

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. F. E. T. Krause On India And Indians

DR. F. E. T. KRAUSE, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Orange Free State, who recently sailed for India, in the course of his speech at a lunch given in his honour by the Orient Club said he was going to India with an open mind. He did not intend to be enlightened by high dignitaries of state. He wanted to see something of the Indian people living their everyday lives, the men who paid their taxes and supported the men who governed, the life of Indians lived from day to day. Referring to the position in South Africa to-day, Dr. Krause said they were fighting an uphill fight, but he felt sure that all difficulties appertaining to Indians could be gradually overcome, and that their grievances would become gradually less and less. They must not forget as Indians that South Africa was a peculiar race, they were puritans and conservatives to the backbone. But they had also to remember that there were conservatives among the Indians, too. It was difficult to change medieval ideals. They had to realize that with many South Africans when they thought of Indians they raised a mental picture of the natives, not realising they were making distinctions that did not exist. The Indian people were morally, intellectually and physically distinct from the native. The European had to overcome the idea of considering Natives and Indians on a par. He was not a politician and to-day he was pleased he was not a politician. He was an interpreter of the law and although not all laws were good they had to apply them. He had no hesitation in saying that the laws applying to the Indians were a barbaric disgrace and scandal on their country. But he was proud to say that the courts were above politics. He did not think any one could point a finger that any of their deliberations had been influenced by party influence, white, black or coloured; whatever their religions, they dealt with them all impartially. They looked on everybody as ordinary human beings. There were only two classes of people in the eyes of the law, the good and the bad, those who serve their

community and those who were anti-social. He believed in justice for every man, and equality of opportunity for everyone ambitious and prepared to work for his liberty honestly.

We are happy to note that, unlike many political leaders in this country, Dr. Krause has spoken what he actually believes and acts upon.

Another Trade Restriction

On Asiatics

The Political Correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* at Capetown states in a message dated January 30:—

"I understand that during his recent visit to Capetown the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. S. P. Bekker, obtained permission from the Government to introduce an ordinance into the Transvaal Provincial Council providing that Asiatics shall be granted trading licences only on condition that they refrain from giving employment to Europeans in their business. The employment of European assistants by Asiatics was one of the main factors which gave rise to the agitation in favour of legislation against mixed marriages between Europeans and Asiatics. Last year Mr. J. H. Groble, M.P. for Brits, introduced a motion in the House of Assembly calling for an inquiry into the position and this year General J. Fienaar has sponsored a Bill designed to prohibit mixed marriages, the theory being that these marriages are likely due to the fact that white girls are employed by Asiatics in business."

[The above is dealt with in our leading article—Ed. I.O.]

General Smuts O Immigration

Policy

Speaking at a dinner in Capetown last week General Smuts, Deputy Prime Minister of the Union, is reported to have said:

"The policy of immigration is an integral part of the future welfare of this country. We simply do not have the human resources to do justice to this country. More and more we are feeling the strain. If we want to do justice to South Africa and make her take her place among the nations, we shall have

to open our door and increase the white population.

Repatriation Figures

It is reported that during the year 1935-36, 491 Asiatics were repatriated under the Union Government's Assisted Emigration Scheme at a cost of £16,943. In the estimates a sum of £39,000 was provided for this service, and the considerable saving is explained as being less than anticipated.

Marketing Bill And Indian Farmers

The Natal Indian Farmers Association has made strong representations to Col. Deneys Reitz, the Minister of Agriculture, in connection with the Marketing Bill now under discussion in the House of Assembly, stating that most of the Indians engaged in agriculture are petty gardeners and farmers with small holdings, and the operation of the proposed Bill will impose considerable hardship. The exclusion of the small holders from control, the removal of other disabilities in the working of the machinery, with provisions for adequate representation are some of the points emphasised.

Mahatma Gandhi May Preside

Over Parliament

The first Parliament of Religions will be held in Calcutta in March under the auspices of the Ramkrishna Centenary Committee. Invitations have been sent to famous personalities in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, America, Canada, Great Britain and many other European countries. It is suggested that either Mahatma Gandhi, or Dr. Kagawa, Japanese man of letters, should preside over the parliament states the *Sunday Express*.

World Labour Conference

The Union Government has announced its intention of sending four delegates to the international labour conference which is to be held in Geneva on June 3, according to a report issued by the Department of Labour and Social Welfare. The delegates will be chosen by the Minister of the Department from nominations made to him by labour organisations throughout the country. Two will represent the employers and two the employees.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5TH, 1937

"Not Friendliness But Friendship"

THE Agent-General for India, Sir Syed Raza Ali, on his return to Capetown from Europe, the other day, speaking about the visit of South Africa's goodwill delegation to India said, that the visit had strengthened not only the friendliness, but the *friendship* between the two countries. We must say that the recent trend of events show very little signs of that friendship. The position in the Transvaal, especially, is growing from bad to worse. There is something startling for Indians almost every day. While Indians in Bertrams who, together with other coloured people, have been given notice under the Slums Act, to vacate their places, are uneasy about their future, it is now learnt that the position of those who have settled and created interests in Prospect Township for nearly over a quarter of a century are in danger of being thrown out on the streets. Prospect Township is undoubtedly one of the worst slums in Johannesburg. Though the Indian Commercial Association had requested the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission to recommend the exemption of that area from the restrictive clauses of the Gold Law, and the Johannesburg City Council had made representations in favour of its exemption, it being, in the Council's view, a suitable place for a village for Asiatics and Coloureds, the Commission condemned the area as being wholly unsuitable for human habitation. The result is that the residents in that Township are about to receive notices, or they may have done so by the time these lines are in print, to vacate their places by the end of April. The Council claims to have power to take this step both under the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act and the Slums Act. The area thus rendered vacant, we are told, will be converted into a railway yard. We have nothing to complain against this step on the part of the authorities in view of the fact that the place is wholly unsuitable for human habitation. But what the residents are quite justifiably anxious about is that no consideration is

being paid to the losses they are to suffer. What would be expected, in ordinary circumstances, is that the people concerned would be fully compensated. In the present instance, however, we have heard nothing about compensating the sufferers.

