

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

"Real Friends And Benefactors" (?)

OPENING the 32nd annual conference of the Cape Province Municipal Association at Oudtshoorn on Monday, April 17, Mr. J. H. Conradie (Administrator of the Cape) dealt at length with the draft ordinance to grant further powers to local authorities—commonly known as the Segregation Ordinance. Mr. Conradie said the Draft Ordinance did not merit the name of the Segregation Ordinance. He stressed the necessity for this question of separate residential areas for European and non-Europeans to be settled. The evils of miscegenation were no less detrimental and harmful to the European than to the non-European community, and separate residential areas would assist to check the evil. He was convinced that the fears and misgivings of the non-European population were due to misapprehension of the true intent and purpose of the proposed legislation. "If we disregarded such extravagant and fantastic talk as that which described the ordinance as a dastardly defenceless, voiceless and voteless people," said Mr. Conradie, "we yet find a good many well-meaning Europeans who apparently seriously believe that the proposed legislation is un-Christian in spirit and that it is an attempt to oppress the coloured class and interfere with the rights which they have hitherto enjoyed. These good people have, I am certain, never taken the trouble to study the ordinance dispassionately." The only persons who seemed to him to have a just grievance amongst the provisions of the Ordinance, were those Europeans who preferred to reside among the coloured people, or the coloured people who would like to live cheek by jowl with Europeans. The Administrator contended that with separate residential areas, the coloured population had a much greater opportunity of building themselves into homogeneous units, with their own civic amenities, and of developing side by side with Europeans their own cultures and ideals. Under the conditions obtaining to-day, he could not see what hope the coloured people had—for the next hundred years anyway—of materially ameliorating otherwise. "We who favour the policy of separate residential

areas are being decried to-day as the would-be oppressors of the coloured people, but time will show that we are their real friends and benefactors."

The ghetto system is not a new system. It is already existing in some parts of the Union where non-Europeans are thrown into locations. Their conditions are by no means encouraging and the proposed Ordinance is merely an extension of that system. There is no justification nor any defence for the policy of segregation. It will take a long time for Mr. Conradie and those who think like him to convince the non-Europeans that they are their friends and benefactors.

A Saner View

Writing in *The Star* (Johannesburg), Mr. George Heard says: According to a report in an Afrikaans Government newspaper, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Stuttaford, is determined to go ahead with his servitude segregation scheme for Asiatics, whatever the Government of India may say. His attitude, I suppose, is that the European community want segregation and are, therefore, entitled to get it. Personally, I doubt very much whether the European community have given a thought to the matter. If there is an agitation in favour of Asiatic segregation, it is the result of the party political propaganda, with a good deal of pure hypocrisy added. The truth is that the Asiatic problem is a first-class political football. Ever since 1885 we have been piling up restrictions and disabilities against the Asiatic community, and every Parliament since Union has seen some new piece of repressive legislation. We shall never solve the Indian problem—if it is a problem—along those lines. We shall merely intensify it. If only the politicians would agree to adopt no more anti-Indian legislation for a period of, say, ten years, we should probably find that the problem would solve itself. In any case, what we always seem to forget is that the Indians in our midst are South Africans like the best of us. They came here in response to our needs; they have been traders to meet the requirements of the European community. Time and again, we have promised to uplift them and raise their

standards of living. But we have never done so. To-day, we are again preparing to push them further into the depths of poverty and degradation.

Natal D. R. Church And World Sunday School Conference

The Natal Dutch Reformed Church Synod, which sat in Ladysmith, have decided not to attend the World Sunday School Conference to be held in Durban in 1940. The resolution states that the Church was desirous of attending the conference if separation of the white and coloured races could be achieved. The resolution adds that the Natal Dutch Reformed Church were eager to meet in conference Christians from other parts of the world, but, owing to the colour bar in this country, they were unable to do so under present conditions.

We wonder if Christians from other parts of the world will consider it such a great loss not to have met the Dutch Reformed Church, who are so obsessed with colour prejudice. Christ is likely to be more with them without the Dutch Reformed Church than perhaps with them.

S. A. Women's Federation Supports Segregation

The South African Women's Federation Congress which met at Lichtenburg unanimously passed a resolution expressing appreciation of the Government's intention to separate the races in residential areas. Another resolution requested legislation preventing European girls from working under Asiatics or natives.

Cape Support For Segregation

The Cape Province Municipal Association Congress, on April 19, supported the principle of segregation by 126 votes to 33. All the delegates from the Cape Divisional Council, Capetown, East London, George, Grahamstown, Kimberley, Kingwilliamstown, Knysna, Port Alfred, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Uitenhage, voted in the minority. Mr. J. Maclean, of Port Elizabeth, said he had been impressed by the seriousness of the question for country towns. In Port Elizabeth segregation was economically impossible.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, APRIL 28TH, 1939

The Fate Of Indians

ACCORDING to messages received from Capetown the fate of Indians in the Union may be decided before the end of this week or it might be delayed a short while. An important Government statement is expected to be issued within a few days. Although official secrecy is being preserved in the matter at this stage it is expected that the statement will concern itself with the Government's proposals regarding the Feetham Commission recommendations on land tenure, the suggested 75 per cent. local option servitude plan, the Government's legislative plans arising from the colour segregation statement of a few weeks ago and the proposal of an Indo-Union round-table conference between the Union Government and the Government of India.

The Union Government, it is understood, is not at the moment favourably inclined towards this conference suggestion as it is contended that the Asiatics concerned are Union nationals and that the problems are now for the Union to settle. Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior, is reported to have made this statement to an Afrikaans paper. He has also stated that he proposed extending the period of protection under the Feetham recommendations and that the recommendations would not be adopted. It is believed that Mr. Stuttaford proposes introducing legislation to this effect this session.

It would be premature to make any comments on the situation at this stage when the community is anxiously awaiting the important statement from the Government.

This much at least we can say that the Government's contention that the Asiatics concerned are Union nationals is fallacious. They can be Union nationals only when they are granted full citizenship rights as the Europeans are enjoying. So long as that is not done Asiatics are treated as helots and they have every right to seek the help of the Government of India and the latter have a responsibility towards their nationals in this country.

We wish also to clear our attitude in regard to the Feetham recommendations. We have already stated that the Feetham Commission was part of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act which the Congress as representing the community has rejected *in toto*. The community can therefore have nothing to do with either the

Feetham Commission or its recommendations. But we said that the Feetham Commission was the creation of the Government of India who had accepted the Asiatic Land Tenure Act with certain modifications and it was up to that Government to see that the recommendations of the Commission were adopted by the Union Government without being in any way watered down. For if they were not so adopted it would be an insult to both the intelligence of the Commission as well as to the honour of the Government of India. The Congress having later on interested themselves in those recommendations and the community being weak to put up a fight we felt, that there was no alternative for them but to accept the recommendations until such time as they found their strength to fight for their national self-respect. We have deemed it necessary to make this explanation as we have been charged with inconsistency in that whilst we are opposed to the measure on principle we are favouring the acceptance of it. If we did favour the acceptance of the recommendations (only if they are passed in their entirety) we did so as a lesser evil in the prevailing circumstances. But that did not in any way mean that we are not opposed to the very principle of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act.

