

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

Union Parliament

THE second session of the Union's eighth Parliament opened on Friday February 3. For the first time "Die Stem" was played first and "God Save the King" was followed. In the course of his speech from the throne the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, referring to the international situation described as a most hopeful fact the aversion to war and the general desire for the peaceful settlement of international questions evinced by the peoples of the world. There are still, however, many disturbing factors in the world situation. Under such circumstances it behoves every country that values its liberty to keep its defence organisation properly prepared and equipped, and much progress has already been made in the steps which have been taken towards this end. The year 1938, with its international difficulties, His Excellency said, was also a difficult one for trade and industry throughout the world. The Union, thanks mainly to its prosperous gold mining industry, emerged from this unsettled period without a material setback. The expansion which has taken place in the gold mining industry in recent years continued in 1938 and new records were achieved. Three new mines on the Witwatersrand commenced production on a large scale during the year. On others, development work is progressing rapidly and the majority of them hope to reach the producing stage within the next few years. In so far as employment is concerned the Governor-General said the position remains satisfactory and unemployment has been reduced to a minimum.

His Excellency has drawn a very bright picture of the present prosperous condition of the Union and it would appear very strange indeed why in such circumstances all the sections of the people of this country could not live in peace, happiness and contentment. There is instead a growing feeling of racial animosity between the Afrikaans speaking sections and the English speaking sections and the agitation against the Jews and the Asiatics seems ever to be increasing in its bitterness. His Excellency's speech is completely silent on these points.

Segregation Bill

Mr. G. A. Friend (U.P., Klip River) notified the House that he would introduce a Bill to empower local authorities to demarcate residential and trading areas for Europeans only.

Agitation For Segregation

The Town Council of Willowmore has unanimously decided in favour of supporting a movement for the segregation of White and Coloured people in towns. The matter will come before the next Municipal Congress, at which Willowmore will be represented by one delegate. At a public meeting called by the Newcastle Farmers Association presided over by Mr. P. J. Meyer, of Ingogo, the following resolution is reported to have been passed:—"This meeting considers no solution will be attained in South Africa on the South African Coloured question unless it is tackled from the point of view of the immediate application of the segregation law in vogue with regard to the Natives, and strongly recommends the immediate drafting of comprehensive legislation with regard to the pressing menace of the Indian and coloured questions respectively." A general appeal was added that "a national congress be convened to consider and discuss this question, which is threatening the existence of the White civilisation in South Africa."

M.P.'s Scheme For "Voluntary"

Segregation

The Member for Fordsburg, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, who is opposed to the adoption of the Feetham Report, which provides for the total exemption from clearance of certain areas in the Witwatersrand is submitting a scheme to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford for segregating Indians. In the first place, Mr. Schoeman wants the Minister to give terminal and qualified exemption to those Indians who have been trading in areas proclaimed under the Gold Laws since before 1932. But he feels they should not be allowed to reside on their business premises. In the second place, Mr. Schoeman wants the Government to co-operate with the Municipalities in setting aside residential areas for Coloured persons and Asiatics outside the European areas.

They should be allowed to obtain security of tenure by single ownership of property in the areas set aside for them. Mr. Schoeman wants the Government to bring pressure to bear on the Municipalities to take action under the Slums Act in the areas proposed for exemption and expropriate them in order to use the ground as an industrial area, as recommended by the town-planning committee in Johannesburg. This would include Fordsburg, Burghersdorp and Ferreirastown in the neighbourhood of the Magistrate's Courts. Mr. Schoeman maintains that his scheme is not identical with the Malanite programme, since this provides for the total prohibition of ownership of land by Indians in the Transvaal and wants to bring about compulsory segregation. "Mine is a scheme of voluntary segregation and the Indians will be allowed to own ground in certain areas," says Mr. Schoeman.

Mr. Schoeman seems to have strange notions about what is "voluntary" and what is "compulsory" and about justice and fairplay. What a tremendous lot of expense Mr. Schoeman would have saved the country which it had to incur over the labours of the Commission headed by Mr. Justice Feetham if only he had come forward with his scheme a little earlier? It will now remain on the intelligence of the Government whether it will accept Mr. Schoeman's scheme or honour the recommendations of the Feetham Commission either of which of course do not satisfy the Indian community.

Non-European Conference

Condemns Segregation

A resolution condemning the Nationalist Party's petition for segregation has been carried unanimously at a special conference of non-Europeans in the banqueting room of the City Hall, Capetown. It was also decided to call for "the early establishment of a united national front of all non-Europeans and progressive Europeans, and the initiation of a nation-wide campaign of action and struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa." A committee of action was appointed and many proposals were put forward for the committee's consideration. Among these

were the holding of regional conferences in the larger centres of the Union in preparation for a national conference at Easter; the establishment of a "fighting fund" of £10,000; the proposals that Europeans be asked to circulate an exclusively European counter-petition to the Nationalist Party petition.

Death Of H. H. The Gaekwar Of Baroda

A Reuter's message from Bombay dated February 6, announces the death of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. The Gaekwar who was aged 75, was in poor health for over a year. He was the third wealthiest Indian Prince. The Baroda State is considered to be the most forward State in Gujarat where the subjects have the least grievances. One of the

very recent generous acts of the was to reduce the land tax for five years by Rs. 2,100,000.

Unemployment In South Africa

Department of Labour statistics states that during September, 1938, the number of registered unemployed was 4,530, and work was found for 1,289, but 1,013 men refused to accept the work offered. Some idea of the scope of the work being done by the Department of Labour is given by the fact that the total number of men placed in positions during 1939 was more than 20,000. In spite of this the number of unemployed, when taken in proportions to the population, is still the smallest in the world, and is considered to be a reliable indication of the general prosperity.

united, the present is undoubtedly *the* time. We must unhesitatingly say that this is not the time for the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association to think of their petty prestige and to sulkily keep out of the Congress. They must go in the Congress in their full force and stop the harm that is being done to the community by individuals acting as dictators with the support of the Government of India behind them. Unless the community wakes up and shows a united front their days in this country are numbered. It will not be at all surprising if they are treated like the Jews in Germany. The only tragedy will be that we in South Africa, for whom Mahatma Gandhi spent his life blood, will fail to stand up to those principles which he is expounding to all the people of the world for adoption against injustices, humiliation and tyranny. The ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa is now reaching its zenith and unless we wake up to our full consciousness we will deserve to be annihilated.

Some leaders of the community are at present in Capetown. We have nothing against them personally. We must give them due credit for the services they have been rendering the community according to their ability. But to be public men and leaders is not a bed of roses. They are open to public criticism which they must suffer with the faith that Right will triumph in the end. We are offering our criticism in all good faith and with the honest intention of serving the cause of the community.

Firstly the leaders who are in Capetown are there with no mandate from the public. They are there on a most important occasion when the fate of the community will once for all be decided and the only right step at such a time would have been to hold a mass meeting and let those delegates chosen by the public represent their cause.

The important question to be decided in Capetown will be the Feetham Commission's recommendations. The leaders in Capetown must ask themselves if they are there to serve the general interests of the community or to safeguard the few who have created their own interests and who fear they will be jeopardised. If they are there for the latter they have no right to be there in the name of the Congress.