Then we hear of Vrededorp. The Council, we understand, is contemplating clearing the whole of Vrededorp, excepting the business quarters in the main street, of its non-European residents including Indians, and of building residential quarters there for Europeans. Indians will be asked to shift to the distant locations such as Newclare, Sophiatown etc.

The next thing we hear is about Nigel, a prosperous township near Heidelberg in the Transvaal. The Council has set apart a certain area in the lower end of the town for Asiatic trading; a little distance away there is an Asiatic Bazaar and a Native location. The Council has now decided to shift the Asiatic Bazaar and the Native Location to a place which it has acquired on lease from the Standard Bank about three miles away from the Township. The Council proposes to put up a fence between the new Asiatic Bazaar and the Native Location so that the Asiatic may have no access to the Native Location nor the Native the Asiatic Bazaar. The Natives, we are told, will have residential as well as trading rights in the Native Location, but that the conditions of lease entered into with the Standard Bank by the Council precludes Asiatics from trading in the Asiatic Bazaar. We are also told that a European has obtained a lease from the Standard Bank of a piece of ground situated just outside the fence of the Native Location where the said European may carry on trade. Asiatics in Nigel are perturbed over this position and wonder as to whose subjects they are, whether of the Standard Bank or of the State, and, if they are the subjects of the State, how

can such preposterous conditions be imposed on its subjects.

Thus the position of Indians is rendered wholly insecure by the fact of their being knocked about from pillar to post.

And the next thing we hear is that the Administrator of the Transvaal has obtained permission from the Government to introduce an ordinance into the Transvaal Provincial Council providing that Asiatics shall be granted trading licences only on condition that they refrain from giving employment to Europeans in their businesses. We did not protest against the Bill prohibiting mixed marriages between Europeans and Asiatics, but we would strongly protest against a measure of this sort for it casts a slur on the Asiatic community as being immoral. Asiatics would certainly not employ Europeans if the Europeans themselves were not anxiously looking for employment. They, moreover, employ Europeans not with the intention of marrying them but out of consideration for the feelings of Europeans who would like to be served by Europeans in preference to Asiatics. Repeated inquiries have established the fact that European employees receive better and more courteous treatment from their Asiatic employers than European employers. Furthermore, by employing Europeans in preference to people of their own community, Asiatics give a direct lie to the charge incessantly proffered against them of being selfish and a burden to the country. If Europeans owe anything, they owe not this kick in the form of the above contemplated trade restriction, but a little appreciation of the fact that though the Asiatics are heavily taxed without being given the opportunity of deriving the benefits of such taxation, they are so over-generous as to give to the European even the morsel that should rightly go to their own brothers and sisters who are suffering the pangs of unemployment.

While we witness day in and day out these pin-pricks we cannot but exclaim with a sigh of grief: are these the things in which the Agent-General for India sees strengthened not the friendliness but the friendship between India and South Africa?

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

FIFTIETH SESSION AT FAIZPUR

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following are extracts from the presidential address delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the fiftieth session of the Indian National Congress held recently at Faizpur.—

COMRADES,—Eight and a half months ago I addressed you from this tribune and now at your bidding, I am here again. I am grateful to you for this repeated expression of your confidence, deeply sensible of the love and affection that have accompanied it, somewhat overburdened by this position of high honour and authority that you would have me occupy again, and yet I am fearful of this responsibility. Men and women, who have to carry the burden of responsible positions in the world to-day, have a heavy and unenviable task and many are unable to cope with it. In India the task is as heavy as anywhere else and if the present is full of difficulty, the veil of the future hides perhaps vaster and more intricate problems. Is it surprising then that I accept your gracious gift with hesitation?

Before we consider the problems that face us, we must give thought to our comrades—those who have left us during the past few months and those who languish year after year, often with no end in prospect, in prison and detention camp. Two well beloved colleagues have gone—Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abbas Tyabji, the bearers of names honoured in Congress history, dear to all of us as friends and comrades, brave and wise counsellors in times of difficulty.

To our comrades in prison or in detention we send greeting. Their travail continues and it grows, and only recently we have heard with horror of the suicide of three detenus who found life intolerable for them in the fair province of Bengal, whose young men and women in such large numbers live in internment without end. We have an analogy elsewhere, in Nazi Germany where concentration camps flourish and suicides are not uncommon.

Soon after the last Congress I had to nominate the Working Committee and I included in this our comrade, Subhas Chandra Bose. But you know how he was snatched away from us on arrival at Bombay and ever since then he has been kept in internment despite failing health. Our Committee has been deprived of his counsel, and I have missed throughout the year this brave comrade on whom we all counted so much. Helplessly we watch this crushing of our men and women, but this helplessness in the present steels our resolve to

end this intolerable condition of our people.