We are happy to feel that the community is beginning to find its strength once again. In the Transvaal the nationalist group of the Transvaal Indian Congress is gaining strength and there are very favourable signs of the leaders of the community in Natal, who have unfortunately been working for the past few years in different camps, closing up their ranks and uniting together. A sincere move is being made towards achieving this aim and we are sure it has the blessings of all sane men. We would appeal to those who may yet be cold and apathetic towards it to look at the question not from a narrow selfish point of view but from a broader point of view of the interests of the whole community, when threatening dark clouds are hovering over us, and not to hinder but to help in the fulfilment of a noble task.

These are signs which make us hopeful that Indians are no longer in the mood of taking kicks from the Government lying down and that any measure passed which is offensive to their national honour will be met by the Indian community with the strongest protest not only in words but by deeds.

The Question Of Franchise

ONCE again the question of franchise has been brought to the forefront and we must take note of it here. Sir Radhakrishnan when he left these shores expressed his opinion to a representative of the *Natal Daily News* that

The remedy (for solving the Indian question) would be more equitable representation. Once again I do not suggest that every Indian should be given the vote, but to my mind it is only logical that Indians should represent the Indian community in Parliament, in Provincial Councils and in City Councils. In order to ensure that the franchise was extended only to those fit to vote, educational and property qualifications could be laid down for the electorate. I think these qualifications should be high. But the very fact that it would be possible for Indians to vote at all would remove the sense of racial inferiority which they labour under at present."

It is stated that this idea of enfranchisement for the Union Indian has met with approval in authoritative Nationalist circles. It is pointed out that, with the exception of Sir Radhakrishnan's proposal of representation of Indians by Indians, the suggestion is more or less the same as the Nationalist Party's policy, namely separate voters' lists for coloureds, Malays and Indians. The underlying principle of this proposal, it is claimed, is simply to prevent the political exploitation of the non-European vote in contests between European candidates. It is suggested that the continual intervention from India in regard to Indians in South Africa should thus be done away with.

What Sir Radhakrishnan has expressed as his own opinion is not necessarily endorsed by the Indian community. But the Nationalist Party is trying to make capital out of it only to the extent that it suits its own purpose. Sir Radhakrishnan has not spoken of a separate electorate and he has suggested that Indians should represent Indians in Parliament, in Provincial Councils and in the City Councils. He has only suggested that it should be a qualified franchise and that the qualifications should be high.

To be consistent with the principle for which we have been fighting all along in this country, that there should be no differentiation in the eye of the law based on race or colour, nothing but common franchise rights will satisfy the Indian community. We have had sufficient examples of communal franchise both in India and in East Africa and also the form of franchise granted to Natives in South Africa how they have proved utterly harmful. But we do not consider the question of franchise to be of great importance at the present moment. We have sufficient issues to battle with and to prove our mettle as true citizens of South Africa. If we can but concentrate on those franchise will come to us in its own time. We must not be hasty in accepting any form of qualified franchise for once we have done so we shall be doomed for ever.

BEHIND THE ASIATIC AGITATION

THERE is a periodicity about the Union's Asiatic problem which might well attract the attention of the statistician. There are recurring waves of anti-Asiatic feeling which bring the problem into the foreground. In due course the wave subsides, and there is a period of relative peace. At the moment we are passing through one of the periods of stress—artificial stimulation of natural sentiments is very much in evidence—the Asiatic problem looks like providing one of our major issues during the next few years. It seems desirable, without examining at this stage the present-day aspects of the question, to recall one or two of the essential factors in the background against which it must be viewed.

There has perhaps never been a better summing up of the attitude of the average European in South Africa to the Asiatic than that given by Lord Milner: "The Asiatics are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them." When it is remembered that it was the same Milner who brought a new lot of Asiatics—Chinese coolies—to work in the mines of the Witwatersrand, an essential inconsistency in that attitude, considered in its long-range aspect, is also brought to light. For it is an inescapable fact that Asiatics came to South Africa not of their own initiative, but because the Europeans wished them to come—they remained because the Europeans wished them to remain. So it was in the days of the Dutch East India Company when the Malays first came to the Cape; so it was in the nineteenth century with the coming of the Indians.

We must not allow ourselves to forget that one reason and one reason alone led to the introduction of immigrants from India to what is now the Union of South Africa—the desire of the Natal colonists of those days to exploit the potential wealth of their coastal districts. The natives, so the sugar planters declared, would not come out to work in sufficient numbers from the reserves which Shepatone had set aside for them, and when they did come their labour was inefficient. The nascent sugar industry was denied the hope of expansion for it could not get the labour it required. But not far off in Mauritius indentured Indian labour had set sugar-planting upon its feet. Why should not Natal follow suit?

So the Indian Government was asked to sanction the importation of Indian coolies. At first it was unwilling—ultimately it agreed, and in November, 1860, the first shipload arrived. They came at the expense of the Natal Government, which allocated them to approved masters and under a three years' indenture. After the three years the labourer was required to re-indenture for a fourth year or, if he wished, for two additional years. Thereafter he was free to live and work as he willed. After a further five years he had the right to either a free return passage or the equivalent of its cost in

By
J. H. HOFMEYER, M.P.
From "The Forum" April 15

Crown land. The ultimate end of this policy was clear from the outset. The Indian was to be welcomed as a permanent settler in the Colony, and as a contributor to its prosperity. The conception of the Indian as a stranger forcing himself upon a reluctant community had not emerged.

His coming amply justified the predictions of those who had advocated it. The sugar industry prospered mightily. When in 1866 the Government of India forbade further importation of coolies it was held to portend ruin for the Colony. With great difficulty the withdrawal of the ban was secured, and the Natal Government decided to contribute £10,000 annually to an Indian Immigration Trust Board.

In due course, however, the disadvantages of having an Indian alongside of a European community began to be realised. Gradually the policy of Natal changed. In 1894 the annual grant to the Immigration Board was abolished, and an annual tax of £3 was imposed on all Indians not under indenture, with the object of encouraging their return to the land of their origin. Yet the importation of indentured labour continued until 1911, and then it came to an end because the Government of India stopped further recruiting. By that time Natal had an Indian population of the same order of magnitude as its European population, a population which had overflowed to the Transvaal and the Cape. To-day well over three-fourths of that population is South African by birth—many are already in the fourth generation—and South Africa is their only homeland. And if history proves anything it is this—that, however we may regard our Asiatic problem, the fact that it came into existence is due to the European and the European alone. That fact we must not forget.

