

# INDIAN OPINION

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## NOTES AND NEWS

### Move For Unity

THE move to bring about unity among Indians in Natal by the amalgamation of the two political organisations—the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association—that have been functioning separately for the last few years, advanced a step further last Sunday when special general meetings of the Committees of both the organisations were held with a full house, about ninety-five members being present, at both the meetings. After four hours discussion the following formula was passed by both the meetings with only one dissentient on both sides:

"Since the year 1933 there has been a serious division of opinion in the Indian community with the result that there exist in Natal two political organisations—the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association.

"Both Sir Syed Raza Ali and Mr. B. Rama Rau, the last and the present Agents-General, have immediately on their arrival at Durban, made attempts at securing unity, and recently Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who toured the Union on a cultural mission, appealed to the Indian community to unite.

"The Indian community as a whole recognises that in unity alone lies their salvation in this country, and in view of the unsettled and changing conditions under which Indians live, it is essential that all differences should be settled and a lasting unity achieved in order that one political body should speak and act for the community as a whole.

"With this object in view it has been resolved by the Committee of the Natal Indian Congress (Durban Head-quarters) and of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Durban Head-quarters) that both these political organisations should amalgamate as the best and only means of uniting the Indian community and that the choice of a name for the amalgamated body should be left to Mahatma Gandhi. Each of the bodies may submit any name or names with its reasons therefor from which Mahatma

Gandhi may choose a name or decide upon any name independently of those submitted and his matured decision shall be taken as final."

A special general meeting of both the organisations will be held with a view to having the above formula confirmed. It was decided at the Congress Committee meeting that the members should stand or fall by the formula as adopted.

### Agent-General's Blessings

The Agent-General for India, Mr. B. Rama Rau wired the following message to Mr. A. Christopher, president of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, which was read at the above meeting. A similar message was also sent to the Congress:

"I should be delighted if you would convey this message to all participating in to-morrow's meeting. At this grave crisis in the history of the Indian community I earnestly appeal to you and other leaders of the Colonial Born Association to forget the past and lay aside all personal feelings and join in a united effort to combat the menace that threatens the future of the entire Indian community. You have worked unselfishly for the Indian community in the past and I am looking forward to valuable collaboration in the future with you all in the sacred cause. My thoughts will be with you on Sunday. May selflessness, courage and reason guide you."

### Union's Defence Measures

An official statement issued last Tuesday states that the Defence Department is compiling a register of citizens belonging to the national reserve. This registration will begin on May 8. In terms of the Defence Act the national reserve consists of: (a) All male European citizens (Union nationals) of 46 to 60 years (inclusive) who are not members of any other portion of the Union Defence Forces; (b) All such citizens of 17 to 45 years of age (inclusive) who are not members of the Permanent Force, Coast Garrison Force, Active Citizen Force (including reserves) or R.N.V.R., and who are not serving or have not served as members of a rifle

association. Citizens who in their 17th year have registered in terms of the Defence Act (annual registration of citizens) and are between the ages of 17 and 21 are not required to register again. According to Act 40 of 1927 a Union national is a person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union who is not an alien or a prohibited immigrant under any law relating to immigration. A Union national is also a British subject whose entry into any part of South Africa included in the Union was in accordance with any law governing him at the time of such entry and who has for a period of at least two years thereafter been continuously domiciled in the Union.

### Coloured People Not Wanted

The coloured people of South Africa, among whom Indians are also included, must thank Mr. Pirow, the Defence Minister, for applying the segregation policy even in regard to military service. For, this is what he stated in Parliament when the Defence Vote of £1,858,879 was being debated:

"The Government had no intention of arming the coloured people, even as volunteers, under any circumstances. But he took it for granted that the coloured population were prepared to play their part in the event of an emergency, and they could be usefully employed in such fields as transport."

In these circumstances we do not think it will be wise on the part of our brethren to go out of their way to force themselves where they are not wanted. At all times of emergency Indians have not shirked to do their bit as citizens of the Union whether they have been treated as such or not. The history of the Boer War, the Native Rebellion and the Great War bears record of the services of Indians which they have no reason to be ashamed of. God forbid it, but if a calamity befalls the Union once again, the Indian community, we have no doubt, will not be found wanting in showing its unflinching loyalty. But whatever our brethren may do they may not lose their conscience. It is time to-day for all conscientious men and women to think and to think seriously whether they would be

prepared to participate in killing in the event of the country being faced with a war. There is, however, one service which all can do without the least diffidence and that is to look after the wounded. This Red Cross service is a

humanitarian service and no one can or should take exception to it. Our brethren would, we think, be well advised when the time comes to offer their services in that direction even as they have done in the past.

shed the fear of man. One who has succeeded in doing that has become proof to the worst atrocities that he may be subjected to.

The Union Government have hazarded an unholy act. Indians who have had glowing tributes paid them time and again by distinguished Statesmen of the Union on great occasions like the Imperial Conferences for being a law-abiding and peaceful community, and against whom no commission, of all that have up till now been appointed to inquire into the Indian problem, has had any fault to find, surely merited better treatment than this. It is an act which will recoil upon those who have committed it even if Indians fail to offer resistance to it. For the despised and the oppressed people will surely some day gather strength which will overthrow the oppressors.

But Indians, we hope, have decided to resist the act, and that in doing so they will prove that they are still as law-abiding as ever, in that while refusing to obey the law they will quietly submit to penalties that may be inflicted. That is Passive Resistance, which is no new weapon to Indians in South Africa, and they will have the fullest support not only of the Government and the people of India but of the civilised world.

Though this is a question that presently affects only our brethren in the Transvaal, it will not do for the other Provinces to remain apathetic. Let it be remembered that another measure affecting the whole of the Union is lying in store and the present one is introduced to test the fibre of the community. Let us not be found wanting.