The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act is an obnoxious piece of legislation. A community with any sense of self-respect would never submit to such legislation which brands them as untouchables. The Feetham Commission's

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10TH, 1939

Will The Community Wake Up?

SINCE the opening of Parliament the Indian question has come very much in the forefront. The recommendations of the Feetham Commission are to come for adoption before Parliament. Some of the Government Members are strongly opposed to these recommendations being adopted and Mr. Schoeman who is leading the opposition has brought forward alternative proposals, that Indians at present living in the so-called prohibited areas should be enabled to acquire property the Municipality intends to set aside for non-Europeans, traders to be permitted to carry on their present business on a temporary basis provided that they do not live on the premises. Mr. Schoeman calls this a "voluntary" segregation scheme and defends it against the Malanite programme which provides for the total prohibition of ownership of land by Indians in the Transvaal and wants to bring about compulsory segregation. Mr. Schoeman wants the Government to bring pressure to bear on the Municipalities to take action under the Slums Act in certain areas proposed for exemption by the Feetham Commission and expropriate them in order to use the ground as an industrial area, as recommended by the town-planning committee in Johannesburg. Mr. Lionel Leveson, Chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Public Health Committee has replied to this, that "there is no need to expropriate the proposed areas because we have zoned the very

strip for industries, and industries are going up there already." This will just give the reader an idea how the fate of Indians is decided under the Government's Slums Act and the Town Planning Schemes while the Feetham Commission's recommendations still hang fire.

Then, not long ago, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford, gave an assurance to a deputation of Europeans in Pretoria that he would propose to the Government that legislation be introduced providing that, in cases where 60 per cent. or more of the owners of property in any particular area desired to have their deeds of transfer endorsed as regards the property being owned and occupied by persons of European descent, that such endorsement would be effected free of charge.

Mr. G. A. Friend (U.P., Klip River) has notified the House that he would introduce a Bill to empower local authorities to demarcate residential and trading areas for Europeans only. The Town Council of Willowmore has unanimously decided in favour of the segregation of White and Coloured people in towns, and the Newcastle Farmers' Association has passed a resolution asking for the segregation law in vogue with regard to the Natives to be immediately applied to Indians. Thus there is a definite policy throughout the country to make segregation an established fact.

In the face of all this what are we Indians doing? If there ever was a time when Indians ought to stand

recommendations are in terms of that legislation. The Government of India have accepted the position as a lesser evil. If these recommendations are thrust upon the community, and the community accepts them, it will be because the community has no back-bone to resist. In that case the community will have accepted them under protest with the reservation that when they can muster the strength they will put up a fight against them.

But the position is that even those recommendations are to be whittled down and those whose interests are directly involved are after collecting as many crumbs as may be thrown to them.

If we thought our people were prepared to put up a fight we would have no hesitation in advising them to reject the recommendations, to refuse to submit to the indignities and to be prepared to suffer all the consequences courageously and non-violently. That would require strong determination, a spirit of supreme sacrifice, and there can be no backing out of it. Would that the community were prepared for that. But we are doubtful.

The next thing is the acceptance of the Feetham Commission without being whittled down in the slightest degree. The community has not forgotten how the leaders compromised with the Government over the White Women's Employment Bill by giving an assurance that they would advise their brethren to refrain from employing white women. That one error should

make the present leaders in Capetown more careful not to fall in the trap of persons like Mr. Schoeman or to any proposal that might come from the Government. They have no right to enter into any bargain without first consulting the masses.

In conclusion we would like to commend to our readers a letter appearing elsewhere in this issue in Gujarati by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo. It gives a history of the anti-Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal culminating in the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act and states in conclusion that if the present leaders are not strong enough to uphold the honour and self-respect of the community they should relinquish their offices, but let them not do dishonourable things in the name of the community.

Rajkot Struggle Re-starts Mrs. Gandhi Arrested

RECENTLY it was recorded with a sense of relief and pleasure that a settlement had been arrived at between the Rajkot State in Kathiawar and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as representing the people and that the civil disobedience struggle which had resulted in a great deal of suffering by men, women and children had come to an end. One of the terms of the settlement was the appointment of a committee of ten officials of the State and seven representatives of the people, to inquire into and report on the question of relations between the ruler and the ruled and as to

what measure of responsible government could be granted to the people.

From the meagre news received from India it appears that the terms of this settlement have been violated before the ink was allowed to dry on it and there is recrudescence of the Passive Resistance. Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi, wife of Mahatma Gandhi, who was pre-



MRS. KASTURBAI GANDHI
wife of Mahatma Gandhi who has been
arrested by Rajkot State.

paring to join the first struggle, before the happy news of the settlement had arrived, has now gone and was not allowed to enter Rajkot State where civil disobedience movement is stated to have been banned. The latest news to hand is that Mrs Gandhi has been kept in a bungalow in Vankaner, another small State on the border of Rajkot.

INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT, the U.P. Premier, presided over the first Indian political science conference held in the amphitheatre of Benares Hindu University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, delivering the inaugural address, hoped that political problems would be discussed in the conference in the most serious manner and the results of the deliberations would be put before the Government for action. He said that the study of political problems was very necessary in India. Particularly, he observed, the problem of problems before our countrymen was Indian independence. It was a matter of extreme shame and humiliation that India was continuing to be a dependency of a distant country. Why India should not have full freedom, asked Malaviyaji. Why India should not have full independence. Malaviyaji declared that the Indian people would not accept the

federation scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. He appealed to the Indians to devote all their time and energy in establishing complete independence in India. All other minor questions should be set aside at present. He appealed for carrying on a countrywide agitation for full freedom of India. Malaviyaji pointed out that there was widespread poverty and unemployment in the country. There was terrible exploitation of the people. There was great suffering in the country. Military expenditure was very heavy. Indians should have full power of Government, so that poverty, unemployment and exploitation of the people could be ended.

Premier Pant's Address

Premier Govind Ballabh Pant, delivering his presidential address, said that he was one of those who believed

that independence was coming. The dream that Malaviyaji had cherished all his life was manifest. There was no power on earth which could hinder its full realization. World factors were pressing for Indian independence. He felt that the independence of India was no longer an ambition. It was no longer an aspiration. Mr. Pant said that it was an opportune time that the political science conference was inaugurated. After discussing the development of political science from the early state of human life up to the present stage, Mr. Pant advocated a democratic state for the maximum good of every individual who should have full civil liberty and a world federation of free nations co-operating for common good. Mr. Pant appealed for taking a vow for achieving full independence for India. He said that they should be men of action and their academic life should not be isolated from real life.

NON-VIOLENCE AND WORLD CRISIS

DISTINGUISHED EUROPEANS VISIT GANDHIJI

MR. PYARELAL gives in *Hartjan* an interesting account of the important and thought-provoking talks several distinguished European visitors to India, on the occasion of the recent International Missionary Conference held at Tambaram near Madras, had with Gandhiji in his village retreat at Segaon. Among these visitors were, writes Mr. Pyarelal, Rev. William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, Rev. Leslie B. Moss, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in North America and an influential Church leader, and Dr. E. Smith of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who, besides his mission work, is an authority on Anthropology, and Dr. John Mott, described by Rev. J. Z. Hodge as "the noblest Roman of them all," whose talk with Gandhiji has already been detailed in these columns by M. D.