One who was not with us at Lucknow has come back to us after long internment and prison. We offer cordial welcome to Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan for his own brave self as well as for the sake of the people of the Frontier Province whom he has so effectively and gallantly led in India's struggle for freedom. But though he is with us, he may not, so the orders of the British Government in India run, go back home or enter his province or even the Punjab. And in that province of his the Congress organisation is still illegal and most political activities prevented.

I must also offer on your behalf warm welcome to one who, though young, is an old and well-trying soldier in India's fight for freedom. Comrade N. M. Roy has just come to us after a long and most distressing period in prison, but though shaken up in body, he comes with fresh mind and heart, eager to take his part in that old struggle that knows no end till it ends in success.

Famine And Floods

The elements have been unusually cruel to us during these past few months and famine and floods and droughts have afflicted many provinces and brought great suffering to millions of our people.

Recently a great cyclone descended on Guntur district in the South causing tremendous damage and rendering large numbers homeless, with all their belongings destroyed. We may not complain of this because the elements are still largely beyond human control. But the wit of man can find a remedy for recurring floods due to known causes, and make provision for the consequences of droughts and the like, and organise adequate relief for the victims of natural catastrophes. But that wit is lacking among those who control our destinies, and our people, always on the verge of utter destitution, can face no additional shock without going under.

A World Problem

We are engrossed in India at present in the provincial elections that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties us up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world. Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas

that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe Fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to a world war. We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see to-day the horror and tragedy of Spain.

British Foreign Policy

How has this Fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world? To understand this one must seek a clue in British foreign policy. This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to co operate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of the League and in defence of collective security but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open to Fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and ever the British 'National' Government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a Fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here again while Fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the Fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world and is lower to-day than it has ever been for many generations.

Lesson Of Spain

So in the world to-day these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labour for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle to-day is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, Fascist domination or the scorching of Fascism and imperialism. That struggle has many lessons for us, and perhaps the most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflicts and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it. For them democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interests. When it fails to do this, they have no further use of it and try to break it up. And in their attempt to break it, they do not scruple to use any and every method to ally themselves with foreign anti-national forces. Calling themselves nationalists and patriots, they employ mercenary armies of foreigners to kill their own kith and kin and enslave their own people.....

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely-stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

New Desires

...What are these desires? The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions; to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people and utilize them for the progress and betterment of humanity; to build where to-day we destroy.

During the past eight months I have wandered a great deal in this vast land of ours and I have seen again the throbbing agony of India's masses, the call of their eyes for relief from the terrible burdens they carry. That is our problem; all others are secondary and merely lead up to it. To solve that problem we shall have to end the imperialistic control and exploitation of India.

But what is this imperialism of to-day? It is not merely the physical possession of the country by another; its roots lie deeper. Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and cannot be separated from it.

A Radical Remedy

It is because of this that we cannot understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy and that remedy is the socialist structure of society. We do not fight for socialism in India to-day for we have to go far before we can act in terms of socialism, but socialism comes in here and now to help us to understand our problem and point out the path to its solution, and to tell us the real content of the Swaraj to come. With no proper understanding of the problem, our actions are likely to be erratic, purposeless and ineffective.

What The Congress Stands For

The Congress stands to-day for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic State, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure.

I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us to-day is political independence and the establishment of a democratic State. And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must stand for world peace.

League Of Nations

The League of Nations has fallen very low and there are few who take it seriously as an instrument for the preservation of peace. India has no enthusiasm for it whatever and the Indian membership of the League is a farce, for the selection of delegates is made by the British Government. We must work for a real League of Nations, democratically constructed, which would in effect be a League of Peoples. If even the present League, ineffective and powerless as it is, can be used in favour of peace, we shall welcome it.

A Charter Of Bondage

With this international background in view, let us consider our national problems. The Government of India Act of 1935, the new Constitution, stares at us offensively, this new charter of bondage which has been imposed upon us despite our utter rejection of it, and we are preparing to fight elections under it. Why have we entered into this election contest and how do we propose to follow it up has been fully stated in the Election Manifesto of the All-India Congress Committee, and I commend this manifesto for your adoption.

We go to the legislatures not to co-operate with the apparatus of British imperialism, but to combat the Act and seek to end it, and to resist in every way British imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. That is the basic policy of the Congress and no Congressman, no candidate for election, must forget this.

Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. We are not going to the legislature to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism.

A Convention

The Working Committee has recommended to this Congress that a Convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures, and such other persons as the Committee might wish to add to them, should meet soon after the election to put forward the demand for the constituent Assembly, and determine how to oppose, by all feasible methods, the introduction of the Federal structure of the Act. Such a Convention, which must include the members of the All-India Congress Committee, should help us greatly in focussing our struggle and giving it proper direction in the legislatures and outside. It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all India discipline, and it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale. The idea is full of big possibility and I trust that the Congress will approve of it.

Oppose Federation

Next to this demand for the Constituent Assembly, our most important task will be to oppose the Federal structure of the Act. Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so bad in it as this Federation and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole.

To live not only under British imperialist exploitation, but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate, whatever the consequences. It is an interesting

and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavour to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. We are not against the conception of a federation. It is likely that a free India may be a federal India, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country. The present Indian States took shape early in the nineteenth century in the unsettled conditions of early British rule. The treaties with their autocratic rulers, which are held up to us so often now as sacred documents which may not be touched, date from that period.

Break This Federation

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. We are told by people who can think only in terms of action taken in the legislatures that it is not possible to wreck it, and there are ample provisions and safeguards to enable the Government to carry on despite a hostile majority. We are well aware of these safeguards; they are one of the principal reasons why we reject the Act. We know also that there are second chambers to obstruct us. We can create constitutional crises inside the legislatures, we can have deadlocks, we can obstruct the imperialist machine, but always there is a way out.