There is another factor in the background of the problem which we must not overlook. We tend to think that we are dealing in South Africa with a quarter of a million Indians—in reality we are dealing with a portion of the Indian nation numbering about four hundred millions. We think of the Indian as a coolie—we forget that India is a country with a great cultural tradition, a land which continues to produce outstanding world-figures in science and literature. Perhaps the recent visit to the Union of Sir S. Radhakrishnan, one of the great men in modern philosophy, will have brought these facts home to some of us.

More than once in the past in our attempts to settle the question of European-Indian relations in the Union, we have found ourselves confronted with forces of wider than Union significance. So it was in the days when Smuts and Gandhi clashed. For

several years the greatest Indian of to-day—one of the great spiritual forces of modern times—fought the battles of the Indians in South Africa, and, incidentally, in doing so forged the weapon of satyagraha, of passive resistance, which was subsequently to be used so effectively in India itself.

At length Gandhi and Smuts came to an agreement, and Gandhi left South Africa after an interchange of letters had taken place. As to the exact purport of the settlement there has been some dispute; its general tendency is, however, clear enough. There was to be no further Asiatic immigration into South Africa, although Asiatic immigration was not to be forbidden in specific terms, but on the other hand the position of the Asiatics already in the Union was to be improved, and the rights they had acquired to be respected.

The Class Areas Bill introduced by the Smuts Government in 1924, the similar Bill of the Pact Government next year—both measures designed to secure segregation without mentioning the word (our politicians seem to have a pathetic belief that they can make unpalatable policies acceptable by calling a spade by some other name)—these Bills were certainly not in the spirit of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. And again, as a result, South Africa found it hard to deal with opposition far more effective than the local Indian community could offer. The Government of India took a hand. The first Round Table Conference was held.

As a result the Union Government not only abandoned the proposed segregation legislation, but declared its firm belief and adherence to "the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means, and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities," and its acceptance of "the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population shall not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people." That declaration also, and the circumstances that led to the making of it, we must not forget.

Why did the Union Government of the day—with Dr. Malan as its mouthpiece—agree to make that declaration? Not merely because the Indians had a strong case; not merely because that case was powerfully pressed by representatives of the Government of India, but because the principle underlying it was believed to be in the best interests of South Africa. That principle is a very simple one, but it is one which we are always forgetting, which has always to be brought home to us.

It is just this, that the strength of its weakest link—that, to apply a phrase first

use in the United States, you cannot permanently keep an element of your population, be it Native or Coloured or Asiatic, in the ditch, unless you are prepared to stay there

yourself. In 1927 our Government in effect affirmed its acceptance of the truth that the Ghetto damages not only those who dwell there, but those who compel them to do so.

But the Ghetto-creating mentality is still with us. One can but hope that we shall not have to pay too heavy a price before we have finally shaken ourselves free of it.

HOW GANDHIJI WAS MOBBED

THE following is a detailed description of how Gandhiji was mobbed in Rajkot on April 16, by the Bhayats and Girasias as a protest against his refusal to include their representatives on the Reforms Committee. These Bhayats and Girasias were not members of the Peoples Association who took part in the civil disobedience but were those who assisted the rulers in their policy of repression. They had no legal claim to be members of the committee but their interests were nevertheless going to be protected. This agitation was only a stunt on the part of the authorities to indirectly frustrate the working of the Committee.

Mahatma Gandhi had, earlier heard of the likelihood of demonstrations, but was undisturbed. He directed that the evening prayer programme be carried out to schedule. On the stroke of seven, he was at the compound of the Rashtriya Shala, which is within State limits, and where about a month ago he lay fasting. The congregation, about 600 strong, including men, women and children, joined the strains of devotional music. Mahatma Gandhi sat cross-legged on the platform at the head of the congregation.

At this time, from the off side of the Rashtriya Shala, along a lane skirting its compound, there streamed a procession bearing placards and waving black flags. The procession was led by two Bhayats, who bore two big black flags. Behind them marched a number of men, five abreast, bearing placards. They read, "Gandhi has broken his promise," "Gandhi is partisan," "Responsible government means Vallabhbhai's autocracy," *et cetera*. There were about 300 of them, including villagers and a number of persons whom Parishad workers described as State servants and employees of the Bhayats. A few prominent Girasias and Muslim leaders brought up the rear. They included Shri Pradyumnasinhji (brother of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and the Heir Presumptive to the *Gadi*), Shri Chandrasinhji (brother of the Ruler of Dhrol), Durbar Ranjitsinhji (President of the Cutch Kathiawar Gujerat Girasia Association), Durbar Madarsinhji (President of the Rajkot Bhayats' Association), Durbar Norawarsinhji (a prominent Girasia), and Durbar Jivansinhji (Bhayats' representative on the old Reforms Committee).

Mr. Hiptobhai, one of the two Muslim leaders whom the Thakore Saheb had appointed to the Reforms

Committee, and who was dropped out of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's list was also in the procession. Some observers claim to have seen Hadi Bada Vali Mahomed, the other Muslim member of the old committee, but this lacks confirmation.

A few minutes after prayer had commenced, the processionists lined up against the railings of the compound and kept up continual shouts of "Girasia zindabad," "Gandhi Party mudbad," "Mussalman zaniabad" The shouting

Rajkot Negotiations Break Down

A SPECIAL cable message received from Bombay dated April 25 states:—Rajkot negotiations have broken down. Thakore Sahib has rejected six names for Reforms Committee out of seven. Gandhiji's alternative proposals asking Thakore Sahib to draw up Reforms Scheme and Parishad to frame its own proposals with difference to be decided by the Chief Justice was also rejected.

Gandhiji left for Calcutta to attend the Congress Committee meetings.

Public meetings are being held all over the country expressing their determination not to participate in any Imperialistic war.

lasted throughout the prayers, and drowned the chantings of the congregation. All the while, Mahatma Gandhi sat motionless, cross legged, his hands clasped and head bent in characteristic fashion. He had closed his eyes and was in deep meditation.

Prayer over, Mahatma Gandhi told those around him that he had decided to depart from his usual practice of driving back to his residence, and announced his determination to walk through the crowd and face their demonstrations. By now the crowd had become excited, and those near a small opening in the railing were pressing against it. They tried to rush in but were resisted by the custodians of the Rashtriya Shala, which is private property. One of them, who is a member

of the new Reforms Committee received a knock on his head with a stick.