Their Concern

The concern that filled them was, "How can humanity be saved from the impending international crisis that threatens to plunge it into an orgy of hate and violence?" Never, perhaps, has "civilisation" been exposed to such a naked challenge of brute force or experienced in dealing with it, as Dr. Mott put it, such a "humiliation of impotence" as to-day. Not that humanity has not before known the phenomenon of the resurgence of barbarism. The tornado of violence that overswept the earth in the wake of Tamerlane or Atila and his Huns was not unlike what threatens the world to-day. But then the nations of the West had not yet known the "weapon of the spirit," which later on was discovered to meet the menace. The tragedy to-day is that although these nations received the message of Jesus 2,000 years ago they never enforced it on anything like a universal scale and therefore to-day find themselves bankrupt in the face of the impending doom. And so, men of light and leading among them feel the urge to seek a reinterpretation of that teaching in the light of present-day problems and how effectively to apply it to them.

India's non-violence movement has thus by sheer contrast come to acquire a world significance. Gandhiji's visitor friends were, therefore, naturally anxious to study and understand the inner springs of his non-violence and put him searching questions regarding the nature and meaning of his faith, and prayer and fasting and silence, and non-violent resistance as inculcated by him in its application to the problem of international anarchy and

"gangsterism amongst nations." And finally they sought his advice as to how his missionary effort, which they represented, could be co-ordinated with India's non-violence movement for the achievement of the common goal.

Leaving out the last question, which was exhaustively dealt with in the course of the talk, already reported, with Dr. Mott, I shall try to sum up here Gandhiji's answers to various questions that were discussed with him by the visitors, and supplement his remarks, where necessary, to further elucidate his standpoint, by his utterances since.

The Question Of Motive

Going to the very rock-bottom, one of the questioners asked Gandhiji what his motive in life was, "the thing that leads us to do what we do," whether it was religious, or social or political.

"Purely religious," replied Gandhiji. "This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. 'How you, a social reformer,' he exclaimed, 'have found your way into this crowd?' My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do so unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities to-day constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing.'" "Seeing the influence you wield over the people," he was next asked, "may we inquire whether it is the love of the cause or the love of the people that moves you?"

"Love of the people," was Gandhiji's unhesitating reply. "Cause without the people is a dead thing. Love of the people brought the problem of untouchability early into my life. My mother said, 'You must not touch this boy, he is an untouchable.' 'Why not?' I questioned back, and from that day my revolt began."

No Exclusion Of Politics

"You would expect us Christians to copy your example. Should we allow our religious motive to plunge us into politics?"

"Those who come from different parts of the world into this country cannot say," replied Gandhiji, "we shall have nothing to do with the politics of the

country." They would not be true to their faith if they bargained with the Government in order to supersede their fellow-feeling with the people. Supposing the Government does a grievous wrong to the people of the soil and the missionaries are told that they must not lift a finger to prevent it, surely the least they can do is to leave the country by way of signifying their displeasure at the perpetration of the wrong. If a missionary puts himself out for service, opportunities will come—to-day it may be in the economic sphere, to-morrow in the social, next time it may be in the political field. You cannot then say, 'I shall confine myself to this or that work and do nothing else.' When I went to South Africa I knew nothing about that country. I was bound to my client only. Yet, within seven days of my reaching there, I found that I had to deal with a situation too terrible for words."

Non-violence The Supreme Law

Gandhiji was next asked in what relation his non-violence stood to the Pacifist attitude, "which we Westerners are trying to adopt without much success." It seemed strange to find ministers of religion asking Gandhiji, a layman, to explain as to whether and how moral force could make its impact against the materialistic world.

"In my opinion," replied Gandhiji, "non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the activist force in the world. Therefore, whether it is materialism or anything else, if non-violence does not provide an effective antidote, it is not the active force of my conception. Or, to put it conversely, if you bring me some conundrums that I cannot answer, I would say my non-violence is still defective. Non-violence is the supreme law. During my half a century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence."

The Jews And Non-violence

"Take the question of the Jews on which I have written. No Jew need feel helpless if he takes to the non-violent way. A friend has written me a letter objecting that in that article I have assumed that the Jews have been violent. It is true that the Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind, and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf. If I hit my adversary, that is of course violence, but to be truly non-violent I must love him and pray for

him even when he hits me. The Jews have not been actively non-violent or, in spite of the misdeeds of the dictators, they would say, 'We shall suffer at their hand; they knew no better. But we shall suffer not in the manner in which they want us to suffer.' If even one Jew acted thus, he would save his self-respect and leave an example which, if it became infectious, would save the whole of Jewry and leave a rich heritage to mankind besides.

China's Ordeal

"What about China, you will ask. The Chinese have no designs upon other people. They have no desire for territory. True, perhaps, China is not ready for such aggression; perhaps, what looks like her pacifism is only indolence. In any case China's is not active non-violence. Her putting up a valiant defence against Japan is proof enough that China was never internationally non-violent. That she is on the defensive is no answer in terms of non-violence. Therefore, when the time for testing her non-violence came, she failed in the test. This is no criticism of China. I wish the Chinese success. According to the accepted standards her behaviour is strictly correct. But when the position is examined in terms of non-violence, I must say it is unbecoming for a nation of 400 millions, a nation as cultured as Japan, to repel Japanese aggression by resorting to Japan's own methods. If the Chinese had non-violence of my conception, there would be no use left for the latest machinery for destruction which Japan possesses. The Chinese would say to Japan, 'Bring all your machinery, we present half of our population to you. But the remaining two hundred millions won't bend their knee to you.' If the Chinese did that, Japan would become China's slave." And in support of his argument he referred to Shelly's celebrated lines from *The Mask of Anarchy*, "Ye are many, they are few.":

Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war.

And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there,
Slash, and stab, and maim and hew,—
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away.

Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came,
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

Mechanical Warfare And Non-violence

"It has been objected, however," said Gandhiji, "that non-violence is all right in the case of the Jews because there is personal contact between the individual and his persecutors, but in China Japan comes with its long-range guns and aeroplanes. The person who rains death from above has never any chance, of even knowing who and how many he has killed. How can non-violence combat aerial warfare, seeing that there are no personal contacts? The reply to this is that behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that still, is the human heart that sets the hand in motion. And at the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant's will. But supposing a people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant's will, nor retaliate with the tyrant's own methods, the tyrant will not find it worth his while to go on with his terrorism. If sufficient food is given to the tyrant, a time will come when he will have had more than surfeit. If all the mice in the world held conference and resolve that they would no more fear the cat but all run into her mouth, the mice would live. I have actually seen a cat play with a mouse. She did not kill it outright but held it between her jaws, then released it, and again pounced upon it as soon as it made an effort to escape. In the end the mouse died out of sheer fright. The cat would have derived no sport if the mouse had not tried to run away. I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will on the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidity involved on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her, and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence. And what I did in South Africa was but an extension of the rule of Satyagraha which she unwillingly practised in her own person.

What About Dictatorships?

But one of the visitors objected: "You do not know Hitler and Mussolini. They are incapable of any kind of moral response. They have no conscience and they have made themselves impervious to world opinion. Would it not be playing into the hands of these dictators if, for instance, the Czechs following your advice confronted them with non-violence? Seeing that dictatorships are unmoral by definition, would the law of moral conversion hold good in their case?"