The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organization and mass action.

Office-Acceptance

The policy of the Congress in regard to the legislatures is perfectly clear; only in one matter it still remains undecided—the question of acceptance or not of office. Probably the decision of this question will be postponed till after the elections. At Lucknow I ventured to tell you that, in my opinion, acceptance of office was a negation of our policy of rejection of the Act; it was further a reversal of the

policy we had adopted in 1920 and followed since then. Since Lucknow the Congress has further clarified its position in the Election Manifesto and declared that we are not going to the legislatures to co-operate in any way with the Act, but to combat it. That limits the field of our decision in regard to offices, and those who incline to acceptance of them must demonstrate that this is the way to non-co-operate with the Act, and to end it.....

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

The President then announced that Mahatma Gandhi would address the House and the House received the announcement with cries of Gandhi-ki-Jai and loud cheers. Mahatma Gandhi was the recipient of a great ovation when he rose to speak. He said that he expected that they would be tired by this time. He himself had nothing much to say. What he had to say he had already said in the morning at the exhibition. He did not want to repeat it. He was happy to see such a big assembly there because the responsibility of bringing the Congress to a village was his. When the Reception Committee authorities came to him he told them certain things. He told them to throw the responsibility on God and to start work. There had been several criticisms against the step taken in holding the Congress in a village. Several newspapers had criticised it and had dwelt upon the shortcomings. The Reception Committee did not have sufficient money. Nevertheless, they all saw that the Congress here was the same as before. In fact, the village Congress had turned out to be a bigger one than expected. He had told the Reception Committee to be prepared for the needs of one lakh of people. During the flag salutation that morning alone, according to the estimation of some, two lakhs of people were present. Allowing for differences or estimate, he was sure there must have been at least one lakh of people. Such a large influx of people had made the Reception Committee authorities fear whether they would be able to meet their needs.

Future Sessions In Villages

Mahatma Gandhi said he had in fact suggested that the Reception Committee should now ask people to begin to leave. He felt, however, that they should hereafter continue to hold the Congress in a village. They should take a vow then and there not to hold a Congress in towns in future. The drawbacks that they saw there could easily be obviated. There was no doubt in his mind that it would be very easy to hold the Congress in the villages. By doing so the amount they spent could be con-

siderably economised, but, according to him, even that amount was big enough. He had wanted the Faizpur session to be completed within Rs. 5,000 but that was found to be not possible. They did not get sufficient support and they had to pay a big rent for the ground. His idea was that no rent should be paid for the ground on which the Congress was held. The Reception Committee were also compelled to hold the Congress in Khandesh because they could not have got the same number of volunteers elsewhere. However, in spite of the impediments, the Reception Committee had carried on their work and though their was strain they did not loose heart. If they really wanted to go into the villages and take the message of the Congress to the villages they should take a vow to hold all Congresses in the villages.

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi said, "The villages also will have to understand what you people who want to get Swaraj want them to do." The President and the Socialists are saying that you merely sleep after paying four annas. The mere payment of four annas does not show that you are real Congressmen. Preparations for the Congress are not over in a day but they take a number of months. They have to go round and get things ready. This sort of connection that has been established should be continued all the year through. If you want this you must take a vow that you shall hold the future Congress in villages.

"The decision of a Constituent Assembly can be taken only when you have Swaraj at your door. You can call a Constituent Assembly when you get full strength. It cannot meet in Delhi but in the remotest village. Swaraj can be got only by increasing our strength on all sides. If we increase that strength we can see Swaraj coming soon. What I asked you to do in 1920 is still left unaccomplished to-day—charka, prohibition, removal of untouchability. If you leave these things unattained,—take to your heart an old man saying it—if you do not carry out these you will have lost Swaraj."

—oOo—

Fountain of Wisdom

Ideologies express the thesis by which those interested in the maintenance of some given situation seek to express its acceptance upon their contemporaries. . . Utopias are the effort of those who are opposed to the existing social pattern and wish to find an alternative configuration of institutions.

—HAROLD J. LASKI

South African News In Brief

Arrival Of Aliens At Capetown

COINCIDENT with the coming into force of the new Aliens Act, which passed through Parliament on Friday last, a batch of 30 aliens arrived in the *Warwick Castle* from England on Monday. Their nationalities were as follows: Hollanders, eight; Lithuanians, five; Yugoslavians, one; Germans, three; Americans, (U.S.A.), five; Argentinians, two; Austrians, five; the remaining one was a Jew, en route to Southern Rhodesia. Of the 29 aliens who were for the Union, three were Jews. All the aliens were able to comply with the principal Act of 1930, but in compliance with the new Act, immigration officials issued them with temporary permits, lasting for two months. On the expiration of that period the aliens will have to apply to the Immigrants selection board if they intend to reside permanently in the Union, in order to satisfy the Board that they can fulfil the test of "assimilability" laid down in the new legislation.

Durban Parliament And The Aliens Act

The Durban Parliamentary Debating Society last Monday night opened a discussion on the Aliens Act, which the motion described as "unsound in principle and racialistic in character." The subject was introduced by Miss E. Roberts, who was followed by a number of speakers, finality not being reached before the House adjourned.