Mahatma Gandhi with determination gleaming through his eyes, went up to the crowd, which was still shouting hostile slogans. He was accompanied by a number of associates whom, however, he waved back, intimating that he had decided to face the demonstrators alone and single-handed.

When he reached the edge of the road, he was surrounded by a crowd. Great confusion prevailed at this time. The air was full of dust and din. The crowd continued to press in. The writer was immediately behind Mahatma Gandhi at the time and felt somewhat suffocated. Mahatma Gandhi declared that he must walk through the demonstrators, otherwise he would sit down there. The crowd remained unmoved—if anything it shouted with greater fury. Mahatma Gandhi stood still and aghast. Suddenly he closed his eyes, pressed his hands against his heart, leant on his lean bamboo staff and muttered prayers.

Later he explained that he had a fit of acute pain in the region of his waist, which generally followed mental shock, and that on those occasions relief, physical as well as mental, came from prayer. He could only think of his Maker.

The people around him fanned him and sustained him. A few minutes elapsed. He felt better and reiterated his determination to walk through the crowd. At this stage, there advanced towards him a gentleman in western clothes who offered to escort him. "Yes" said Mahatma Gandhi, "I will accept your protection, protection from those who regard me as enemy." The newcomer ordered the crowd to recede and be silent. Obedience was forthcoming. A gangway was made for Mahatma Gandhi to pass through. Mahatma Gandhi walked down to the waiting motor car on the road, thanked his escort, and drove away. Later, Mahatma Gandhi was told that his escort was a police officer. He laughed aloud remarking that he thought he was a Bhayat, which is also true—he is both Bhayat and police official.

All this while the leaders of the procession were not to be seen in the melee, although earlier in the demonstrations they stood against the railing while the prayer within the compound and shouting without was in progress.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

BUT this is not the only argument in favour of love or non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi also believes that one who uses the sword also perishes by the sword. If we have to depend not upon our ability of self-sacrifice but upon external violence for the success of our cause, then one who can wield greater violence may claim that justice lies on his side. Success through violence blinds us to our own faults; and this spirit of self-righteousness, devoid of the spirit of self-examination, is the greatest condemnation that Gandhiji can think of against the school of violence. Success through violence is no proof of Truth and ultimately leads to Untruth. So Gandhiji holds it as a fundamental proposition that it is only through non-violence that we should combat violence, and it is only love which can overcome hate. It is only a full sense of unity which can combat and ultimately overwhelm the selfish and sectional spirit of mankind.

And for this purpose, he has devised a technique or an organized method which we shall now proceed to describe in some detail.

It has already been said that the road of the Satyagrahi lies through suffering voluntarily endured. But the most important thing about it is that the suffering should come in a progressive manner, just as our non-co-operation should also be progressive in character. "The secret of non-violence and non-co-operation lies in our realising that it is through suffering that we are to attain our goal. What is the renunciation of titles, councils, law-courts and schools but a measure (very slight indeed) of suffering? That preliminary renunciation is a prelude to the larger suffering, the hardships of gaol life and even the final consummation on the gallows, if need be. The more we suffer, and the more of us suffer, the nearer we are to our cherished goal." A Congress worker once asked Gandhiji how long he could continue on starvation allowance. Gandhiji promptly replied, "Till death even as a soldier fights till he is victorious or, which is the same thing, drops down dead." For the Satyagrahi personally, there is no time limit nor is there any limit to his capacity of suffering.

But Gandhiji never prescribes the same dose for the masses as he prescribes for the professional Satyagrahi. As a practical leader of men he recognizes that "suffering has its well-defined limits. Suffering can be both wise and unwise, and, when the limit is reached, to prolong it would be not unwise, but the height of folly." He never engages the masses in a pro-

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gramme which is likely to bring about defeat and demoralization. He prescribes for them a step which is just beyond their reach. And in order to attain their immediate objective, the masses have to exercise their limbs not to the breaking point, but sufficiently to create in them a sense of self-confidence and leave them stronger to carry on their further struggle. Whenever there is a chance of demoralization, Gandhiji orders a retreat, and he has never been ashamed of doing so as often as the situation has demanded. Even as early as 1920, he said that he was not going to take a single step in non-co-operation unless he was satisfied that the country was ready for it.

BHULABHAI DESAI HIS SPEECHES

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But behind the moderation of a great leader, there is always the intention to lead the whole nation until it is ready to die like one man, if necessary, for the benefit of humanity. "Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us that the individual has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province and the Province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love therefore of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may die so that the human races may live." Only, the path to that lies through successive stages.

Many have complained that Gandhiji is no revolutionary but a reformist. Perhaps they are wrong. For a reformist marches from one advantage

to another, from one morsel of food snatched from the enemy power anyhow to a second one. But Gandhiji leads men not from one small gain to another, but from one danger to a still greater, from one sacrifice to yet another which calls forth greater courage, greater forbearance and a greater faith in the brotherhood of man. There is, of course, a gain; but the gain is more often subjective than objective in quality. Gandhiji is prepared to rest on his oars, but he is never prepared to lay them down until he is satisfied that the nation now rests with death as its pillow. For that is the final test of whether the nation has become worthy of enjoying the good things of life or not. What more can a revolutionary demand, for he also leads men through the portals of death to final victory? Gandhiji once said in this connection, "Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time." It may be false but I believe myself to be a revolutionary, a non-violent revolutionary. My means are non-co-operation. "I have concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use."

This then is the first law of the practice of Satyagraha. It is this that non-co-operation must start with little things calculated to force the masses to brave dangers of a mild type and to develop in them a certain measure of courage and self-sacrifice. But the Satyagrahi must so advance that ultimately the masses face the fear of death without losing courage and without bitterness in their heart. It is then alone that the goods for which they are fighting will come within their grasp.

Another important feature of the Satyagrahi's code is that in putting forward any legitimate demand, he always tries to make it the irreducible minimum. The Satyagrahi personally must be entirely satisfied about the justice of his claims; but even after that, he must keep it as small as possible. Perhaps if he held forth a larger demand, his adversary might be frightened into yielding smaller concessions. But that is not the way of the Satyagrahi. He refuses to stampede his opponents into surrender. He expects even them to recognize the justice of his claims, and incidentally he also thus enlists world-opinion in his own favour. There is also an additional advantage. When the demands are high, even when they are just, partial concessions by the adversary are likely to create divisions within his own rank. But if the demands are low, and con-

sistent with justice, the chances of rift in the ranks of Satyagrahis are very much reduced. In connection with the history of Satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhiji said, "In a pure fight, the fighters would never go beyond the objective when the fight began, even if they received an accession to their strength and in course of the fighting and, on the other hand, they could not give up their objective, if they found their strength dwindling away."

In this connection Gandhiji also sounded a note of warning; his words are worthy of being quoted in full.