We learn that a Congress deputation has rushed to Capetown to make one final appeal to the Government. Let them not forget that the Government of India have declared that they will not be party to any solution of the problem on a basis of segregation. Let them not forget that this is not a question of a few interested Indians nor of the two hundred thousand Indians of the Union but that it is a question of the honour of the whole Indian nation and that they may not enter into any dishonourable compromise.

We wish in conclusion to assure the Union Government in all humility that we are not unmindful of the difficulties that beset their path. We are fully aware of the fact that they are forced to introduce measures that they are very reluctant to do owing to the strong opposition with which they are faced. For that we can but sympathise with them. We cannot be expected to submit to the wrongs that may be perpetrated. We wish to assure them further that whilst there might be force in our language there is not the least intention to hurl threats. The strong language is merely a reflex of the burning agony of the wounded sentiments of our community. May Heaven's light be our guide.

## Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, MAY 5TH, 1939

### Troublous Times Ahead

THE last few days have brought news both from Simla and Capetown which has caused considerable anxiety and alarm to the Indian community. It has been announced from Simla that "as a result of the negotiations between the Indian and the Union Governments regarding the scheme for a system of 75 per cent, servitudes in respect of residential areas for Indians in the Union, the suggestion of a round-table conference is considered to be premature." It is also understood "that the Indian Government will not be party to any solution of the problem on a basis of segregation." Almost simultaneously it was announced from Capetown that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Stuttaford) gave notice in the House of Assembly to ask for leave to introduce a Bill "to make further provision with regard to the restrictions upon trading by Asiatics in the Transvaal and the occupation of land by them."

We cannot understand why a round-table conference should be considered premature when the proposed 75 per cent. servitude measure has not been dropped but is only postponed. If the time for a round-table conference was ever mature we should have thought it was before the measure was introduced and not after. The more likely thing that appears to us, therefore, is that the suggestion of a round-table conference is not premature but that the Union Government have taken up an attitude which thwarts all possibilities of such a conference. They are apparently determined to introduce a segregation measure whether the Government and the people of India like it or not and whether it constitutes a flagrant breach of the Capetown Agreement or not. They have determined not only to flout the voice of two hundred thousand Indians of the Union of South Africa but the sentiments of a whole nation of four hundred million people.

The Government of the Union have, therefore, while one segregation Bill is still on the anvil, already introduced another in the face of the strongest opposition of the Indian community, which is to affect only the Transvaal. The Bill went through the first reading before it was even published and while these lines are being penned it is going through the second reading and yet the actual Bill has not reached the hands of those who are going to be affected by it. A S. A. Press Association message from the House of Assembly dated May 3, appearing in the daily newspapers states that:

"The Asiatic (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill, which was published to-day, prohibits the issue of a certificate for a trading licence or the removal of a business to new premises to an Asiatic or business controlled by Asiatics, except under special authority from the Minister of the Interior. The Bill applies only to the Transvaal.

It takes effect as from May 1, 1939, and will operate for two years.

The Bill extends the gold law exemption in the Feetham Areas on the Reef for a further period of two years. It forbids the letting to or occupation by Asiatics of land not occupied by Coloured persons or Asiatics on April 30 last, except with the Minister's permission.

Existing Asiatic areas or bazaars are excluded from the operation of the Act.

If this Bill does anything it undoubtedly shatters all hopes of a round-table conference between India and the Union. If the Union Government were not hostile and wished to keep the door for consultation with India open, we should have well understood them extending through this Bill, the gold law exemptions in the Feetham areas on the Reef to grant relief to those concerned, their term of exemption having expired on April 30. But in view of the fact that the Bill goes much further than that one cannot but come to the conclusion that the door for a round-table conference is bolted and that the Union Government have determined to deal with their Indian population according to their own whim and are not going to brook any interference from India.

In the circumstances Indians in South Africa must fully realise the seriousness of the situation.

There are three courses open to us. (1) To submit to all the humiliations that are imposed upon us, (2) to resist them, or (3) to pack up and return to our Motherland. All Indians cannot adopt the third course, for the majority of them are born and bred in this country; they are the sons of the soil and know no other home. The first course is simple enough but those who adopt that course can never be respected as human-beings. Not even those who inflict humiliating laws upon them will have any respect for them for their submission. In fact such Indians will become the objects of their despise to such an extent that they will have more respect for the animals in their stables than they will for them. The second is the only course, therefore, which is worth considering, and that is to offer resistance to the humiliations imposed upon us. That requires us to fear God and look to Him for guidance and to

# ASIATIC QUESTION IN THE TRANSVAAL

By

J. H. HOFMEYER, M.P.

From "The Forum" April 22

THESE are days when the international situation dominates the attention of us all. There are, however, certain problems which will remain with us, ever forcing themselves upon our notice in one form or another. One of these is the Asiatic problem.

Last week I drew attention to certain factors in the background of that problem—more especially the facts that the Indians came to South Africa first not on their own initiative, but because of the strongly-expressed desire of the Europeans, and that we are after all dealing in this matter with an outpost of the great Indian nation, close on 400 millions strong, whose Government cannot disinterest itself in it, if only because of the assurances it received when the ancestors of the Indians now in South Africa were induced to come here. The aspect of the question with which I wish now to deal is that brought into the foreground by the recently issued report of the Asiatic Land Laws Commission presided over by Mr. Justice Murray.

That Commission was appointed to enquire into and report whether and, if so to what extent, the letter and law restricting or prohibiting the ownership, use, or occupation by Asiatics of land is being evaded. From its scope there was specifically excluded the problem in regard to proclaimed land, which had been dealt with by the Feetham Commission. The enquiry, it was made clear at the outset, did not raise the general question of the segregation of the Asiatic population of the Union. In effect it was an enquiry into the contraventions or evasions of the law restricting the ownership of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal outside the Witwatersrand—that virtually meant Pretoria and the country towns.