Indian Journalist For America

Mr. S. E. D. Das, B.A. (Oxon), a well-known journalist, who is now in Durban, leaves shortly for the United States where he has been appointed a professor of literature in Georgia University, Atlanta. Mr. Das has travelled extensively. He arrived recently from India and has been making a tour of the Union.

Natal Indian Youth League

A new organisation, styled the Natal Indian Youth League, was launched recently. The league stands for common solidarity and complete harmony among the youth of every section of the Indian population. It is strictly non-sectarian in character. Since its inception a few weeks ago the league has a membership of 50, representing the five sections of the Indian community. The following office-bearers were elected at the Hindu Tamil Institute: Patrons, Messrs. Leo R. Gopaul and B. M. Patel; president, Mr. Sooboo Rajah; vice-presidents, Messrs. A. K. A. Paruk, G. Ponen, G. K. Padia and Timothy Nair; committee, Messrs. A. G. Moodley, D. A. Seedar, G. Soobramanian, Alfred James, Suliman Ismail, P. Doraswami and K. Peter; hon. treasurer, Mr. Amod Kaje; hon. auditor, Mr. R. M. Naidoo.

First Pilgrimage By Air

Believed to be the first South African to make the famous pilgrimage to Mecca by air, Mr. Moosa E. Desai, a Mohamedan merchant from Natal, arrived at the Rand airport on Tuesday afternoon by South African Airways. On Wednesday morning he continued his journey by Imperial Airways. Mr. Desai wishes to fulfil that ambition of all good Moslems to visit Mecca and Medina, the burial place of the Prophet. He also wants to visit his home town near Bombay, in India. Mr. Desai comes from Port Shepstone, and is one of the most prominent men in the Indian community of Southern Natal. He was met at the Rand Airport by a number of representatives of the Transvaal Moslem community.

Welcome Reception To Father Leo Gabriel, O.M.I.

Members of the St. Anthony's Indian Mission and friends assembled at St. Anthony's Chapel Hall, Doornfontein, to welcome Father Leo Gabriel, O.M.I. on Sunday, January 24, after the Holy Mass he conducted at the pro-Cathedral, Kerk Street, Johannesburg. At the Cathedral the service was choral, and Mr. Royeppen presided at the organ and Father P. Abramo, O.M.I. conducted the Children of Mary choir. Miss Mary Francois sang the Gunound's "Ave Maria". Among those present at the Reception Hall were His Lordship, D. O'Leary, O.M.I., D.D., Vicaire Apostolique of Transvaal, Father P. Abramo, O.M.I., Advocate Gnana Prakashan, and several Reverend Fathers, and Sisters from the Holy Convent. Mr. J. F. Marian, one of the elders of St. Anthony's Indian Mission, opened the proceedings with a brief speech and extended Father Gabriel a very hearty welcome on behalf of the Catholic community. The Children of Mary sang the song of "Welcome" specially composed for the occasion by Mr. Sol. D. Royeppen. His Lordship welcomed Father Gabriel and expressed the wish that he should come again and give a series of lectures to the young people of the Parish. His Lordship added that he was more than delighted to see such a big gathering of young men present, and implored them to do likewise in patronising the usual monthly meetings of the Church; and they should appreciate the services of Father Abramo, Priest-in-charge of the Indian congregation. Mr. Gnana Prakashan, emphasising the wonderful education of Father Gabriel O.M.I. in Ceylon and at Rome, said he took the opportunity to speak of the solidity and solidarity of the Catholic world. The people he added, should be together and work with the same spirit and enthusiasm as Father Abramo whom they loved and re-

pected as their Spiritual Father. Father Gabriel, who spoke at length, thanked His Lordship the Bishop, the Reverend Fathers, the Catholic Indian congregation and especially Father Abramo, O.M.I., for the cordial greetings extended to him on his short visit to the Golden City. On Wednesday evening, January 27, Father Gabriel was the guest of the Vrededorp Branch of the Catholic Indian Women's Guild at a dinner party given in his honour at Roy's Cafe. Mrs. Martha Naidoo, President of the Guild, welcomed Father Gabriel on behalf of the Guild. On Thursday evening Father Gabriel was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Royeppen at a private dinner party.

Nizamia Muslim Society

Following is a copy of a letter which has been received by the Nizamia Muslim Society, Maritzburg, from the private secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Zanzibar: "I have it in command from His Highness to request to convey to the members of the Nizamia Muslim Society His Highness' deep appreciation for their kind message of congratulations on the occasion of his silver jubilee.

Governor-General's Staff

The Pretoria representative of the *Natal Advertiser* understands that it is the policy of the Government to have the staff of the new Governor-General appointed from South Africans. The most important post is that of Administrative Secretary, and one or two names have been mentioned already for this position. It would be premature to disclose these at present, however. It is believed that Rear-Admiral Hallifax, the Administrative Secretary to Lord Clarendon, will remain with Mr. Duncan for a short period until a new appointment has been made.

Death Of Mr. M. B. Maharaj

The sad death of Mr. M. B. Maharaj, who for some time has been employed at the INDIAN OPINION Press, took place after a short illness on Wednesday, February 3, at the King Edward Hospital, Durban. As the news reached us at a late hour, we postpone any further references to the late Mr. M. B. Maharaj until our next issue.