"Your argument," replied Gandhiji, "presupposes that the dictators like

Mussolini or Hitler are beyond redemption. But relief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love. It should be remembered that they have up to now always found ready response to the violence that they have used. Within their experience, they have not come across organized non-violent resistance on an applicable scale, if at all. Therefore, it is not only highly likely, but I hold it to be inevitable, that they would recognize the superiority of non-violent resistance over any display of violence that they may be capable of putting forth. Moreover the non-violent technique that I have presented to the Czechs does not depend for its success on the goodwill of the dictators, for, a non-violent resister depends upon the unfailing assistance of God which sustains him throughout difficulties which would otherwise be considered insurmountable. His faith makes him indomitable."

The visitor retorted that these dictators wisely refrain from using force, but simply take possession of what they want. In the circumstances what can non-violent resisters do?

"Suppose," replied Gandhiji, "they come and occupy mines, factories and all sources of natural wealth belonging to the Czechs, then the following results can take place: (1) The Czechs may be annihilated for disobedience to orders. That would be a glorious victory for the Czechs and the beginning of the fall of Germany. (2) The Czechs might become demoralized in the presence of overwhelming force. This is a result common in all struggles, but if demoralization does take place, it would not be on account of non-violence, but it would be due to absence or inadequacy of non-violence. (3) The third thing that can take place is that Germany might use her new possessions for occupation by her surplus population. This, again, could not be avoided by offering violent resistance, for we have assumed that violent resistance is out of the question. Thus non-violent resistance is the best method under all conceivable circumstances.

"I do not think that Hitler and Mussolini are after all so very indifferent to the appeal of world opinion. But today these dictators feel satisfaction in defying world opinion because none of the so-called Great Powers can come to them with clean hands, and they have a rankling sense of injustice done to their people by the Great Powers in the past. Only the other day an esteemed English friend owned to me that Nazi Germany was England's sin and that it was the treaty of Versailles that made Hitler."

Visitor: "What can I as a Christian do to contribute to international peace? How can international anarchy

e broken down and non-violence made effective for establishing peace? Subject nations apart, how can nations at the top be made to disarm themselves?"

Gandhiji: "You as a Christian can make an effective contribution by non-violent action even though it may cost you your all. Peace will never come until the Great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events must force that belief on the Great Powers. I have an implicit faith—a faith that to-day burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence—that mankind can only be saved through non-violence which is the central teaching of the Bible as I have understood the Bible."

Omens Of Hope

Visitor: "You have said that so far as India is concerned you are hopeful that it will stick to non-violence. What are the omens of that hope?"

Gandhiji: "If you ask for outward proofs, I cannot give any. But I have an instinctive feeling that the country is not going to take to anything else. You must remember that just now I am filled with what I saw in the North-West Frontier Province. I was

not prepared for what I saw. They are in dead earnest about the thing, and there is a deep-rooted sincerity in their hearts. They themselves see light and hope in non-violence. Khansaheb told me that before that it was all darkness. There was not a family but had its blood feuds. They lived like tigers in a den. Though the Pathans used to be always armed with knives, daggers and rifles; they used to be terrified of their superior officers, lest they should lose their jobs. All that has changed now with thousands. Blood feuds are becoming a thing of the past among those Pathans who have come under the influence of Khansaheb's non-violence movement and, instead of depending for their livelihood on paltry jobs, they have turned to the soil for cultivation, and soon they will turn to industry if their promise is kept."

Prayer And Intercession

Visitor: "What is your method of worship?"

Gandhiji: "We have joint worship morning and evening at 4-20 a.m. and 7 p.m. This has gone on for years. We have a recitation of verses from the Gita and other accepted religious books, also hymns of saints with or without music. Individual worship cannot be

described in words. It goes on continuously and even unconsciously. There is not a moment when I do not feel the presence of a witness whose eye misses nothing and with whom I strive to keep in tune. I do not pray as Christian friends do. Not because I think there is anything wrong in it, but because words won't come to me. I suppose it is a matter of habit."

Visitor: "Is there any place for supplication in your prayer?"

Gandhiji: "There is and there is not. God knows and anticipates our wants. The Deity does not need my supplication, but I, a very imperfect human-being, do need his protection as a child that of its father. And yet I know that nothing that I do is going to change His plans. You may call me a fatalist, if you like."

Visitor: "Do you find any response to your prayer?"

Gandhiji: "I consider myself a happy man in that respect. I have never found him lacking in response. I have found him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest—in my ordeals in jails when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God."

Things In General

Maritzburg Indian Flower Sellers

AT a meeting called by the Maritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress, held on Sunday February 4, the following resolution was unanimously passed: "This mass meeting of Indians of Maritzburg, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg branch) makes an earnest appeal to the City Council to reconsider its decision as to the allocation of a stand for Indian flower sellers at a suitable and convenient place, as the new stand chosen near the old trolley stand is most inconvenient and is not a suitable business stand. The Congress is prepared to meet the City Council to effect a mutual arrangement in the selection of the new stand. Should the Council refuse this offer of honourable compromise this meeting authorises the Congress to test the validity of the by-law under which it is intended to restrict the area of trading by pedlars, hawkers and flower sellers."

According to a later message one of Maritzburg's Indian flower sellers has received a police summons to appear in the Magistrate's Court on February 15 to answer a charge under the by-laws regarding the control and regulation of traffic. Although he is being charged under the motor by-laws, his offence according to the by-law mentioned on the summons consists of selling flowers in a prohibited area.

Maritzburg Indians To Have Technical Institute

An Indian Technical Institute has opened in Maritzburg. The Institute will confine its attention to commercial and general education and will hold all of its classes at night. The Institute has been made possible by an annual grant of £256 from the Union Department of Education. A gift of £80 from the Carnegie Corporation has enabled the Institute to buy a number of typewriters. A representative body of Indians has been formed to control the Institute under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, with Mr. S. R. Naidoo as chairman. The Congress will make itself responsible for the proper financial and administrative control of the Institute. Classes will be held in the Hindu Young Men's Association building, which has been granted rent free to the Committee. Mr. I. Anthony and R. Dookran have been appointed to take charge of the general education and the commercial education will be conducted by fully qualified instructors in shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping and commercial English. Commercial instruction will be available for those who have a Standard VI education, and general instruction will be given to those who have either attained the age of 16 or obtained a Standard IV certificate.

Johannesburg Slums

Dr. Milne, M.O.H., of Johannesburg, reports that a survey taken last year shows there are 6,735 European families living in slum properties in Johannesburg, 5,497 native families, 2,747 coloured families and 847 Asiatic families. This makes a total of 15,853 families or about 60,000 people out of a total population of 516,000. This means that one person in eight in Johannesburg lives in a slum. The council has already taken action in condemning 615 insanitary properties, occupied by a total of 488 European families, 731 coloured, 114 Asiatic and 1,939 native families.

Two Chinese Take Action Against Immigration Authorities

Judgment was reserved in the Witwatersrand Division of the Supreme Court in the application of Lai Mui and Ho Kwok Ying, both Chinese for confirmation of a rule nisi to interdict the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs from removing the applicants from Johannesburg to Durban and to permit them to leave the Union via Lourenco Marques. The commissioner was also called upon to show why he should not pay the costs of the application. Meanwhile the rule operates as an interim interdict. After hearing Mr. N. E. Coaker, for the applicants, and Mr.