In 1922, when everyone was anxiously expecting him to launch the campaign of non-payment of taxes, he said, "We must not resort to non-payment because of the possibility of a ready response. The readiness is a fatal temptation. Such non-payment will not be civil or non-violent, but it will be criminal and fraught with the greatest possibility of violence. Not until the peasantry is trained to understand the reason and the virtue of civil non-payment and is prepared to look with calm resignation upon the confiscation of their holdings and the forced sale

of their cattle and other belongings may they be advised to withhold payment of taxes." "There need be no mistake about our goal. The masses are our sheet-anchor. We shall continue patiently to educate them politically until they are ready for safe action. As soon as we feel reasonably confident of non-violence continuing among them in spite of provoking executions, we shall certainly call upon the sepoy to lay down his arms and the peasantry to suspend payment of taxes."

(To be continued)

REQUISITE QUALIFICATIONS

THE four days' fast set me thinking of the qualifications required in a Satyagrahi. Though they were carefully considered and reduced to writing in 1921 they seem to have been forgotten. As Satyagraha in the form of civil disobedience is being offered or contemplated in several States, it is necessary to reiterate the qualifications and to dispel false ideas that seem to be prevalent among many workers.

Moreover the greatest care is necessary at the present moment when violence, not non-violence, seems to pervade the air. Indeed it may be reasonably argued that in an atmosphere surcharged with violence there is no scope for non-violence. This argument may be carried too far, so far that non-violence may be made wholly ineffective; whereas it is claimed to be the only effective force for counteracting violence no matter how terrible. But when violence pervades the air the expression of non-violence may not be through civil disobedience. And if it is to be civil dis-

By
M. K. GANDHI In "Harijan"

obedience, it must be hedged in by adequate restrictions. In Satyagraha it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost.

Then it is often forgotten that it is never the intention of a Satyagrahi to embarrass the wrongdoer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, must be, always to his heart. The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrongdoer. He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction.

Keeping these observations before his mind's eye, the reader will appreciate the following qualifications which I hold are essential for every Satyagrahi in India:

1. He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only Rock.

2. He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

3. He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and his possessions.

4. He must be a habitual khadi wearer and spinner. This is essential for India.

5. He must be a teetotaler and be free from the use of other intoxicants in order that his reason may be always unclouded and his mind constant.

6. He must carry out with a willing heart all the rules of discipline as may be laid down from time to time.

7. He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect.

The qualifications are not to be regarded as exhaustive. They are illustrative only.

QUESTIONS TO INDIAN WAR MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

THE following questions are addressed to the Indian War Memorial Committee and to ex-members of the I.B.C. by Dr. Alphonse R. W. Gabriel, M.B.Ch.B. Edin., C.S.M.M.G., M.E.Lond., Late Pte. I.B.C., Late Pte. 37th Presidency Volunteer Rifles Battalion, Indian Defence Force, Late Member Calcutta Volunteer Rifles, Late Civilian Subordinate Officer, R.A.M.C. Member, British Legion, Edinburgh:—

1. When are we going to erect the proposed War Memorial to the fallen members of the I.B.C.?

2. The war ended 21 years ago. Are

we to wait another 21 years, when several of us present to-day will probably not have the pleasure of seeing it, or of paying homage to our fallen comrades?

3. I understand a sum of £500 has been collected towards the monument. Shall we erect a monument at this cost or shall we, after 21 years, make some attempt to collect the balance still needed by subscriptions or functions?

4. If a War Memorial is not being contemplated, wouldn't it be advisable to convert the £500 into a Fund for the

benefit of the dependents of the fallen I.B.C. members?

5. Why hasn't a wreath been laid at the Cenotaph, at the Town Gardens each year by ex-members of the I. B. C. on November 11?

6. Why don't ex-members of the I.B.C. turn up on parade with other ex-service men on Armistice Day?

7. What about a re-union dinner annually on December 16, when Indian members and ex-members of the St. John Ambulance Corps and the Red Cross could be invited to join us?

HOW INDIAN MERCHANTS ARE TREATED IN BELGIAN CONGO

COMPLAINTS have come that Indian merchants residing in Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi (mandatory territory) are being systematically harassed and oppressed by the Government of Belgian Congo with a view to oust them from the country. During the course of the last three months more than a dozen Indian merchants have been arbitrarily and unlawfully arrested. They are being driven out of business on the stereotyped plea usually given by colonial governments viz. that of unfair competition due to a low standard of living. That the arrests are conducted in the most illegal and high-handed fashion can be seen from the following: The merchants are arrested on mere suspicion without any definite charge shown against them. They are first kept in prison for sufficiently prolonged periods before any charges are framed. The arrests are made not in respect of any alleged current offences or to prevent any anticipated and imminent offences, but for offences supposed to be committed by them in 1932-34. The under trial prisoners are

not allowed any facilities of bail or defence. In one case a lawyer practising in the Congo Law Courts was prevented by an executive order from defending the case of such a prisoner. Why? because on a previous occasion the same lawyer had successfully proved that the prosecution witnesses were bribed and the evidence was faked. It is suspected that the arrests are the outcome of the activities of agent provocateurs and spies. Not only are the so-called offenders harassed but the families of such victims are cruelly persecuted. Immediately following the arrest of a person his private residence and business premises are locked up by the police and the family turned out on the street. Feeling of panic and insecurity prevails among the Indian community living in Belgian Africa.

Note:—If all that is stated about the treatment of Indians by the Belgian authorities in Ruanda Urundi in Congo Belge is true it is a severe indictment against that Government and calls for an urgent inquiry on the part of the Government of India.—Ed. [O]

Dar-es-Salaam Indian Association's Protest

At a mass meeting of Indians held under the auspices of the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam, on April 12 the following resolution was passed: "This mass meeting of Indians, held under the auspices of the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam, enters its strong protest against the wholesale arrests, unprecedented procedure adopted in search for evidence of premises, of books, detention of suspected persons without trial in jail for months together resulting in utter financial ruin and further getting witnesses by corrupt and immoral methods adopted by the Belgian authorities in Ruanda-Urundi and Congo Belge in relation to illicit gold trading against Indians trading in those areas. The meeting also calls upon the Government of India and all Indian public bodies in India and Eastern Africa to take all measures necessary for the assistance and protection of Indian person, property interests in Belgian territory. The meeting also calls upon all Indians in Tanganyika to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Indians in Ruanda-Urundi and Congo Belge in their present great calamity.