INDIANS ABROAD

HOW TO IMPROVE THEIR STATUS

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who is in Calcutta in the course of a professional tour, interviewed by the Associated Press, made the following statement in regard to Indians overseas and how best to improve their status:

“I REALIZE as a practical man that immediate and local problems affecting the welfare of the Indian people at home must necessarily occupy their attention largely to the exclusion of other problems, however important and even urgent they may at times be. But the question of Indians abroad, which is the one subject of all others upon which no differences of opinion among Indians of all political schools or between them and the Government are found, should be the significant exception to the normal. Indian honour and prestige must obviously be as dear to Indians in every province of India, whether, they are involved at home or abroad. The Motherland cannot remain and, indeed, is not in different to this question, which arises directly out of the treatment and the status of Indians overseas.

These problems have been recently recalled by the visit of the Parliamentary delegation from South Africa led by that distinguished statesman, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, and in another aspect it has been recalled by my friend Mr. C. F. Andrews' report of his visit to Fiji. Presently, too, Mr. Sastri will be returning from Malaya and will tell us the latest facts about that part of the empire, whilst Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, will later on be amplifying what he has already told us about British Guiana and Trinidad and what Mr. Andrews has just told us about Fiji. Problems affecting Indians have already disturbed the serenity of affairs in Ceylon and it is evident, from the tone of the addresses presented by the Indian community to Mr. Sastri upon his arrival in Rangoon, that they are none too sure of their position under the new regime that is going to open with the separation of Burma from India. Indians have always played an enormously influential part in the economic development and the cultural life of both Ceylon and Burma, and India cannot and will not be indifferent to the welfare and the prospects of her people settled and domiciled there.

In three principal ways it seems to me to be possible to improve the position of Indians abroad, until ultimately their status has been raised to the level of the most privileged communities in these overseas areas. In the first place official and parliamentary visits, such as that of the South African delegation,

should be cultivated and reciprocated as frequently as circumstances may permit. It is of the greatest usefulness and importance that public men on either side should meet and know each other, should get to learn each other's point of view, and should endeavour in a friendly spirit to secure a solution.

Next, Indian opinion should insist, in my view, that funds should be made available without delay for the appointment of Indian Agents of the Government of India, whether primarily for trade purposes or exercising diplomatic functions, or both in those parts of the Empire with large Indian populations.

I am confident that if such an Agent had been appointed to East Africa five years ago, the present unfortunate position in Zanzibar would not have developed, and the Motherland, not to speak of the local Indian community, might have been spared a highly unpleasant controversy and much damage to material interests. The presence of an official Agent would not only frequently prevent injury to Indian interests in the territories concerned, but would also

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help to secure the removal of existing disabilities. It would also enable the Government of India to have early information of impending difficulties and take timely action, to the satisfaction of public opinion in this country, and to prevent their development.

Lastly, there is one other way in which help can be given to Indian communities overseas. It is by non-official visits, either for holiday purposes or in pure courtesy, on the part of Indian men and women of recognized position and responsibility. Such a visit as that of the late Mr. Gokhale to South Africa, in 1912, was productive of very considerable good. It brought the South African Government and people for the first time in direct contact with a recognised Indian leader of light and culture, it made them realize how deeply concerned was the Motherland in the welfare of her children in the Union, and it gave much encouragement to the latter. Then, again, although Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit to South Africa some years ago was official, her personality and characteristic unconventionality triumphed

over prejudice and created a very considerable impression upon both men and women in South Africa, the memory of which has by no means been forgotten. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao is quietly rendering a similar service by visiting British Guiana, Trinidad and Fiji.

Such visits would enable personal contacts to be made between public men and women on both sides, and would help to bring about a better understanding, as well as to stimulate the resident Indian communities to make more strenuous efforts to put their own house in order and more seriously endeavour to reach friendly understanding with their neighbours. This is particularly true of such places as Ceylon, Burma and Malaya, which are near to India and where non-official visits, such as I have indicated, may be more easily paid.

For some years past, and with constitutional developments in India, the tendency has been to transfer from Whitehall to the central Government at New Delhi the direct handling of Indian affairs abroad. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature or, as it will be presently, the Federal Legislature, should be alert to these problems and should collaborate closely with the Government of India in endeavouring to secure redress of grievances of the overseas Indian community. And here I would like to pay a very high tribute both to the department of the Government of India concerned and to the Emigration Committee that have rendered such valuable services to the cause of Indians overseas. But it is of the utmost importance that public opinion should be more alive to these problems and should give effective support to those specialized organizations such as the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, that have specialized in these matters and have gathered much valuable information which is communicated to the public as soon as it is available. In London the Indians Overseas Association, of which H. H. Aga Khan is the chairman and I have the honour to be the honorary secretary, has lately found the necessity for increased activity in representations both to the India and the Colonial Office. Such activities as these, for the information of the public opinion here, in England and overseas, will be of very great encouragement to the overseas Indian populations who are thereby made to realize that their disabilities are not being neglected and that they have powerful friends, notwithstanding their own apparent weakness.

It is thus of the highest importance that the existing unanimity of opinion in India should be maintained, that public interest here should be stimulated and that the closest collaboration with the official authorities should be preserved in order to secure maximum results. Whilst I agree that the status of Indians overseas will be largely influenced by the status of the Motherland itself it has not been my experience that the Japanese and Chinese, who have made residence in the territories

concerned, are in any better position than Indians. Moreover, the latter have the advantage of being able to appeal either to the British Parliament in the Empire, and naturally they will have the support and the active interest of Mother India.

Finally, I should like to urge young India to make a special study of problems affecting the welfare of Indians overseas, numbering today over two millions, most of whom have been born abroad and are looking at the world

with new eyes. Their outlook is modern and it would be impossible for them to return to India and fit in with present day village life, from which their parents or grand-parents originated. Their whole future, therefore, lies in the lands of their domicile. I made my early appeals to India on this subject 27 years ago. India is far more able today to help towards a solution of these problems than she was a generation ago. I feel sure that young India will help in the task.