Speaking generally, it may be said that our law does not prohibit the ownership of land by Asiatics in the Cape Province and Natal (save in the Northern districts which were once part of the South African Republic.) Both ownership and occupation are prohibited in the Free State. In the Transvaal, subject to certain exceptions, ownership, but not occupation, is prohibited—and on proclaimed land occupation is restricted as well. The governing Transvaal statute dealing with this matter is the Republican Law 3 of 1885. The purport of this law was that Asiatics should not be permitted to own land except in such streets, wards, and locations as the Government for purposes of sanitation might assign to them to live in.

The object of this legislation was of course the segregation of the Asiatic. It contemplated the establishment of

Asiatic bazaars, where, and where alone Asiatics would be permitted to reside, and, as a means thereto, it forbade ownership outside the bazaar areas. Ever since it seems to have been accepted in the Transvaal that the prohibition of the acquisition of the rights of ownership is essential to the due separation of the races. In practice, however, the tendency to lay the emphasis on ownership rather than on occupation has served to obscure the issue; moreover it has done little to further the object contemplated. The real significance of the Murray report is that it shows what little value these restrictions on ownership have hitherto had—its lesson is that we should consider whether the time has not come to approach the matter in another way.

From the outset the Republican Government did little to enforce the limitation of Asiatic residence and trading to bazaars. Such bazaars were over a term of years set aside in a large number of towns—for the most part however they were left entirely or almost entirely unoccupied. Asiatic residence and trading continued in European areas. And this being so, it followed almost inevitably that attempts should be made to evade the prohibition on ownership in such areas.

From the point of view of the Asiatic trader, ownership was important as lending security to his trading activities—moreover, as he acquired wealth, it provided a very desirable outlet for investment. Quite early, then, a system of ownership through a nominal European trustee came into vogue. The Asiatic Inquiry Commission of 1927 found that this was done with the consent and at the instigation of the Government, which instructed Government officers to act as trustees for Asiatic purchasers. The result was that indirect Asiatic ownership of land was common even in Republican days.

After the Anglo-Boer War a new system was resorted to. This took the form of utilising the provisions of the Transvaal Companies Act of 1909 with reference to private companies. As soon as that Act had been passed, Asiatic private companies began to acquire land in the Transvaal, and the practice soon assumed considerable dimensions.

In due course Parliament attempted to check these practices and get back to the enforcement of the intention of the Law of 1885. In 1919 an Act was passed bringing within the scope of

that law the ownership of land by a company in which one or more Asiatics had a controlling interest. When it was found that the terms of this Act were not sufficiently stringent to prevent such ownership, it was tightened up in 1932, and at the same time the transfer of land to a European nominee of an Asiatic purchaser was made illegal. This legislation was passed in consequence of the investigations of a Select Committee. It was believed that as a result any further extension of Asiatic ownership had definitely been made impossible.

The Murray report shows how idle these hopes were. It proves that evasions of the law, and, in a limited number of cases, contraventions have still been going on since 1932. It finds that there have been contraventions of the prohibition of nominee holding of land by non-Asiatics for Asiatics, but that these are relatively infrequent in comparison with the evasions in respect of the restrictions of land-holding by Companies.

In this latter connection it draws attention to a means of evasion which legal ingenuity has devised, of which it says that it "is so widespread at present, and so capable of employment where circumstances require it that no further means of evading the Act need be sought." It discusses also another possible method of evasion—the holding of land by European or Cape Malay wives of Asiatics. Evasions under the first of these heads it finds to be negligible, possibly non-existent; evasions under the second head it regards as at present not sufficiently frequent to call for legislative action—but it suggests that this may only be so because other means of evading the law are readily accessible.

In summing up the position the Commission gives a clear hint that doubts have been raised in its mind as to the merits of the policy of prohibiting Asiatic ownership—but it has not regarded itself as competent to make a recommendation on the questions of policy involved. It goes on however to say: "The history of Asiatic land tenure legislation discloses a succession of lawful methods of evasion and particularly in the case of Asiatic companies from 1919 until 1932, actual contraventions of the law on a large scale, followed by legislative condonation thereof. Contraventions which are not ascertainable except under constant supervision are still occurring and will inevitably occur; fresh and successful methods of evasion have been discovered, and new ones can be anticipated."

It has surely come to be a matter for serious consideration whether the time has not arrived for a change of policy

in the Transvaal. In essence there is something unreasonable about a prohibition on a permanent part of the population in respect of the owning of fixed property. And in practice very little has been gained by it. The Transvaal, where Asiatic ownership is forbidden, can hardly be said to have progressed further towards the ultimate aim of the policy, the separation of the

racess, than has Natal, where there are many more Asiatics, and Asiatic ownership is permitted. It seems safe to say that far better results would be obtained by the development of areas in which Asiatic ownership would not merely be legalised but encouraged and facilitated, and Asiatic residence made attractive. The Johannesburg City Council is proceeding on these lines in

connection with its Claremont scheme—a scheme for an Asiatic township in the Western part of Johannesburg. The example of that scheme could with advantage be followed elsewhere.

And generally, it would not be a bad thing if we were to seek to substitute collaboration and consultation for coercion and compulsion in dealing with this and other aspects of our Asiatic problem.

## THE PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

THE fourth rule for the Satyagrahi is that he should always be prepared to come to terms with his adversary. "He does not let slip a single opportunity for settlement, and he does not mind if anyone therefore looks upon him as timid. The man who has faith in him and the strength which follows from faith, does not care if he is looked down upon by others. He relies solely upon his internal strength. He is therefore courteous to all, and thus cultivates and enlists world opinion in favour of his own cause." A Satyagrahi bids good-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid of trusting his opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed.

Behind his non-co-operation there is always the desire to co-operate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of enemies. But he never surrenders his fundamentals. "Having fixed one's minimum, from which one may not recede, one may stoop to conquer the whole world." Not that he has never been let down. "It is true that I have often been let down. Many have deceived me and many have been found wanting. But I do not repeat of my association with them. For I know how to non-co-operate, as I know how to co-operate. The most practical, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary."