Relief for the commissioner, the Judge-President, Mr. Justice Greenberg, said that he would take time to consider his decision.

Tamil Teachers' Society

A meeting of teachers engaged in the teaching of Tamil in and around Durban, was held at the Hindu Tamil Institute to discuss the formation of the above society, so as to co-ordinate their activities. Many Tamil schools were represented. The formation of such a society was unanimously approved of. The following officials were elected: Patrons: Messrs. K. Ramsamy Naidoo, V. N. Maistry, P. Abhai Naidoo and K. R. Nayana Naidoo; Presidents: Messrs. K. R. Naidoo and S. M. Pillay; secretary: Mr. R. S. Nadarajan; treasurer: Mr. K. N. Pillay; committee: Mrs. K. R. Naidoo, Miss Valliammal, Messrs. O. N. Govender, Soobramany, S. Sadahharum, Ramsamy Moodley and S. R. Devar. The society earnestly desires more members to enrol. Necessary information can be obtained from the Secretary, c/o Hindu Tamil Institute, Durban.

Verulam And District Indian Child Welfare Society

A correspondent from Verulam writes: A representative meeting of the Indian community of Verulam and Districts, at which there was a large number of Indian women present, was held at the Verulam Town Hall on February 2 for the purpose of inaugurating an Indian Child Welfare Society. The hall was fully packed. The meeting was presided over by Mr. J. B. Stephens. The officials of the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society, who were present at the meeting, stressed the necessity of forming an Indian Child Welfare Society in Verulam which carried a huge Indian population. Mr. V. Subban intimated to the meeting that his colleagues interviewed the Verulam Magistrate on the question of the formation of the society. The Magistrate gave them every encouragement and promised to give the society every support. A resolution for the formation of the Verulam and Districts Indian Child Welfare Society was submitted and carried amidst applause. After the constitution was adopted the election resulted as follows:—Patrons: Mrs. M. C. Joshua, Mrs. E. Kisten Dass, Messrs. T. P. Sam, A. Moonsamy and R. Raghavjee; President: Mr. V. Subban; vice-presidents: Messrs. J. B. Stephens, R. Joshua and Mrs. S. Choonoo; hon. secretary: Mr. C. Kisten; hon. treasurer: Mr. N. Raghavjee; committee: Messrs. D. V. Moodley, L. Joshua, B. Sham, L. Chetty, Mrs. C. Subban, Mrs. V. Govindasamy, Misses S. Sham, Minnie Choonoo, Mrs. V. Subban, Mrs. Mahalingh, Miss R. Raghavjee, Messrs. S. Chinsamy, V. Govindasamy, S. Ramgobin, L. Rajcoomar, R. Shunmugam, M. Balgobind and D. P. Samuel.

Lower Tugela Indian Child Welfare Society

A correspondent writes: A public meeting of the Indian community was held recently for the purpose of inaugurating an Indian Child Welfare Society. The officials of the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society Mr. R. P. Das, Mrs. G. Christopher, Messrs. A. Christopher and P. R. Pather who were present, referred to the aims and objects and the need for such a body and strongly urged that the society be formed. The following officials were duly elected:—Patrons: Messrs. R. Purmeswar, N. Bodasingh, S. Ramporal, J. Lutchmansingh and R. Basdew; President: Mr. A. P. Naidoo; vice-presidents: Mrs. V. N. Redhi, Messrs. S. Mohideen, B. Virasamy, S. Roopsingh and G. Ramlakan; hon. secretary: Mr. R. Sewpal; hon. treasurer: Mr. S. Prag; and a committee of 25 members.

Mr. Ramnath Biswas

A correspondent writes: Under the auspices of the Stanger branch of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Asso-

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ciation, a welcome reception was given in honour of Mr. Ramnath Biswas of Bengal, Indian world tourist who is travelling round the world on a bicycle, at the Stanger Picture Palace. Mr. A. P. Naidoo presided and extended a cordial welcome to Mr. Biswas on behalf of the Indian community, and wished him every success in his undertaking. The following also associated themselves in the welcome: Messrs. J. Lutchmansingh, K. Soobramoney (Maritzburg), S. Mohideen (Tongaat), V. Subban (Verulam), and S. Roopsingh (Chaka's Kraal).

South African Rivers In Flood

There have been floods since the week-end in many parts of South Africa caused by torrential rains in Natal and the Northern Transvaal after a terrible heat wave. Indians living in the Camps Drift district at Maritzburg were obliged to leave their houses when the Umzinduzi River was in flood on Sunday night

69 Indian families are reported to have been affected. Most of them were given shelter in the school of the Tamil Protective Society which was thrown open for the accommodation of homeless Indians on Sunday night. Natal Indian Congress Durban and the Transvaal branches each are reported to have supplied ten bags of rice for the distressed.

Standerton was faced with a repetition of the disastrous floods of 1911 when the Vaal River rose flooding many parts of the town itself.

Landlord And Tenant Status

Argued

An application designed to secure an interpretation of the law as affecting landlord and tenant in the Malay Location, Johannesburg, was brought by two Indians before Mr. Justice Murray in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, recently. The application was brought in order to elucidate the legal position as regards ejectment of a tenant by a landlord in Location in view of a magistrate's court judgment favouring a tenant which was delivered recently in Johannesburg. Argument was still proceeding when the hearing was adjourned till Thursday.

Excessive Rail Charges On Rice

Writing in *The Star*, Johannesburg, a correspondent draws attention to the fact that 100 bags of rice may be purchased free on board in India for £58 and that the cost of transporting those bags to our coast is £14, but to rail those bags from the coast to Johannesburg costs £62! As a staple food, rice probably ranks second to the maize in this country and in view of the above figures it would appear, the correspondent writes, that the inland community are paying a high rate of tax on what may be considered a national food.

Nizamia Muslim Society

At a committee meeting of the Nizamia Muslim Society (Maritzburg), held on Sunday February 5, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Shaik Madar and seconded by Mr. M. O. Effendi, was agreed to unanimously: "That this meeting urges both the Arabs and Zionist leaders and the British Government, in the interest of all concerned, to appease the bitter feelings and the resentment of the Arabs by all possible means. We wish the conference every success and pray that the grave situation in Palestine will give place to friendly feelings among those concerned." The above resolution was sent to the London Conference on Palestine.

Sails For India

Mr. Vrajlal Raghavjee of the well-known firm of Messrs. Choonilal Bros. of Verulam and Durban, sails for India on a combined trip of pleasure and business by the *Kenya* on Sunday. His many friends will wish him bon voyage and a safe return.