India Letter

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Emergency Powers Sought By Govt. Of India In Provinces

THE possibility of a grave crisis arising out of the proposed amendment of the Government of India Act, which intended to give special powers to the Government of India in the provinces during emergency in times of war, was referred to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a meeting in Allahabad on April 15 in connection with the "National Week." Recalling the pre-war and post-war conditions, Pandit Nehru stated that the whole world structure of the present society must change in order to improve the condition human beings, the vast majority of whom were steeped in poverty. Society must be based on principles of Socialism, which sought to improve the production and the economic condition of a country. India, said Pandit Nehru, would not help Imperialism in the event of war. The amended form of the Government of India Act sought to vest power in the Government of India in the event of a war, and it would then possess authority to do as it wished in the provinces. Pandit Nehru hoped that this would be resented by the A.I.C.C., the Congress

and non-Congress provinces. Both the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League were described by Pandit Nehru as enemies of the Congress and of freedom. Such organisations, he declared, diverted the minds of the people from the real problems which faced the country.

Alleviating Prohibition Hardships

The Government of Bombay, it is understood, are considering a scheme to help persons likely to be thrown out of employment by prohibition. It is stated that Government have decided to give them land free of rent for some years. A special officer will go into this question while Government have written to bars and hotels in Bombay inquiring how many men will be thrown out of employment when prohibition comes into operation. Government have also, it is learnt, decided not to give any compensation to any licence-holder in the liquor trade, as they do not consider that any of the licences granted by them come within the meaning of the words "vested in-

terests." It is pointed out that Government declared prohibition as their goal several years ago, and that the question of compensation was decided ten years back. Clause 17 in the licence form, a high official stated, made this point clear. According to this clause, as the licence is granted for one year only, it gives the licensee, his heirs, representatives, or assignees no claim whatsoever to its continuance or renewal beyond this period. It is pointed out that the policy of Government has been entirely against the creation of vested interests and that no such interests can exist which can demand compensation.

—o—

Piano Lessons

A respectable Indian lady is willing to give Piano lessons to Indian children in Durban. Reasonable fees. Perfect results guaranteed. Write to 'Piano Lessons,' c/o INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

Things In General

Natal Nationalists Split Over Asiatic Question

AT the ordinary monthly meeting of the "central branch" of the Natal Nationalist Party, held at Maritzburg on Saturday April 22, the question of the recently signed segregation petition forms led to a discussion of European trading with Asiatics when some strong words against the practice were uttered and taken exception to by others. A serious split is reported to have been averted by the chairman pleading for a calm discussion. It was pointed out by some members that there was little difference between spending their earnings with an Asiatic trader, a Jewish-controlled bazaar, or "any other Imperialistic trader." It was also said that if it were not for many Asiatics, hundreds of underpaid and unemployed Afrikaners would starve. For many of this class of masses the Indian trader had been the "Good Samaritan," it was said. The discussion was dropped when several members of the small gathering left the meeting as a protest against one speaker saying that he "had no respect for anyone entering an Indian store, no matter what the circumstances may be."

False Statements Before Licensing Board Not Regarded As Perjury

A Rural Licensing Board meeting is not a judicial court. Anyone making false statements under oath to such a meeting cannot be convicted of perjury. That was the effect of a judgment given in the Supreme Court last Monday by Mr. Justice Hathorn when he sat with Mr. Justice Selke to hear an appeal by an Indian, A. M. Hansa, against the verdict of an Estcourt Magistrate. Hansa, a shop assistant of Frere, was found guilty by Mr. A. L. Johnson in the Estcourt Magistrate's Court of perjury and fined £20 or two months' imprisonment. At the trial it was alleged that Hansa made a false statement after the administration of the oath by the Chairman of the Rural Licensing Board for Weenen County. Mr. F. R. Shaw, K.C., who appeared with Mr. J. D. Stalker for Hansa, argued that perjury could arise only from a false statement given on oath in judicial proceedings. He submitted that the sitting of the Board was not legally a judicial proceeding and that the Chairman had not been entitled to administer the oath. Mr. Justice Hathorn said that his reason for the judgment will be filed later. The appeal was allowed.

Appellate Division's Judgment In Mosque Congregation Dispute

Judgment was delivered recently on the appeal in the matter of Mr. Dada Osman versus Mr. Jhavery and

seven others, in which the main question raised as whether the appointment of respondent as trustees to conduct the affairs of the congregation of the Grey Street Mosque, Durban, was valid in view of the fact that it was made at a meeting of the congregation which had itself been convened by irregularly appointed trustees. Appellant, in the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, had applied for an order that respondents were not entitled to act as trustees on the ground that they had not been appointed as such. Respondent (then defendants) had successfully raised various exceptions to appellant's declaration, as not setting forth essential allegations which, if provided, would entitle appellant to succeed and as being vague and embarrassing in certain respects. The appeal was allowed with costs and the order of the Court below was altered to

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one allowing exceptions 3, 4, 5, 6, 14 and 15, and dismissing exceptions, 1 (0), 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13, and granting defendants' costs of excepting until the end of the first day's hearing, defendants to pay plaintiff's (now appellant's) costs for the rest of the hearing in the Court below.

A Civic Party Formed In Johannesburg

A new party, the Johannesburg Civic Party, was launched at a meeting presided over by Mr. A. Snyman and attended by nearly 40 people in a board room in Voortrekker Buildings. The object of the new party is to "promote and defend the interests of Johannesburg and its inhabitants" and it acknowledges the existence and the rights of both the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections of the city's community. One of the main objects of the party, said one member, is the complete segregation of Europeans and non-Europeans.

Sans-Souci Hindu Youth Club

A fairly large crowd attended the anniversary celebration of the Sans-Souci Hindu Youth Club at Newark, on Sunday, April 16. Music and songs in Hindi were rendered and speeches in both Hindi and English made by some of the members. Mr. B. Sewpal was elected president and Mr. R. Ramlakan as secretary with a committee of five members.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

United Front The Only Effective Way

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR,—United front in Indian politics is the only effective way to lay the foundation of prosperity and peace, and to safeguard the existing rights in the Union of South Africa, without which we will be subject to humiliation and untold miseries

"United we stand—divided we fall." The great and sacred sayings of the ancient is proverbially well understood by many of us, but the unfortunate part is that we have not put the former into operation. There is no doubt, the effects of disunity are being felt everywhere. From politics, it has set in social and communal affairs on a mild scale, with the danger of growing worse if not remedied at its preliminary stage.

We are facing critical times, and our existing rights are being threatened and the Union Parliament proposes to introduce the Segregation Bill to reduce us to aliens.

I have learnt through the columns of INDIAN OPINION and the *Natal Mercury* that a move has been made to bring the two existing political bodies under one roof. I wish this new move a success, and pray that during these deliberations, God would intervene in spirit, and that the amalgamation will take effect as speedily as possible for the welfare of the Indian community in general—Yours etc.

C. VARADARAJULU NAIDU.

—:O:—

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.