Thus Gandhiji exercises his faith in human nature. And he has successfully conquered by this means some who formerly considered him as their enemy. But quite apart from the moral aspect of it, this method has also a very great strategical importance in civil disobedience. By always being prepared to come to terms with the enemy, one can easily shift the blame of precipitating a conflict upon one's adversary when there is a breakdown of negotiations. Gandhiji advises that we should always try to place the adversary in the wrong; and it is through this readiness to compromise that he successfully does so. In any conflict the value of this strategical move cannot be gainsaid.

By  
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE  
In "The Visva-Bharati Weekly"

(Concluded from last week)

We have already said that Satyagraha is a moral form of war. That also implies that Satyagraha cannot be maintained at a high pitch for an indefinite length of time. It has to be alternated with peace-time activity calculated to develop those particular qualities which are useful in periods of intensive non-co-operation. For this, there can hardly be anything better than constructive work, intelligently carried out, along lines often suggested by Gandhiji after the campaigns of 1921 and 1931. These activities serve to consolidate the masses, create trust between them and their leaders, train them into habits of courage, and endurance, in such a manner that Gandhiji once compared them to what drilling etc. does for an army meant for war in the ordinary sense.

A short while before the Salt Movement of 1930, he wrote, "I know that many have refused to see any connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience. Constructive programme is not essential for local civil disobedience for specific relief as in the case of Bardoli. Tangible common grievance restricted to a particular locality is enough. But for such an indefinable thing as Swaraj people must have previous training in doing things of all-India interest. Such work must throw together the people and their leaders whom they would trust implicitly. Trust begotten in the pursuit of continuous constructive work becomes a tremendous asset at the critical moment. Constructive work therefore is for a non violent army what drilling etc. is for an army designed for bloody warfare. Individual civil disobedience among an unprepared people and by leaders not known to or trusted by them is of no avail, and mass civil disobedience is an impossibility. The more therefore the progress of the constructive programme, the greater is the chance for civil disobedience."

After the Non-co-operation Movement subsided, Gandhiji said in 1925, "Hasty non co-operation can only lead to harm. Individuals must cultivate the spirit of service, renunciation, truth, non-violence, self-restraint, patience, etc. They must engage in constructive work in order to develop those qualities." "The pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb. It requires attention to details. It means vast organising ability, it means penetration into the villages solely for the service of the villagers. In other words, it means national education i.e., education of the masses. It will not spring like the magician's mango. It will grow almost unperceived like the banyan tree. A bloody revolution will never perform the trick. Haste here is most certainly waste."

In his *History of Satyagraha in South Africa*, Gandhiji said something about the connection between newspapers and Satyagraha which deserves careful attention. "I believe that a struggle which chiefly relies upon internal strength cannot be wholly carried on without a newspaper, and it is also my experience that we could not perhaps have educated the local Indian community, nor kept Indians all over the world in touch with the course of events in South Africa in any other way, with the same ease and success as through INDIAN OPINION, which therefore was certainly a most useful and potent weapon in our struggle. As the community was transformed in course of and as a result of the struggle, so was INDIAN OPINION."

In spite of having given so much careful and detailed instruction to his followers, Gandhiji always advises us not to precipitate campaign where it can be avoided. His final instruction to all non-co-operators is as follows:

"Since Satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a Satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha. He will therefore constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to Satyagraha. But when he has found the impelling call of the inner voice within him and launches out upon Satyagraha he has burnt his boats and there is no receding."



# WHAT TO DO?

HERE is an important letter from a Principal who wishes to remain anonymous:—

"A troubled conscience seeks the reasoned opinion of others to help to solve the following pressing question: Is the carrying out of the pledge of the Peace Pledge Union (the late Dick Sheppard's organisation for opposing war by the refusal to resort to violence under any circumstances whatever) a right and a practicable course of action in the present conditions of our world?

On the side of 'Yea' there are the following arguments:

1. The world's greatest spiritual teachers have taught and exemplified in their own lives that an evil thing can only be destroyed by good means, and never by evil means, and any sort of violence (particularly that of war, even solely in so called self-defence) is undoubtedly an evil means, whatever may be the motive. Violence is therefore *always* wrong.

2. The real causes of the present violence and misery can never be removed by war. This was proved to the hilt in the last 'war to end war,' and the same will always be true. Violence is therefore unpractical.

3. Those who feel they must fight to defend liberty and democracy (even though they would fight for no lesser cause) are deluded. War, in modern conditions, even if it ends in victory, means the more certain destruction of such liberties as remain to us than even conquest by an invader might mean; for no modern war can be waged successfully without the complete regimentation of entire peoples. It is better to die in conscientiously resisting oppression non-violently, than to live as a pawn in the regimented society which *must* emerge from another war, whoever may win it.

On the side of 'Nay' there are the following arguments:

1. Non-violent resistance can only be effective in resisting people who are being moved by moral and humanitarian considerations. Fascism not only is not moved by such considerations, but openly scoffs at them as signs of weakness. It has no scruple in wiping out all resistance, and in employing any degree of brutality in order to do so. Non-violent resistance therefore stands no chance whatever against Fascism. Non-violent resistance is therefore hopelessly unpractical in present conditions.

2. To refuse co-operation in violent resistance (i.e. to be a C.O. in case of war or conscription) in defence of democratic liberty, is tantamount to helping those who are destroying that liberty. Fascist aggression has undoubtedly been encouraged by the knowledge that the democracies contain

By

M. K. GANDHI In "Hartjan"

numbers of people who are unwilling to fight in their defence, and who would even oppose (and thus obstruct) their own Governments if war breaks out or some sort of conscription is enforced. This being so, the conscientious objector to violent means of defence becomes not merely ineffective in promoting peace, but actually helpful to those who are breaking it.

3. War may destroy liberty, but if the democracies survive there is at least some possibility of regaining part of it, whereas if the Fascists are allowed to rule the world, there is no chance at all. Conscientious objectors by weakening the democratic forces are helping the oppressors, and thus defeating their own object.