Doings In India

All-India Women's Conference

A surprisingly large number of European ladies were present at the opening of the All-India Women's Conference in Delhi recently. A striking feature was that both the report of the secretary and Rani Rajwade's presidential address stressed the need for the revision of the existing laws to suit the growing consciousness of women in Hindu and Muslim societies. Rani Rajwade quoted as her authority a member of the highest judicial body in India (believed to be Mr. Justice Jaykar) that no amount of tinkering with one law and another would do, but a comprehensive change was necessary in the whole body of law relating to women's rights. A programme of constructive politics was sketched by Rani Rajwade. This programme, said the Rani Saheba, would be such as to meet the criticism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the conference was wholly a bourgeois organisation. She accepted the criticism so far as it meant that the conference was not making any marked effort to serve or come into vital contact with the real mass of Indian women. The Rani Saheba observed, "You and I gladly agree with Mr. Nehru's claim that the present awakening among women is due more to what the Congress has been doing than to our conference. Naturally the woman in the house is first to be aroused in an earthquake, because she has the most precious burdens to rescue. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Congress for these peaceful earthquakes and the consequent entry of women into the highest positions of public life."

Mahatma Gandhi's Message

"Women alone and not men can emancipate themselves; if women will it. They can help in the fulfilment of *Ahimsa*. Through the *Charkha* they can serve crores of their poor sisters. By wearing Khaddar they can bring help to the homes of the poor. They can bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. They can abolish Purdah. They can drive away the ghost of untouchability. Will the Delhi conference help in the achievement of any one of these causes." This was the message in Gujarati sent by Mahatma Gandhi and read at the 13th session of the All-India Women's Conference. Messages were also received from Lady Halifax, her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, her Highness the Maharani of Travancore, Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, Lady Mirza Ismail, Lady Glancy and Begum Shah Nawaz, wishing the conference success.

Miss Mary Dingman Pays Tribute To Gandhiji

"I feel that Mahatma Gandhi in his life and spirit is giving wonderful lessons of non-violence for the world," said Miss Mary Dingman, President of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisation, Geneva, addressing a meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Women's Association. Miss Dingman went to India to attend the All-India Women's Conference held at Delhi. "There is war in this world because we do not realise that the nations are absolutely interdependent—that we are all one brotherhood. Therefore, we have a great task of educating the world to this idea," Miss Dingman added. "The world is crushed economically for what is being spent for war preparation. We hope that the nations will one day understand the magnitude of this shame and realise the efficacy of peace."

American's Letter To Gandhiji

An American sends the following letter accompanying his verses to Mahatma Gandhi:—"You may be interested in the following poem as one more sign that there are friendly eyes in America watching the wonderful progress made by your great country since the world war. It was written two years ago, when we received the news that the untouchables had been admitted to the public temples in Travancore. You will not, I know, misunderstand my use of the word "fight," I refer exclusively to non-violent fighting, the only kind capable of accomplishing lasting good."

TO ALL WHO FOUGHT UNTOUCHABILITY

You, who beheld the sanctimonious wrong

Which bragged of God's decrees bolt-
ing the door

To God's great mercy, though its
rotten core...

Stank with all foulness: you who,
having long

Heard rising from the kicked and
beaten throng

The deadened groans of those who
hoped no more,

Inveterately firm, bestially strong:

You now, brave fighters, see the
filthy mass

Begin to melt in your fierce heat;
the ghosts

Of your dead comrades hover round
your joy;

Whilst we, the cultured, trim, clean-
handed class,

With affable decoram laud your
hosts.

And bury what we dared not help
destroy.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu On Cult Of Khadi

"The swadeshi movement brought all people on one common platform. Let it be a movement for the realization of spirit. Let them use abundance in its creative power and apply it to the needs of men and women and make them earn bread, their life," observed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu opening the All-India Khadi Swadeshi Exhibition in Madras. The plough and the spinning wheel were twin symbols of life and progress. She traced the history of the Swadeshi movement and said: "This cult of Khadi, ugly name given by Mahatma Gandhi which meant duster-cloth, has come into being and it, made by thousands, men and women, perfected into things of beauty. Those beautiful things represented the toil, dream and hope of the hungry starved. They enabled them to find food for their children and coming from their hands were transfigured into bread of vitality."

Poet Tagore On His Viswabharati Institution

"I have tried my self-sacrifice and self-dedication to build up this institution of Viswabharati. I would entrust it with a reverent heart to the care of my countrymen in these last days of my life, and I would remain grateful to them if they receive this life-work of mine in the same spirit," said Poet Tagore, addressing the annual meeting of the general body of the members of the Viswabharati. The Poet continued: "I had undertaken this work not for profit, neither for fame; nor do I think I am keeping my countrymen under a deep obligation. I have always felt that man should develop to the full all the faculties in him and that if he has to rise to the full stature of his manhood, he should not neglect the growth of any of these faculties by trying to specialise in some work. The cultivation of the imagination could not satisfy all my inner needs and I have experienced the joy of self-expression by my work here."

"Asia For Asiatics" Doctrine

"I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Asia for Asiatics," says Mahatma Gandhi in a message through Mr. Takaoka, member of the Japanese Parliament, to a new party in Japan which stands for Asia for Asiatics. Mahatma Gandhi adds: "How can we have Asia for Asiatics unless we are content to let Asia remain a frog in the well?" He concludes by saying that it has a message for the whole world namely, non-violence.

Socialist Students Against Gandhism

A Renter's message from Bombay dated February 4 states: An unprecedented incident marked the opening of the Bengal Congress political conference at Jalpaiguri. Members of the District Socialist Students' Federation greeted Subhas Bose, who was unexpectedly re-elected president of the Congress a week ago, with shouts of "Down with Gandhism." The incident is regarded as a sequel to the statement by Gandhiji in which he plainly showed his disappointment at the election of Bose.

Constitutional Rights Demanded

A Renter's message from Jalpaiguri, dated February 5, states: The Congress political conference has passed resolution affirming India's right to frame its own constitution by means of a constituent Assembly. Reiterating the uncomprom-

ising opposition to federation and urging the All-India Congress to give a six months' ultimatum to the British Government, in which it must reply categorically to "India's national demand."

Maulvi Ashrafuddin Ahmed Supports Congress

A stern warning against the "invidious attempt that was being made in certain quarters to depict the Congress as a Hindu organisation, aiming at jeopardising the cause of the Muslims," was given by Maulvi Ashraf-ud-Din Ahmed Choudhury, Secretary Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, presiding over the Murshidabad District Political Conference. Mr. Choudhury emphatically condemned this action on the part of interested persons and agencies, and reminded the audience that the Congress had been fighting for the last fifty years to bring freedom for the masses of India and that its doors were open to Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains and other Indians alike.

Privy Council Judicial Committee

Mr Jayakar, a Judge of the Federal Court of India has been offered and has accepted a place on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir Shadi Lal.

Begam Ansari Dead

Begum Ansari, widow of the late Dr. M. A. Ansari, died on December 27 at her residence in Daria Ganj, Delhi. Her only daughter, Mrs. Zohra Ansari, her son-in-law, Dr. Shaukatullah Shah Ansari, and other relations and friends were by her side. She was 60 at the time of death. Begum Ansari was a well-known figure in social circles of Delhi. A gifted short story writer, she was a regular contributor to leading Urdu magazines. One of her stories, the "Baghban" was recently adapted for the screen. By her death Urdu literature has lost a writer of great lucidity and India a woman who had deepest faith in the destiny of her country.