'GANDHISM' TO SOCIALISM

III

AT this stage perhaps it would be well to examine Gandhiji's present activities in the light of what I have said before. He is not satisfied with a passive withdrawal from the Congress or active politics. He is not satisfied with guiding the village programme from Maganwadi. He must bury himself in an out-of-the-way village called Segaoon, without railway, without postal and telegraphic facilities—a swamp in the rainy season. This is his non-violent approach to the present problems that vex the Congress, the Press and the Government. Nothing could be conceived as more out of tune with them than Gandhiji's apparent withdrawal from them. And yet nothing is more natural for him even for the solution of these great problems. He hopes to discover a non-violent solution by being in living contact with the villagers, and among them those who are considered the lowest on the social ladder. He has surrounded himself with Harijans of the place. If he teaches the people to turn waste into wealth, to provide themselves with good milk, good *gur*, to make their village free of insanitation and diseases due to the former, to become literate and well-informed on current events, who will deny that the people of Segaoon may acquire a consciousness of the power inherent in every man? It is not altogether impossible that such villagers will compel the attention of all India not excluding the Government. Let me not overdraw the picture. Gandhiji knows the difficulties of the task. He says it may be impossible for man, nothing is impossible for God. And he has an immovable faith in the God of Truth and *Ahimsa* i.e. Love.

One more feature of Gandhiji's methods, and I have done. It is not that



By

K. G. KASHRUWALA

In "Harijan"



Gandhiji is absolutely innocent of agitations and demonstrations. Indeed, when he has organised agitation or demonstrations, he has drawn the attention of the whole world towards him. But there is a peculiarity about his agitations and demonstrations, which must never be forgotten, if one wants to have an intelligent understanding of his attitude towards various problems. It is this: he never arouses public feeling against a wrong however keen his own feelings about it might be, unless he feels himself to be in position to lead the people along a definite way for removing that evil. He does not believe in sound-box agitations or soap-bubble demonstrations made more for the sake of newspaper reports than for coming to grips with the problem in hand. When Gandhiji takes up a question and tries to agitate the public over it and organise some demonstration about it, one might be sure that he means to follow it up with some effective end, if necessary, direct action. Until he has thought out some such programme, he is satisfied with maintaining and advising others to maintain silence about the wrongs, even at the risk of being misunderstood.

This is, I think, sufficient material for Gandhiji's follower with which to carry on his work with faith. Far-reaching, grave, international and complicated problems do and will certainly arise. They have to be studied with great care at the right time. A few people, more learned and intelligent than others, will study them first hand. Others, unavoidably, will base their

opinions on second-hand material. Even the opinion of several scholars, renowned as experts, are to a great extent formed on second-hand material. Then none of the world experts today are intelligent enough to give absolutely correct explanations, solutions or predictions on several of these complicated problems. The opinions confidently given today often become untenable in less than six months. Too much academic discussion on these questions becomes an idle, unnecessary, futile, and even perplexing pursuit to people, who can have only second-hand and generally incomplete information on these matters. It is far safer for them to say and feel with Gandhiji, 'One step is enough for me.' Indeed, it seems to me that when a person becomes too strongly opinionated on all kinds of problems his mind ceases to be progressive. It is better to suspend judgment on problems which we are not in a position to tackle at once.

There is a large number of the reading public to whom Gandhiji's methods and 'constructive' programmes do not appeal. They are not attractive or exciting enough. It cannot be helped. It is not worth while either to carry on endless arguments with them. They must be allowed to live and act according to their nations and tastes without ill-feeling. Even if they think that they cannot help condemning Gandhiji's teachings and methods, they must be free without incurring resentment to do so. They can be won only by giving a visible demonstration of the fruits of truthful and non-violent action.

Lastly, if in spite of Gandhiji, the word 'Gandhism' does come to stay, let it, at least, be understood that it connotes rather a method than a dogmatic theory of a person.

(Concluded)

The Sporting World

D. D. I. F. Association

THE annual meeting of the Durban District Indian Football Association was held on Thursday last week, at the Pavilion, Indian Sports Grounds, Durban. Mr. M. John, President of the Association, was in the chair, and there was the usual attendance of both officials and committeemen present. With the exception of the Blue Bells, all the senior clubs of last season were affiliated, but there was a marked absence of both juniors and juveniles, and the Secretary was empowered to negotiate with these two divisions for affiliation. The chairman, in moving the adoption of the past year's report, said that although there had been a loss of £39 16s. 11d. on the year's working of the administration, the Association was in a healthy financial position with approximately £600 cash balance to its credit. The election of officials for the next season resulted as follows:—Patrons, Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; President, Mr. M. John; Hon. Life Vice-Presidents, Advocate A. Christopher, D.C.M., Messrs. T. M. Naicker, R. Bughwan, A. Sookdeo and S. L. Singh; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. M. K. Naidoo, S. N. Moodley, K. A. Chin, J. S. Roopnarian and B. Mansingh; Secretary and Record Clerk, Mr. N. Sullaphen; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. M. S. Badat; Hon. Auditors, Messrs. Wolpert and Abrahams.

Verulam Temple C.C. Vs. Kingson C.C.