The solution of this question is obviously terribly pressing for, say, a young man in any conscriptionist country to-day, or even in Great Britain, menaced as she is. But is it not really just as pressing for those in other countries, say South Africa, Egypt, or Australia which may have to face the possibility of invasion, or in an India which in the event of 'Complete Independence' might be faced with the possibility of invasion by Japan or by a pan-Islamic combination?

In the face of such possibilities (say rather probabilities) ought not even every keen conscience (whether in a young body or in an old) to be certain exactly what is the right and practical way of action? In some way on some (if not every) day this is the problem that everyone of us has to face for himself. Can your readers help to clarify the issues? Those who are not sure of the answer they must give when the time comes will be made surer by thinking it out. Those who are sure of their own answer may help others to become equally sure."

Nothing need be said about the arguments in favour of the Peace Pledger's resistance. Those against resistance deserve careful examination. The first argument, if it is valid, cut at the very root of the anti-war movement. It is based on the assumption that it is possible to convert Fascists and Nazis. They belong to the same species as the so called democracies or, better still, war resisters themselves. They show in their family circles the same tenderness, affection, consideration and generosity that war resisters are likely to show even outside such circles. The difference is only of degree. Indeed Fascists and Nazis are a revised edition of so-called democracies if they are not an answer to the latter's misdeeds. Kirby Page in his brochure on the toll of the late war has shown that

both the combatants were guilty of falsehoods, exaggeration and inhumanities. The Versailles Treaty was a treaty of revenge against Germany by the victors. The so called democracies have before now misappropriated other people's lands and have resorted to ruthless repression. What wonder if Messrs. Hitler & Co. have reduced to a science the unscientific violence their predecessors had developed for exploiting the so-called backward races for their own material gain? It is therefore a matter of rule of three to find out the exact amount of non-violence required to melt the harder hearts of Fascists and the Nazis, if it is assumed, as it is, that the so-called democracies melt before a given amount of non-violence. Therefore we must eliminate from consideration the first and the fatal argument if it could be proved to have any content in it.

The other two arguments are practical. The pacifists may not do anything to weaken their own Governments so as to compel defeat. But for fear of so doing they may not miss the only effective chance they have of demonstrating their undying faith in the futurity of all war. If their own Governments go mad and make martyrs of war resisters, they (the Governments) must suffer the consequence of the unrest of their own creation. The democracies must respect the liberty of individual non-violent conscience however inconvenient it may be. From that respect there will spring hope for the world. This means that they put their conscience and truth before their country's so-called interest. For, regard for one's conscience, if it is really such, has never yet injured any legitimate cause or interest. Therefore it comes to this that a pacifist must resist when he feels strongly that, whether so-called democracies live or die, the tug of war will never end war and that it will only end when at a crucial moment a body of pacifists have at any cost testified their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty. I know the point for me to consider is not how to avoid the extreme penalty but how to behave so as to achieve the object in view. Where the very disturbing but potent factor of faith is part of one's conduct, human calculations are of no avail. A true pacifist is a true Satyagrahi. The latter acts by faith and therefore is not concerned about the result, for he knows that it is assured when the action is true.

After all, what is the gain if the so-called democracies win? War certainly will not end. Democracies will have adopted all the tactics of the Fascists and the Nazis including conscription and all other forcible methods to compel and exact obedience. All that may

be gained at the end of the victory is the possibility of comparative protection of individual liberty. But that protection does not depend upon outside help. It comes from the internal determination to protect it against the whole world. In other words, the true democrat is he who with purely non-

violent means defends his liberty and therefore his country's and ultimately that of the whole of mankind. In the coming test pacifists have to prove their faith by resolutely refusing to do anything with war whether of defence or offence. But the duty of resistance accrues only to those who believe in

non-violence as a creed—not to those who will calculate and examine the merits of each case and decide whether to approve of or oppose a particular war. It follows that such resistance is a matter for each to decide for himself and under the guidance of the inner voice, if he recognises its existence.

# Things In General

## Hitler's Message

WE take note of the following message which is reported to have been sent by Herr Hitler to Germans of South-West Africa because we believe it is a message which is of universal application:

**"Petty strife, personal animosities and divergent views were to be set aside and harmony and concord were to rule them as one people."**

## Damnation For Those Who Stand Up For Justice

The Institute of Race Relations which has been doing some very useful service in the interests of the Natives in South Africa have come in for some harsh criticism. A restriction of the activities of the Institute was urged by Mr. A. T. Tannock, speaking at the annual meeting of the Von Brandis branch of the United Party, at the South African Club. Mr. Tannock declared that some of the members of the Institute were "negrophile and fanatical." It was decided to submit Mr. Tannock's suggestion that the institute's activities be restricted to Mr. J. W. Higgerty, M.P.

Writing in the *Star* (Johannesburg) Mr. Tom Macdonald gives Mr. Tannock a fitting reply. This is what he says:

"It is very queer that people who are trying to get a square deal for oppressed people have always been charged with fanaticism. It has been levelled against the greatest leaders through the centuries.

"A native was battered to death recently and three Europeans were fined. A Native got a long term of imprisonment for stealing sheep. That may have been an indication that a sheep is of more value than a native.

"Justice is pretty 'black' where the native is concerned. And no Tannock can argue that black is white. The Bantu must get a square deal and he will get it. Not even a Tannock can withstand the tide."

## South Africa Alone Guilty Of Legislative Colour Bar

Strong criticism of South Africa's colour bar legislation was made by Sir John Harris, secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, speaking at the annual meeting of the society, London. Sir John pointed out that the colour bar was not only maintained by the Dutch population, but an industrial colour bar was promoted by white trade unions and was even to be found in the reli-

gious sphere. During a recent visit to South Africa, native councils had emphasised to him that if the protectorates came under this same policy it would be a fatal day for the British Empire. Once the policy spread to the protectorates, nothing could prevent it crossing the Zambesi and spreading through the whole African continent. Sir John said the Union was the only Government in the world practising a legislative colour bar.