The Sporting World

County Indian Football Association

THE ninth annual general meeting of the County Indian Football Association was held on Sunday, February 5. The following officials were elected for the ensuing season:—Patron: Mr. P. D. Nalaker; President: Mr. K. Samuels; hon. life vice-president: (additional) Mr. M. J. S. Naidoo; vice-presidents: Messrs. P. S. Reddy, V. Reddy, V. Moodley, D. G. Moodley, Pat. Nulliah, S. G. Chetty and S. J. Maharaj; hon. treasurer and record clerk: Mr. M. J. S. Naidoo; hon. secretary: Mr. Johnnie Naidoo; hon. auditor: Mr. N. Sullaphen.

Cricket Fixtures

The Durban District Indian Cricket Union's fixtures for Saturday are:—Asmal's Cup: Main: Stars vs. Sparks; No. 1. Kismet vs. Bharat; No. 2. Verulam Temple vs. Muslims; No. 3. Schools vs. Marigold. Fixtures for Sunday, Asmal's Cup: Main: Sastri College vs. Ottoman; No. 1. Aryans vs. Greyville; No. 2. Kismet vs. Sparks; No. 3. Stars vs. Bharat. The Durban District Colonial Cricket Union's fixtures for the week-end are:—Saturday: No. 1. Swifts vs. Star; No. 2. Shamrocks vs. Rosalyn B. Sunday: No. 1, 9.30 a.m. Oaks vs. Rosalyn.

Native Cricket Tournament

The native cricket tournament which was held in Durban last month was an unqualified success, to judge by the re-

port of the Native Welfare Officer to the Native Advisory Board on the work in his office during January. "The entertainment was highly successful," the report states. "Visiting teams were emphatic in their expressions of pleasure and stated that never before have competing teams received such hospitality and consideration as was shown in Durban." The tournament was the annual one for the Chamber of Mines Cup, which was held for the first time in Durban. Teams from all over the Union competed. The Transvaal team won.

Acknowledgment

INDIAN OPINION wishes to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of further New Year Calendars from Messrs. A. B. Fleming & Co., Ltd., Caroline Park, Edinburg and Mr. S. D. Moodley, 107. Queen Street, Durban.

Everything appearing in this issue of a political nature has been written and edited by Manilal M. Gandhi to express the views of INDIAN OPINION.

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 लवानभो कथां लरवा
 'धन्विअन ओपिनिअन' ना नो आडके
 टपाव भारते लवानभ नहि ओडली सकत
 होय तेओ नीचे न्युवेलां स्थणेओ लरी शकरो
 इरभनभां: मेसर्स गांधी ओन्ड कु.,
 ११२ वीडोरीया स्ट्रीट,
 मेसर्स महता अक्षर्स,
 २१० ओ स्ट्रीट,
 युनीवर्सल प्रोन्टींग वर्क्स,
 १४ सेवील स्ट्रीट,
 ओडानीसभर्ग: मेसर्स पाटीदार प्रेन्टींग कु.,
 ४ भीयर्ड स्ट्रीट,
 मेसर्स लगत अक्षर्स,
 १४ कोर्ट स्ट्रीट,
 श्री. पी. रतनओ, ६० श्री स्ट्रीट,
 न्युटाउन.
 रथुओलबाध मणालाध परेव,
 (मेसर्स परेव ओन्ड कु.)
 ६६ श्री स्ट्रीट, न्युटाउन.
 ओडनेकेट डी. यु. भीओ,
 इम नं. २०, न्युकेम्पसी पीडोंग,
 डेक्स स्ट्रीट.
 श्री. ओन. ओन. लट अने श्री. ओस. पी.
 भेडने कोध पथु स्थणेयी 'धन्विअन ओपिनिअन'
 दुं लवानभ आपी सकाये.
 डेपटाउन: श्री. पी. डी. यावडा,
 १०४ मेन रोड मोजे.
 पारंओलीओयेथ: श्री. कुललबाध इकीरबाध,
 १४५ वेल्डर रोड.
 दोरेन्डोभाडर्फीस: मेसर्स प्रणवास लालयंह
 ओन्ड कु.
 श्री. नाथुबाध डरीबाध परेव.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તકક ૩૭ મું.

ફ્રીડેડે, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૦ ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૬.

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૧૦ ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૩૯.

કોમ જગૃત થશે કે નહિ?

યુનીયન પાર્ટીમેન્ટ ખુલી ભારથી હોદી પ્રમ્ન ધણેજ ગવાઇ રહી છે. શીધામ કમીશનની ભલામણો મંજૂરી માટે પાર્ટીમેન્ટ સમક્ષ રજુ થશે. કેટલાક સરકાર પક્ષનાજ સભ્યો તે મંજૂર થાય તેની વિરુદ્ધ છે. મી. શુમન, જે મુખ્ય વિરોધી છે, તેમણે તેના અદલામાં ખીજ દરખાસ્ત મુકી છે કે, જે હોદીઓ આજે કહેવાતા પ્રતિબંધિત લતાઓમાં વસી રહ્યા છે તેઓને મ્યુનીસીપાલીટી બીન-યુરોપીયનો માટે ધલાયદા સ્થાપવા માટે છે તેવા કલેરમોન્ટ વિગેરે ટાઉનશીપોમાં જમીન માલીકી ધરાવવાની છુટ આપવી જોઈએ અને વેપારીઓને પોતાનો હાલનો વેપાર મુદતી ધોરણ પર ચલાવવા દેવા જોઈએ, એટલી શરતે કે તેઓથી એ સ્થળે વસવાટ નહિ કરી શકાય. મી. શુમન આને “મરજ્યાત” સેગ્રેગેશન કહે છે અને મલાન પક્ષની નીતી જે ટ્રાંસવાલમાં હોદીઓને બીલકુલ જમીન માલીકીનો હક આપવાની વિરુદ્ધ છે અને દરજ્યાત સેગ્રેગેટ કરવાની, તરફેણમાં છે, તેની સામે તેનો બચાવ કરે છે. મી. શુમન શીધામ કમીશને એક્ટ્રેમ્પ્ટ કરવા ભલામણ કરેલા અમુક લતાઓમાં સ્લમ્સ એક્ટ લાગુ પાડવા અને ટાઉન પ્લેનીંગ કમીટીની ભલામણ મુજબ તે લતાઓનો ઐલોગીક લતા તરીકે ઉપયોગ કરવાને તેને ખરીદી લેવા સરકારને મ્યુનીસીપાલીટી પર દબાવુ કરવા કહે છે. જોહાનીસબર્ગ સીટી કાઉન્સિલના જહેર તંદુરસ્તી ખાતાના પ્રમુખ મી. લાયોનલ લેવીસને તેના જવાબમાં જણાવ્યું છે કે “એ લતાઓ ખરીદી લેવાની કશી જરૂર નથી કેમકે એજ ભાગને ઉલોગો માટે એમને મુકરર કરી દીધેલો છે અને ઉલોગો લાં સ્થપાવા મંડી પથુ ગયા છે.” આ ઉપરથી વાચકને ખ્યાલ આવી શકશે કે શીધામ કમીશનની ભલામણો તો કોરે રહી પરંતુ સરકારના સ્લમ્સ એક્ટ અને ટાઉન પ્લેનીંગની યોજનાથીજ હોદીઓનું ભાવિ કેવું ધડાધ રહ્યું છે. વળી થોડાજ સમય ઉપર મુલ્કી પ્રધાન મી. સ્ટેટફર્ડ તરફથી પ્રોટેક્ટીવમાં યુરોપીયનોના એક ડેપ્યુટેશનને એવી ખાત્રી આપવામાં આવી છે કે પોતે સરકારને એવો કાયદો લાવવા મુસવવાના છે કે જે લતામ’ ૬૦ કે વધારે

મીલકતદારો પોતાના ડીડ્ઝ ઓફ ટ્રાંસફર માં એવી શરત નખાવવા ઇચ્છતા હોય કે તેઓની મીલકતની માલીકી કે ભોગવટો યુરોપીયન સિવાય અન્ય કોઇથી નહિ ધરાવી શકાય તો તેવી શરત તેઓને મક્ક નાખી દેવામાં આવશે.