The Sporting World

Boxing

A BOXING tourney will be staged in the City Hall on Saturday, when Seaman Chetty will defend his South African bantamweight title against Battling George. Chetty has been overseas, where he gained very high world rating; to-day he is very fit and punching with power far above his weight. Thus this return fight should be very exciting. Should he win, lose or draw with Battling George it is his intention to proceed to England immediately. It will be the last opportunity that boxing enthusiasts will have of witnessing him in action, and it is expected that a big attendance will be present.

Athletic Sports Meeting At Mount Edgecombe

A great Inter-Estate athletic competition for Mr. Urban Campbell's trophy was held at Mount Edgecombe under the auspices of the Natal Estates Indian Sports Committee, on Sunday, April 23. In all, 15 Estates participated, and a very keen day's sport was witnessed. The president, Mr. Urban Campbell, in a short speech outlined the necessities of sports and appealed to all present to take a much keener interest in the sports next year. He thanked Mr. L. J. Case and the Sports Committee for the keen interest they had taken in bringing the day's sports to a success. Mr. L. J. Case, speaking on behalf of the Indians, thanked Mr. Urban Campbell for all he had done to improve the sports for the Indians. He also thanked Mrs. Urban Campbell for responding to the invitation extended to her and coming over to distribute the prizes. In conclusion, both Mr. Urban Campbell and Mr. L. J. Case paid high tributes to Mr. M. S. Rajoo for the interest he had taken in bringing the competition to a success. The mill team won the Urban Campbell's Inter-Estate Challenge Cup for totalling the highest number of points (26). The winners of each event also received suitable silver miniature trophies.

Saturday's Soccer Result

Playing in the league competition, last Saturday afternoon at Currie's Fountain, Daffodils, Stars and Avondale won their matches, while Pirates and Springfield fought out a draw. In the Pirate-Springfield match the former scored first and held on to their advantage up to the interval. On changing over both sides played spirited soccer, each side scoring a goal, but in the closing stages Springfield were awarded a penalty, from which the equaliser came, the match ending in a draw 2-2. The next match saw Daffodils score immediately from the centre against Sydenham. Play was of an even character, with neither side gaining any advantage up to half-time. On the resumption Sydenham had many

opportunities of equalising but for weak shooting by their forwards. Daffodils increased their lead and won 2-0. On the adjoining ground Star beat Collegians by three goals to one. Avondale had a good win against Afritez, whom they beat 3-1.

In the junior division Stella had to work at high pressure to get the best of Rangers by the only goal scored. Sastri College and Robertson played good soccer and only in the concluding stages did the latter force a draw of 1-1. Warwickshire beat Sons of India 8-0, while Daffodils beat Victorians 4-2.

In the juvenile division Sastri College "A" team ran amok against Avondale, beating them 10-0, only to see their "B" team heavily defeated by Stella 6-0.

Benoni Indian Ramblers Football Club

The fifth annual general meeting of the Benoni Indian Ramblers Football Club was held on March 29, at the residence of Mr. E. Suliman, Asiatic Bazaar, Benoni Location. The following officials were elected for the ensuing season:— Patron: Mr. M. Nestdt, Mayor of Benoni; chairman: Mr. D. C. Begg; assistant chairman: Mr. O. S. Patel; manager: Mr. R. Chanka; treasurer: Mr. E. Suliman; captain: Mr. Inder Singh; vice-captain: Mr. E. Frank; hon. secretary: Mr. N. Hoosain; assistant secretary: Mr. A. E. Patel; selection committee: Messrs. R. Frank, I. Singh and S. E. Patel; delegates to the E.R.D.I.F.A.: Messrs. P. Pillay, N. Hoosain and D. C. Begg; assistant delegates: Messrs. A. E. Patel, C. S. Patel and M. Ally; president: Mr. N. Parbhoo; vice-presidents: Messrs. O. M. Francis, M. Maye, S. Dawood, R. Chanka and E. Suliman.

Louis Trichardt Indian Soccer Club

The second annual general meeting of the Louis Trichardt Indian Soccer Club was held at Cassim Suliman Hall, on Thursday, April 20. The following officials were elected:—Captain: Mr. Hajee Moosa Cassim; chairman: Mr. Mahomed Kharbhai; secretary: Mr. Shariff Mahomed; vice-captain: Mr. A. E. Tayob; ground and selection committee: Messrs. Hajee Moosa Cassim, Mahomed Carrim Kharbhai, Shariff Mahomed, N.

J. Khoja, A. E. Tayob and Ismail Asvat. Patrons: Mr. M. A. Gokal; J. H. Khoja, C. L. Patel, G. H. Khoja and Ismail Ayob. The above club will be ready to accept challenges as from June 15, from teams (Indian teams) all over the Transvaal. All communications should be addressed to the secretary, c/o P.O. Box 6, Louis Trichardt.

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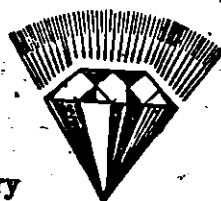
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સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

ફ્રીડેસ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૨૮ એપ્રિલ ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૧૭.

“હિન્દિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૨૮ એપ્રિલ ૧૯૩૯.

હિંદીઓનું ભાવિ

પટાઉનથી આવેલા ખબરા પરથી જણાય છે કે હિંદિયન ઓપિનિયનની આખરી સુધીમાં નક્કી થઈ જશે અથવા તો ટૂંક સુદતને માટે સુલતવી રહેશે. આજકાલમાં સરકાર તરફથી એક અગત્યનું નિવેદન બહાર પડવા વકી છે. જે કે અત્યારે એ ખાબતને ઘણી જ ખાનગી રાખવામાં આવેલી છે છતાં એમ જણાય છે કે એ નિવેદનમાં ટ્રાંસવાલમાં જમીન માલીકી સંબંધી ક્ષીધામ કમીશનની બલામણી, ૭૫ ટકા વાળી સર્વીટ્યુડની યોજના, શેડા વખતપર વડા પ્રધાને રૂબીનોના સેગ્રેગેશન સંબંધમાં નિવેદન કર્યું હતું તે સંબંધી કાયદો લાવવાની યોજના અને યુનીયન અને હાઈ સરકારો વચ્ચે સુચવાયેલી રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ ખાબતની સરકારની નીતી દર્શાવવામાં આવશે.