## Lady Ali Returns To The Union

Lady Raza Ali, wife of the former Agent-General for India, arrived with her sister Miss T. Sammy, from India by the s.s. *Karanja*, last Wednesday. On landing they were welcomed by their brother, Mr. T. Sammy of Kimberley, and by the officials of the Natal Indian Congress and by other friends. They are the guests in Durban of Hajee M. A. Motala. They intend returning to India at the end of September.

## Johannesburg Municipality's Segregation Scheme

Mr. L. Leveson, chairman of the Public Health Committee of the Johannesburg City Council, in the course of his statement warned the public against being "deceived by the blandishments of those who suggested the removal of all non-Europeans from the city to a new town at Orlando." Such a scheme would cost at least £5,000,000 and there was no guarantee that coloured and Asiatic people would leave for the new sub-town, and the Council could not force them to. The Council's scheme to clear Albertville and concentrate non-Europeans in Claremont, Coronation Township and Newclare, Sophiatown, would provide for non-European housing in the area for 50 years and at the same time protect present European townships in the area from infiltration by the non-Europeans, while the two sections would be effectively separated by wide park strips. It was the best solution of a difficult problem for both sections in the circumstances.

## Electrical Wiremen's Bill Passed

The Electrical Wiremen's and Contractors' Bill, which provides for the establishment of an Electrical Wiremen's Registration Board and for the control of licensing and registration of electrical contractors, has now passed the third reading by 71 votes to 24, only the

Nationalists voting in the minority. The Nationalists sought the acceptance of amendments, one of which was to confine registration under the Bill to European Union Nationals. The purpose of this amendment was stated to be to take steps against the alleged increasing competition which Europeans had to-day to meet from non-Europeans. The amendment also embodied the Nationalist policy of economic segregation. More and more coloured people, said Mr. Louw (Nat. Beaufort West,) were moving to the town and work which in the past had been done by Europeans, was now being done by coloured people. If the Government would adopt the policy of residential segregation, it would not be necessary to move amendments of this type, because provision could then be made for coloured wiremen to be registered and to work among their own people. The amendment which sought to limit registration to Union nationals, embodied the principle of first looking after one's own people. Dr. Moll (U.P. Rondebosch) said the Nationalists were responsible for trying to create a major injustice—the exclusion of coloured people from the ranks of skilled labour.

## Repatriation Figures

Replying to Mr. Strydom (Nat., Waterberg), the Minister of the Interior said in the House of Assembly, that 12,451 Indians were repatriated to India under the provisions of Act 37 of 1927 up to February 28, 1933. Altogether 252 Indians returned to the Union, and 3,758 were repatriated to India during the period March 1, 1933, to February 28, 1939. Of these 528 had returned to the Union.

## Indian Medical Tax

Replying to Mr. Goldberg (Dom. P., Umlazi,) the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Stuttaford) said that he was not prepared to take steps for the repeal of the provisions of Act 25 of 1891 (Natal) relating to the Indian Medical Tax. The money derived from the tax paid by the employers of Indian labour in Natal was used for the benefit of Indians, and his department had therefore in the past refused to recommend the abolition of the tax.

## The Red Cross Indian Detachment

The Red Cross Indian Detachment holds its regular classes at the Dartnell

Crescent School Hall on Tuesdays at 4 p.m. Instruction in First Aid and Home Nursing is given by qualified officers. A special course in Mothercraft and Infant Welfare is now in progress and a request is made to mothers and mothers-to-be to take advantage of this all-important course. Applications should be made to the Quartermaster, V.A.D. 117, at 63, Gale Street, Durban. The fee for the course is 5s., this is laid down by the South African Red Cross Society.

**Separate Library For Non-Europeans In Johannesburg**

The library department of the Johannesburg Municipality in the estimates for 1939-40 has provided for a library for non-Europeans at a cost of £1,769.

**Child Welfare Society Inaugurated In Ladysmith**

More than 70 Indian women met in the Gujarati Hindi Hall, on Thursday, April 27, when a Child Welfare Society was formed and the aims of the society were fully explained. The president of the society is Mrs. S. K. Naidoo; Mr. K. R. Singh and Mrs. P. Frank are the hon. secretaries, while the hon. treasurer is Mr. P. Frank.

**Dundee Indian Child Welfare Committee**

The first committee meeting of the Dundee and District Indian Child Welfare Society was held on Thursday, April 27. The secretary, Mr. V. P. Pillay, read correspondence between the society and the different departments for recognition and registration under the Children's Protection Act 31 of 1937 and under the Charitable Societies Ordinance. The replies received showed a sympathetic feeling. It was decided that a savings bank account should be opened and that the Dundee Indian Child Welfare Society should affiliate to the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society. Mr. Morar announced that arrangements had been made with the local doctors to treat poor cases free on the recommendation of the society. Sister B. Gilbert stated that she would be prepared to entertain free maternity cases where the society recommended same.

**Transvaal Indian Congress (Pretoria Branch)**

A general meeting of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress was held at the Empire Theatre, Pretoria, on Sunday April 23, for the purpose of electing officials for the next three years. The following was the result of the election:—President: Mr. Shaik Ahmed; vice-presidents: Messrs. Hassim Hajee Habib, Hajee Moosa Ebrahim, V. A. Nayagar, C. T. Pillay, P. S. Veloo and Omarjee Hajee Moosa; joint hon. secretaries: Messrs. Essop Moosa and Soobiah Nayagar; joint hon. treasurers: Messrs. R. Kanjee Vally and G. M. Keshavjee; auditor: Mr. A. H. Khan. The executive and committee members were left in

abeyance for the next meeting as it was felt that all sections of the community should be well represented on these committees.

**Nizamia Muslim Society**

The third annual general meeting of the Nizamia Muslim Society (Maritzburg), was held on Sunday, April 30. Mr. Shaikh Madar presided and there were a good many members and officials present. The secretarial report was read by Mr. S. E. Kader referring to the good work done by the society during the year. The treasurer's report showed a credit balance of £141 18s. 10. The following officials were elected for the ensuing year:—Patrons: His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, G.C.S.I., Sir Syed Raza Ali, C.B.E., Moulana A. R. Ansari, Messrs. A. I. Kajee, D. E. Bhayat, El Haj E. M. Esvat, M. E. Lakhi, Maulana Mahommed Hanieff, Hoosen M. Badat, and C. B.