કલીપરીવરના સરકાર પક્ષના સભ્ય મી. જ. ફેન્ડે પાર્ટીમેન્ટમાં એવું ખીલ લાવવાની નોટીસ આપી છે કે સ્થાનિક સત્તાધીશોને અમુક વસવાટ અને વેપારના લતા માત્ર યુરોપીયનો માટેજ અનામત રાખવાની સત્તા હોવી જોઈએ.

વીલોમોરની ટાઉન કાઉન્સિલે શહેરોમાં ગોરા અને કાળાને સેગ્રેગેટ કરવાની તરફેણમાં સર્વાંતુ-મતે ઠરાવ કર્યો છે અને ન્યુકાસલની કાઉન્સિલ એસોસીએશને નેટીવોને માટે ધલાયદા વાડાઓ પાડવાનો કાયદો છે તેવોજ હોદીઓને પણ તાકીદે લાગુ પાડવાની માગણી કરનારો ઠરાવ કર્યો છે. આ પરથી જોઇ શકાશે કે દેશભરમાં સેગ્રેગેશનને એક સ્થાપિત વસ્તુ કરી દેવાની એકસ નીતી વર્તી રહી છે.

આ સંધાંની સામે આપણે હોદીઓ શું કરી રહ્યા છીએ? હોદીઓએ એકત્ર થઇ રહેવાનો જે ક્યારેય પથુ જરૂરી અવસર હોય તો તે આજે અવસ્થજ છે. અમારે વગર સંકોએ કહી દેવું જોઈએ કે આજે એ અવસર નથી કે જ્યારે કોલોનીયલ યોન’ એન્ડ સેટલ્સ’ ઇન્ડિયન એસોસીએશને મોભાનો ગોટા ખ્યાલ પોષીને કોંગ્રેસથી રીસાઇને વેગળા રહેવું જોઈએ. તેઓએ પુરેપુરાં બળથી કોંગ્રેસમાં જોડાઇ જમને અમુક બંધિતઓની સર મુખત્યારીથી અને હિંદ સરકારના તેમને મળતા ટેકાથી કોમને તુકસાન પહેંચી રહ્યું છે તે અટકાવવું જોઈએ. જે કોમ જગૃત થમને સંયુક્ત-પણે સાંમનો નહી કરે તો આ દેશમાં તેઓના દહાડા ખચીતજ ભરાઇ ગયા છે. જર્મનીમાં જેની મહુદીઓની થઇ રહી છે તેવી જે તેઓની દશા થાય તો નવાઇ જેવું જરાય નહી ગણાય. ગાંધીજી આજે જરૂર-સાધ, અપમાન અને ભુલમથી કચડાઇ રહેલી જગતની સચળી પ્રજા-ઓને તેમાંથી ઉગરવાનો પાઠ શીખવી રહ્યા છે કે જે પાઠ આ દેશના હિંદીઓને શીખવ-

વાને તેઓએ પોતાનું જીવન રક્ત રેડ્યું હતું. તેમ છતાં જે આપણે એ પાઠ શીખી નહી શક્યા હોઇએ તો જગતમાં આપણી નાલાશીને આપણે પાત્રજ દરીશું.

દક્ષીણ આફ્રીકામાં હોદીઓ પ્રત્યેની ગેરવર્ત-લુકની હવે અવધી થઇ રહી છે અને જે આપણામાં સંપુર્ણ જગૃતી નહી આવે તે આપણી નાબુદીજ થશે.

કોમના કેટલાક નેતાઓ આજે કેપટાઉન પહેંચ્યા છે. અમને તેઓની સામે અંમત કશુંજ નથી. તેઓ પોતાની શક્તિ અનુસાર કોમની સેવા બગની રહ્યા છે એ વસ્તુ અમે સ્વિકારીએ છીએ. પરંતુ જહેર બંધિત અને નેતા બનવું એ કંઈ સહેજ તળાઇ નથી. જહેરની ટીકાના તેઓને ભોગ થવું પડે છે અને અંતે સસનો જમ છે એવી અદા રાખી તેઓએ તે સહી લવાની છે. અમે આ ટીકા શુભ નિધાથી અને કોમના સામાન્ય હિતની દ્રષ્ટિથી કરીએ છીએ.

પ્રથમ તો અમારે કહેવું જોઈએ કે જે નેતાઓ કેપટાઉન ગયા છે તેઓ કોમની સત્તાથી નથી ગયા. તેઓ ધણુજ અમલના પ્રસંગે લાં ગયા છે કે જ્યારે કોમનું ભાવિ કલ્યાણ છેવટને માટે ધડાઇ જશે. એવે પ્રસંગે ખરો મામ’ તો એજ ગણાય કે કોમની માસ મીટીંગ બોલાવવી અને એ મીટીંગને પોતાના પ્રતિનિધિઓ મુ’ટી લેવા દેવા.

કેપટાઉનમાં જે મુખ્ય વસ્તુનો નિર્ણય થવાનો છે તે શીધામ કમીશનની ભલામણો છે. કેપ-ટાઉન ગયેલા નેતાઓએ પોતાની જતને પુછવું જોઈએ કે તેઓ કોમના સામાન્ય લાભોનું રક્ષણ કરવાને લાં ગયા છે કે થોડાક જેઓએ પોતાના લાભો ઉત્પજ કર્યા છે અને તે જોખમમાં આવી પડવાના ભયમાં છે તેમનું રક્ષણ કરવાને ગયા છે. જે તેઓ આ થોડાના લાભોને માટે ગયા હોય તો કોંગ્રેસને નામે તેઓને લાં જવાની બીલકુલ સત્તા નથી.

ટ્રાંસવાલ એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્યુર એક્ટ એ એક એરી કાયદો છે. કોઇ પણ સ્વમાનમીય કોમ એવો કાયદો, કે જે તેઓને અધુતો તરીકેની ણાય મારનારો છે, તેને કહી પથુ શરથુ નજ થાય. શીધામ કમીશનની ભલામણો એ કાયદાની રૂએ થએલી છે. હોંદ સરકારે એ સ્થિતિને ઝોછી ખરાય તરીકે સ્વિકારી લીધેલી છે. જે આ ભલામણો કોમની ઉપર કોઈ બેસાડવામાં આવશે અને કોમ તેને સ્વિકારી લેશે તો તે એટલાજ કારણથી કે તેના સામનો કરવાનું તેનામાં પીઠબળ નથી. એ સંજોગોમાં કોમે તેને વિરોધ સાથે અને એવી શરતે સ્વિકારેલી હશે કે પોતાનામાં શક્તિ આવે તે