એમ જણાવાય છે કે યુનીયન સરકાર હાલ સુરત રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સની સુચના સ્વિકારવાની ઇચ્છા ધરાવતી નથી કેમકે, એની હલીલ કરવામાં આવે છે કે લાગતા વળગતા એશીયાટીક યુનીયનના વત્નીઓ છે અને તેઓને લગતા સવાલોનો નિકાલ યુનીયને જ લાવવાનો છે. સુદકી પ્રધાન મી. સ્ટેટસ્કર્ટ એક આફ્રિકાનસ પત્રને આ પ્રમાણે જણાવેલું છે. વિશેષમાં તેમણે જણાવેલું છે કે તેઓ ક્ષીધામ કમીશનની બલામણીની રૂએ જેઓને રક્ષણ આપવામાં આવેલું છે તે રક્ષણની સુદત વધારી આપશે પણ બલામણી સ્વિકારવામાં આવશે નહિ. આવી મતલબનો મી. સ્ટેટસ્કર્ટ એક કાયદો લાવશે એમ માનવામાં આવે છે.

આ પ્રમાણે જ્યારે કોમ સરકાર તરફથી ચનાર-ઉપરોક્ત અગત્યના નિવેદનની

આતુરતાથી સહ ભેઈ રહી છે તેવે વખતે પરિસ્થિતિપર કંઈ પણ ટીકા કરવી અપ્રાસંગિક ગણાયે.

છતાં એટલું તો અમે કહી જ શકીએ છીએ કે એશીયાટીક યુનીયનના વત્નીઓ છે એવી સરકારની હલીલ યોદી છે. તેઓ યુનીયનના વત્નીઓ તે ત્યારે જ ગણી શકાય જ્યારે તેઓને યુરોપીયનોની સમાન નાગરીકત્વના સંપુર્ણ હક આપવામાં આવે. જ્યાં સુધી એ નથી અપાયા ત્યાં સુધી એશીયાટીક યુલામો તરીકે જ ગણાય અને એ દશામાં હોલુસ્તાનની સરકારની સહાયતા માંગવાનો તેઓને સંપુર્ણ હક છે અને હોલુસ્તાનની સરકારની આ દેશમાં વસતા હીંદવાસીઓ પર નજર રાખવાની જવાબદારી છે.

ક્ષીધામ કમીશનની બલામણીના સંબંધમાં અમારી વલણ પણ અમે અહિં સ્પષ્ટ કરવા ઇચ્છીએ છીએ. અમે અગાઉ કહી ચુક્યા છીએ કે ક્ષીધામ કમીશન એ ટ્રાંસવાલના એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર એક્ટનો એક ભાગ છે કે જે કાયદો કોમન્ટુ પ્રતીનીધિત્વ ધરાવતી કેબ્રિસે સર્વાંશે રહ્યાવલ કરેલો છે. એટલે કોમને ક્ષીધામ કમીશન કે તેની બલામણી સાથે કશો સંબંધ હોઈ નહી શકે. પરંતુ અમે કહી ગયા હતા કે ક્ષીધામ કમીશન એ હિંદ સરકારની કૃતિ છે કે જેણે એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર એક્ટ કેટલાક ફેરફારો સાથે સ્વિકારેલો છે, અને તેથી એ બલામણી યુનીયન સરકાર તરફથી કાપકુપ વીના સંપુર્ણપણે સ્વિકારાય એ જોવાની હિંદ સરકારની ફરજ છે અને જે તેમ ન થાય તો કમીશનની બુદ્ધિનું અપમાન થયેલું ગણાય તેમ હિંદ સરકારનું પણ અપમાન થયેલું ગણાય. વળી કેબ્રિસે પણ પાછળથી એ બલામણીમાં માથું મારેલું હોઈ અને

કોમ તેની સામે હડત ઉઠાવવાને અશક્ત હોઈ અમને લાગ્યું કે કોમનોમાં પોતાના રાષ્ટ્રીય સ્વમાનને માટે હડવાની શક્તિ ન આવે ત્યાં સુધી એ બલામણી સ્વિકારી લેવા સિવાય છુટકો નથી.

આટલો ખુલાસો કરવાની અમને જરૂર જણાય છે કેમકે એક તરફથી કાયદાનો સિદ્ધાંતથી અમે વિરોધ કરીએ છીએ ત્યારે બીજી તરફથી તેનો સ્વિકાર કરવાની તરફેણ કરવા માટે અમારા પર અસંગત તાનો આરોપ મુકવામાં આવે છે. જે અમે ઉકત બલામણીનો (સરકાર તરફથી તેને સંપુર્ણપણે પસાર કરવામાં આવે તોજ) સ્વિકાર કરવાની તરફેણ કરી હોય તો તે વખતના સંજોગોમાં એક ઓછો દોષિત વસ્તુ તરીકે જ કરી હતી, પરંતુ એટલા પરથી કંઈ એમ નથી કરતું કે એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર એક્ટના મુળ સિદ્ધાંતથી અમે વિરુદ્ધ નથી.

આજે અમને જોઈને સંતોષ થાય છે કે કોમ પોતાની શક્તિ ફરી મેળવતી જાય છે. ટ્રાંસવાલમાં ત્યાંની કોંગ્રેસના રાષ્ટ્રવાદી પક્ષનું ભેર વધતું જાય છે, અને નાટાલમાં, જ્યાં કોમના નેતાઓ કેટલાક વર્ષ થયાં કમનસીબે જે ભુલી સંસ્થાઓમાં એક બીજાની વિરુદ્ધ કામ કરી રહ્યા છે, તેઓ પણ પોતાના મતફેરો ફર કરી એકત્ર થઈ જવાના શુભ ચિન્હો જોવામાં આવી રહ્યાં છે. આ કિશાએ પ્રમાણિક પ્રયત્નો ચાલી રહ્યાં છે અને અમારી ખાત્રી છે કે સઘળા સમજી લોકોના તેને આશિર્વાદ મળશે. જેઓ હજુ પણ એ ખાબતમાં શથીલ અને નિરૂત્સાહી હોય તેઓને અમારી નમ્ર વિનતિ છે કે આજે જ્યારે કોમની ઉપર કાળાં વાદળોં ઝુમી રહ્યાં છે ત્યારે તેઓએ આ સવાલને સંકુચિત સ્વાધ દ્રષ્ટિથી નહિ પણ સમસ્ત કોમના હિતની બહોળી દ્રષ્ટિથી જોવો જોઈએ અને આ શુભ કાર્યમાં વધ નહિ નાખતાં તેને પાર પાડવામાં સંપુર્ણ સહાયતા આપવી જોઈએ.

આ સઘળાં ચિન્હોથી અમને આશા રહે છે કે હિંદીઓ હવે સરકાર તરફથી પડતી લાતોને મુજે મહોડે સહી લેવાની વૃત્તિ ધરાવતા નથી પરંતુ તેઓનું માનભંગ કરનારો જે કંઈ પણ કાયદો તેઓની વિરુદ્ધ લાવવામાં આવશે તેનો પ્રતિકાર તેઓ માત્ર શબ્દોથી નહિ પરંતુ વર્તનથી કરશે.