**BHULABHAI DESAI**

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Phoenix, Natal.

Shaikh; President: Mr. Shaikh Madar; vice-presidents: Messrs. Sayed Shaik Ali, A. Kader, A. B. Shah, S. Yacoob, Jamalodeen Ahmed, Sayed Amod, Mahomed Ali, Shaik Yusuf, A. Kader, A. B. Sharrieff, Abbas Bayat, Peer Buz, I. Mahommed, Hyder Khan, A. K. I. Bayat, F. R. Ballim, N. Khan, A. Karrim Jamalodeen, M. S. Mall, Ally Khan, M. I. Kajee, S. M. Badruddin, M. E. Minty, Khan Bahadur Haji C. Adam, Sahib Ally, M. E. Bhana, S. A. Parak, S. M. Vawda, A. D. Bhayat, M. A. Desai, Hoosen Ahmed and G. H. A. Kathrada; secretaries: Messrs. S. E. Kader, and A. R. Deenally; treasurer: Mr. Shaik Yusuf; auditor: Mr. Abbas Hajee Mia; committee: Messrs. E. M. Effendi, A. Kader, I. E. Deedat, S. M. Kader, M. E. Kajee, Hajee Mia, Cassim Bayat, I. Hadsa, A. B. Sahib and Adam Khan; advisors: Messrs. Moulana M. I. Seepye, M. E. Lakhi and M. I. Kajee.

**Wedding**

The marriage of Miss T. J. Lutohummah, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Naidoo of Tinley Manor, and niece of Mr. A. P. Naidoo of Stanger, to Mr. P. Applesamy Naidoo, youngest son of

Mr. and Mrs. A. Papiah Na'doo, was solemnised on Sunday, April 30, at the residence of the bridegroom's parents at New Germany. Mr. Dorasamy Moodley of Durban officiated the ceremony under Vedic rites. Over 1,000 people were present. The married couple were the recipients of numerous valuable presents.

**ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.**

**Indian War Memorial**

TO THE EDITOR “INDIAN OPINION”

SIR,—I was very much delighted to read a questionnaire in the INDIAN OPINION in the issue of April 28, sent in by Dr. A. R. W. Gabriel, enquiring when the Indian War Memorial would be erected, and what is the intention of the War Memorial Committee and how long the £500 collected for the purpose is to lie stagnate. While congratulating the Doctor, I hope the article will catch the eyes of the people concerned and that an immediate start for the erection of this Memorial be made and that in November this year the Indians will be proud of what their community had done for the country.

If the funds already collected are not sufficient why not make an urgent appeal for a few hundred pounds more. I am sure the Indian community themselves could come to the rescue. Let the Indian War Memorial Committee appeal to the merchants for at least £25 each, and I am sure that a dozen of them will make up the amount required. I would appeal to the officials of the Indian War Memorial Committee to call up a meeting within the next few days. If the officials want to slack why not have them to resign and have the work entrusted in the hands of young men for the completion of this War Memorial.

The European youth of to-day who are between the ages of 21 and 25 do not know what the Indian community has done for the Empire and the sooner this War Memorial is erected the better for the community. Europeans do not know the value of the Indian, and that is why the question of segregation has arisen. Why should the Indian be the victim? They belong to India which forms part and parcel of the British Empire. Respect the Indian; do not use him as a tool when in need. Recently during the crisis there has been a talk that Indians should be given military training.

Why at this juncture? The Europeans realise that the Indians are also their strength. Treat the Indian as a nation who can claim to have produced men who rank amongst the world's greatest men. I am sure if war has commenced all prejudice will diminish. I wonder if the Ambulance Association will wave off the uniform question and agree that all First Aid men to be alike in the field of humanitarian work which they represent. Surely if they want a slight distinction the colour of the Indian and the European is sufficient.—Yours etc.,

X. Y. Z.

# India Letter

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

## Prohibition In Bombay

WRITING in *Harlan* in support of the Bombay Government applying the prohibition law to that city, Mahatma Gandhi says: "The Bombay Government, and especially Dr. Gilder, deserve the thanks of the citizens of Bombay, nay, of the whole province, for the courage with which they have approached their task. I know that many Parsis, who depend upon the drink traffic for their living, will be affected. Bombay is the stronghold of the Parsis. Then there are its fashionable citizens, who think they need their spirituous drinks as they need water. I have every hope that they will all rise to the occasion, think of their poor brethren, even if they do not appreciate abstinence for themselves, and set an example to all India and make good the claim of Bombay not only to be beautiful, but also the first city in India. Prohibition in Bombay will mean a big fall in revenue. The Finance Minister has to balance his Budget. He has to find money. He has to levy new taxes. Let there be no complaint from those who will have to bear the burden. Dislike of taxes, be they ever so reasonable, is proverbial. I understand that the Finance Minister has met all just objections. Why should those who will have to bear the burden not feel a pride in being given the privilege of contributing to the great experiment? It will be a proud day for Bombay if prohibition is ushered in amid the rejoicings of the whole population. Let it be remembered that this prohibition is not a superimposition. It is being introduced by Governments that are responsible to the people. It has been a plank in the national programme since 1920. It is coming, therefore, in due fulfilment of the national will, definitely expressed nearly 20 years ago."

