સ્કુલને અર્સ હાઇ સ્કુલમાં ફેરવી નાંખવી. હાલમાં સાતમા ધોરણ સુધી ડેવલપ્મી આપવી અને પાછળથી તે વધારીને દસમા ધોરણ સુધી લઈ જવી. મી. ધ્યાન દર્શાવે છે કે આ હાઇ સ્કુલને માટે ઓકરીઓની સંખ્યા ૩૦ સુધી હાલ થઈ શકે એમ છે પરંતુ એટલીજ સંખ્યાથી આ સ્કુલને ઓકરીની હાઇ સ્કુલમાં ફેરવી નાંખવી એ તેમ કરવા યોગ્ય નથી.

અત્રે માનીએ છીએ કે હાંદી કોમની સામે આ એક સોનેરી તક છે અને કોમ એ તક ગુમાવશે નહિ. આપણી કોમમાં ત્રીસથી વધારે ઓકરીઓ જાણમાં હાખલ થઈ શકે એમ તો છેલ્લે અસ્વાતમાં સંખ્યા ઓછી છે તેથી આ જાણને ઓકરીની જાણમાં ફેરવી નાંખવાના ધરાદામાં મી. ધ્યાન ઠીલા ન પડે એવી અત્રે આજ્ઞા રાખીશું. પ્રગતિ પામેલી દરેક ડેવલપ્મીની સંસ્થાની અસ્વાત પ્રથમ નાનપણથીજ થાય છે.

ગુલુલેન્ડ અને નોર્થ કોસ્ટમાં મલેરીયા

યુનીયન પબ્લીક હેલ્થ ડિપાર્ટમેન્ટ ગુલુલેન્ડ અને નોર્થ કોસ્ટમાં મલેરીયાથી થયેલા મરણના આંકડા બહાર પાડ્યા છે. લોવર ટુએલામાં, ૯૦૦; મટુન્ગીની, ૮૦૦; ઇશોવે ડિસ્ટ્રીક્ટ, ૫૦૦; લોવર અંકોલોગ્રી, ૧૬૦; અંકોલોલા, ૧૪૦; કાન્કોપ, ૧૩૦; અને મર્ગોમાં, ૩૦૦; મળી કુલે નેટીવો, હાંદીઓ અને યુરોપીયનોના ૨,૯૩૦ મરણ નીપજ્યા છે. તેમાં યુરોપીયનોના છે; હાંદી તથા કલડોના ૧૫૧ અને બાકીના નેટીવો. જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે અહીં યોદા વખતમાં ક્વીનાઇન પડી પડી હતી. અને દરકીકતમાં લગભગ દસ વજર ક્વીનાઇનની ગોળીઓની વહેંચણી થઈ હતી ગંદી અને બેજવાળી જગ્યાઓમાં મનુષ્યો ઉત્પન થાય છે અને તેને લઇને મલેરીયા રોગ ફેલાય છે. આ રોગ એવી હોવાથી દવા બગાડે છે તેથી દરેકે પોતાના ઘર અને આજુબાજુની જગ્યા યોગ્ય રાખી પહેલેથીજ મલેરીયા રોગથી બચવાના ઉપાય લેવા. રોગ ફેલાયા બાદ ઉપાય ચોજવા તે આમ લાગે ત્યારે કુવો ખોદવા બરાબર છે. માટે દરેકે ચેતતા રહેવું.

ઇન્ડિયન અમલદારોની કેન્ફરન્સ

યુનીયનના ઇન્ડિયન અમલદારો અને કમીશનર ફોર ઇન્ડિયન લેન્ડ એક્સિપીટીક એફેસર્સ એક કેન્ફરન્સ ગયા

અઠવાડિયામાં પ્રીટોરીયા ખાતે મળ્યું હતું. જેમાં ઇન્ડિયન કાયદાનો વહિવટ કેવી રીતે કરવો તેમજ ઇન્ડિયન ખાતાને લગતી અનેક ઉપયોગી બાબતોની ચર્ચા એવી મતલબથી ચલાવવામાં આવી હતી કે જેથી એ ખાતાનું કાર્ય સંપૂર્ણ અને સંતોષકારક રીતે ચલાવવામાં આવે. એવું જણાવવા માં આવે છે કે વિવાદાસ્પદ હોય ત્યાં બહેરપ્રબને લાભતી વળગતી હોય એવી કોઈ બાબત ચર્ચામાં આવી નથી.

નોર્થવુડમાં લાઇસેન્સનો કેસ

લોદાનીસર્જર્ગ મ્યુનીસીપલ બોર્ડલ પરપગીલ કમીટી પાસે વોંગલી નામના ચીનાએ નોર્થવુડમાં ટ્રાઇ એવન્યુમાં બોર્ડલ ડીલરના લાઇસેન્સ માટે સર્ટીફિકેટ આપવાની માગણી કરી છે. ગયા ડીસેમ્બર માસમાં ફેટલાક હાંદીબાઇઓ અને આ ચીનાને નોર્થવુડમાં લાઇસેન્સ રીન્યુ કરી આપવાની ના પાડી હતી. લાઇસેન્સ રીન્યુ કરવાની ના પાડવાનું પ્રયોજન એ હતું કે એ ટાઉનશીપના ટાઇટલ ડીડમાં એવી કલમ હતી કે કલડો લોકો ત્યાં આગળ રહી શકે નહિ.

આ અરજીની સામે ધી નાર્થ ઇસ્ટર્ન લેન્ડ એન્ડ ઇન્વેસ્ટમેન્ટ કંપની થઈ હતી. અરજદાર વતી એવી દલીલ કરવા માં આવી હતી કે તેની પાસે આજે ફેટલાક વર્ષથી લાઇસેન્સ ચાલુ છે. અને જો કે ટાઇટલ ડીડના આધારે તેને ત્યાં રહેવાની મનાઇ છે છતાં ગયે વરસે લાઇસેન્સ રીન્યુ કરવાની ના પાડવામાં આવી તે પહેલાં તેને ધણી વર્ષથી રહેવા દેવામાં આવેલો છે. એ કારણે તેને લાઇસેન્સ રીન્યુ કરી આપવાની ના પાડી શકાય નહિ. લાઇસેન્સ રીન્યુ કરી આપવાની સામે વાંધો ઉઠાવનારની જુબાની સાંભળવાનું ખીજ દિવસ ઉપર મુલતવી રાખવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

આ કેસનું પરિણામ શું આવે છે તે જણવું થઈ અગત્યનું છે. કારણકે ટાઇટલ ડીડમાં એવી કલમ નાંખી હોય કે કલડો માણસને તે જગ્યા ઓકયુપાઇ કરવાનો હક્ક નથી તે વિષયમાં સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટમાં અરજી સીનર્જર્ગ યુકાદો આર્ગ્યુન્ટીન કેસમાં આપેલો હતો અને તે યુકાદો ઉપરથી લોદાનીસર્જર્ગની મ્યુનીસીપાલિટીએ લાઇસેન્સો રીન્યુ કરી આપવાનું અટકાવી રાખેલું છે.

પુર્વ આફ્રિકાની રાષ્ટ્રીય હાંદી મદ્દાસલા

'સન્ડે ટાઇમ્સ' પત્રનો ખબરપત્રી એ પત્રમાં લખી જણાવે છે કે નાઇરોબીમાં ઇસ્ટ આફ્રિકાના હાંદીઓની રાષ્ટ્રીય મદ્દાસલા મળી હતી જેમાં દવા ઉકળાટ બરેલી અને એવાં ભાષણો થયાં હતાં. એ સભામાં રાષ્ટ્રીય