On Sunday January 31, the Verulam Temple C.C. travelled to Durban where they met the Kingson C.C. in a friendly match. The home team's batsmen were not able to stand up against the deadly bowling combinations of Messrs. G. H. Bux and E. P. Juggath and the result was that they suffered a terrible loss. The scores were: Verulam Temple C.C. first innings 120, (E. P. Juggath 36, M. Kathrada 26, K. Govindasamy 18); Kingson C.C. first innings 5, (G. H. Bux 8 wickets for 1 run). Kingson C.C. followed on, second innings 32, (E. P. Juggath 5 wickets for 11 runs). Thus the visitors won by an inning and 83 runs. On Sunday February 14, the Verulam Temple C.C. will play at Verulam against Colonials C.C., a team from the Durban Coloured League.

Londos Beats Van Der Walt

The third meeting in Johannesburg of Jim Londos, the Greek wrestler, and Johannes van der Walt, the South African heavyweight champion, drew the biggest crowd in the history of local wrestling at the Wanderers on Saturday night. The opening round was all playing for safety by Londos, who was jeered by the crowd, and in the second Van der Walt attacked but nothing happened till the third when Londos twice nearly

By "Rambler"

pinned his opponent, but the latter soon turned the tables, although nothing came of it. The fifth round saw much of Van der Walt's mule-kicking, to escape which Londos once dived through the ropes. The sixth ended with no fall, but the conditions were that the contest must go on till either man secured a fall. After hectic exchanges in the seventh, eighth and ninth rounds, Londos pinned Van der Walt in the tenth to retain his world heavyweight championship.

Willie Smith Injured

Willie Smith, who last week voluntarily surrendered his national featherweight boxing title, met with a motor accident on the Pretoria road on Sunday evening and a medical examination revealed a cracked bone above the elbow, thus ending his ring career in any event. Smith announced that he is now finished with active ring service and will concentrate on training boxers in future.

Joe Louis Beats Bob Pastor

In a 10-round contest at New York on Saturday last, Joe Louis beat Bob Pastor (the New York champion) on points. The crowd jeered Louis and gave Pastor an ovation when they left the ring, and the decision was unpopular, though there was no doubt that the Negro won. Reuter's correspondent only gave Pastor, who is heavyweight champion of New York State, the second round, the third and seventh being even. Pastor, holding his right high to stave off Louis's dynamite punches, astonished the critics with his speed, skill, craftsmanship and his Schmeling-like tactics in making the Negro lead. He perplexed Louis who is an excellent counter puncher and did not like to force the pace. Pastor landed a number of good punches to Louis's mid-section and drew blood from his nose in the fifth round with a series of jabs. Louis's manager said ironically "We are going to get Jesse Owens on our training staff to teach Joe how to catch these guys." Pastor said "That's the way I was told to fight. I hoped for a draw but am satisfied with the decision.

Boxer Dies After Bout

Tony Marino, of Pittsburgh, leading contender for the bantam-weight crown, died in hospital (New York), from cerebral concussion following the terrific beating he received on Saturday night at the hands of Carlos Quintana, of Panama. Marino was down five times in eight rounds but managed to keep on his feet. He then slumped unconscious and never recovered. He was 23 and had won 27 out of 40 fights.

£100,000 For Title Fight

Joe Gould, James Braddock's manager, has announced that he has accepted an offer of 500,000 dollars, with an option of 50 per cent. of the gate for a title match between Braddock and Joe Louis in Chicago in June, the promoter being Mr. Sheldon Clark.

Presidency Of 1940 Olympiad

Prince Chichibu, the younger brother of the Emperor, has been approached to accept the honorary presidency of the 1940 Olympiad, to be held in Tokio. It is almost certain he will accept. Prince Chichibu was recently president of the sixth Far East Olympiad.

Social And Personal

MR. F. D. Hugo, Superintendent of Education for Natal and Mrs. Hugo, arrived at Maritzburg on Monday February 1, on their return from the Cape where they have spent some weeks. They travelled by car.

Mr. R. B. Chetty, of Durban accompanied by Mr. M. S. Chetty of Port Elizabeth arrived back to South Africa by the *M. V. Isipingo* on January 28. Mr. R. B. Chetty spent a long holiday of three years duration in India. Both these gentlemen left again by Monday's Airmail to Port Elizabeth to be at the bedside of Mr. B. A. Chetty, who is lying seriously ill at the Provincial Hospital.

Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Chetty and family have now returned from Port Elizabeth, where they spent about a month.

Natal University College

Courses For Non-Europeans

Classes leading to the B.A. Degree are to be held at Sastri College, Durban, on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings, beginning on Friday, February 26th, 1937.

Fees per half year £7 10 0
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The Adviser to Non-European Students will attend at Sastri College to interview and enrol students from 10 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. on Saturday, February 20th, and from 4.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 23rd, and on Thursday, February 25th and at other times by appointment.

These classes may also be attended (with the consent of the lecturers) by non-matriculated persons who desire to extend their general education.

It may be possible to arrange tutorial classes for students working for subjects not included in the regular curriculum. These classes can also be taken in preparation for the cultural section of the T.2 examination.

Further particulars can be obtained from the Adviser to Non-European Students: P. O. Box 1525, Durban.

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OUR TRIP TO AMERICA BY K. Natarajan.

Mr. Natarajan, editor of the 'Indian Social Reformer,' who recently visited America gives a vivid description of his tour in this interesting book.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland writes about the book as follows:- "The volume will give pleasure to your friends here, and will give much valuable information to a wide circle of readers in India. It will tend to correct misunderstandings and to create real friendship between the two peoples. We cannot have too many such books."

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