## Rebuke To The Princes

"The effort to ignore the Congress and Congress workers and to prevent its natural influence working in the States is like that of a child who, by the little palm of his right hand, tries to stop an onrushing flood," says Gandhiji in the course of a spirited rejoinder to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's challenge to the Indian National Congress to interfere in the Travancore State affairs by supporting the movement for responsible Government in the State. Gandhiji proceeds: "This attempt to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people of the States surely sows seeds of bitterness on the one hand between the people of the States and their Princes to

whom they want to be loyal and, on the other, between the Princes and the Congress which wants to help them if it is allowed to do so. I ask the Princes and their advisers to read the signs of the times and march with them. They may succeed by frightful measures in sending for a time, the freedom movement underground, but they will never be able to crush it altogether. I venture to think also that the Paramount Power will have to shed their nervousness and over-cautiousness. If they owe a duty to the Princes, surely they owe an equal duty to their people. The days when the people could be ignored are gone. If the Princes will not listen, let the Paramount Power tell them in plain terms that they may not expect the latter's assistance in suppressing their people. The Paramount Power who draws Ministers in many provinces from the Congress may not sit still when the neighbouring States heap insults upon the Congress. It is an anomaly that demands quick handling."

## Egyptian Delegation's Tribute To Gandhiji

"Not only in Egypt but in the whole world Mahatma Gandhi is regarded as the greatest man of modern times for his patriotism, self-denial and the principle of truth and non-violence. It is not always that a leader like Gandhiji comes to a nation and India should feel a sense of greatest pride in having a leader of his calibre." Thus observed Mahmoud Abul Fateh, one of the members of the Egyptian delegation that recently visited India, in the course of talks to the journalists of Bombay. The occasion was a tea party organised by the All India Journalists' Association, at the *Times of India* Sports Club. Asked about his impression of his tour in India Mr. Fateh observed that they were received wherever they went with traditional hospitality. They hoped that their tour in India would go a great way towards bringing the two countries, Egypt and India, into a relation of friendship in future. Questioned about the emancipation of women in Egypt the speaker observed that like India Egyptian women also discarded veil to-day and came to the front rank of the political movement but in one way they differed from their Indian sisters and that was that unlike Indian women they were not inclined to vote. Continuing Mr. Fateh referred to the present political situation in Egypt and narrated at length how the Wafdist Government was dismissed and how the last general election was falsified, as a result of which the Wafd Party got a

small minority in the present Egyptian Parliament.

## Britisher's View On Developing India's Resources

Impressions of Indian business life as seen by a British visitor were given by Mr. Cecil Lister, Director of R. A. Lister and Co., Ltd., of Dursley, Gloucestershire, on his return to England after a visit to a number of Indian cities. "While India still depends very largely on Europe and America for its manufactures," he said, "it is coming more and more to develop its own resources. It was a vast railway system; some of its railways are as big as any in the Empire, and it is making its own rolling stock and permanent ways. The Indian to-day believes that he can tackle industry seriously on Western lines, and in many industries he is already doing so. That does not mean that there is not ample scope, even in the new India, for British goods, there is. But the market, if it is to be fruitful, has to be cultivated, and cultivated intensely. India is, of course, primarily an agricultural country, and I wondered many times during my visit whether the Government was not giving too much attention to industry and not enough to the development of agriculture. In many parts of the country irrigation has shown what can be done in increasing the fertility of the land. But there are many vast tracts of territory in which irrigation has still to be begun. As a result of my visit, which I hope to repeat next year, we shall have many Indian visitors to our factories at Dursley and Stamford during the next few months." During his visit Mr. Lister who was accompanied by a technical expert met, in addition to well known Indian firms, representatives of the Ministries of most of the States in India, and of local authorities at the various towns in which he stayed.

## TENDERS INVITED

Tenders are invited for the lease of a Refreshment Room, Minerals and Fresh Produce, at 110, Bellair Road, Mayville, commencing about June or July at our option at monthly rental basis for a period of 2 years. Seating capacity of Cinema Hall approximately 1,000. The lowest or highest tender not necessarily accepted. The successful tender will have to pay for the lights and provide for all necessary equipment. Tenders close on May 13, 1939.

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# The Sporting World

## Boxing

**SEAMAN CHETTY**, who is shortly to make another trip overseas, retained his South African non-European bantamweight boxing title before a crowded house of the Durban City Hall, on Saturday, April 30. His opponent was Battling George, of the Transvaal, against whom he had had a narrow decision some time ago, but in this return match Chetty made no mistakes. Boxing in severely orthodox mood, Chetty held the fight throughout with his straight left hand and was always master of the situation though he found George, who was somewhat unorthodox in his approach to the game, a difficult man to handle at close quarters. None the less, the power of the left hand could not be dismissed and Chetty won well. In the main preliminary, Bud Gengan, the local boxer, met Cecil Jonosky, a hard hitter from the Rand, who is never an easy man to deal with. In the second round Gengan was felled for a count of nine, but from this shock he came back very strongly, fought splendidly with his straight left and won a good decision on points—one of the best fights he has put up for some time. Ebrahim Ally beat Kid Gungoo on points, Speedy Gengan beat Dawood Kid Ally on points, and P. M. Pillay drew with Young Veeran.

## Mauritius Soccer Tour Confirmed

The Natal Indian Football Association at its meeting on Sunday last ratified the provisional arrangements made by its executive to formally invite a representative team of Indians from Mauritius. On the question of finance, it was agreed to seek the co-operation of the Durban and South Coast Football Associations together with the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association. Soccer in Mauritius is played on sectional lines, there being three distinct bodies, representing the Tamil, Muslim and Hindi communities, and it has been suggested by Natal that these three sections form themselves into one component organisation or act under the direction of a committee drawn from the three bodies to select the best available talent to tour South Africa. All the affiliated units of Natal have agreed to stage matches in their respective areas and an itinerary will shortly be drawn for submission to Mauritius.

## Sunday Soccer

Thrilling soccer was witnessed by a large crowd at Currie's Fountain on Sunday last, when the Durban Sunday League opened its session. Swifts, the league champions of last year, had to struggle hard for supremacy against the newcomers, Sons of India, in a game brimful of interest but hung on to their slender lead of two goals to one up to

By "Rambler"

the final whistle. In the other match Silverton asserted their superiority over Clare Estate, whom they beat by four goals to one.

## Maritzburg District Indian Football Association

The annual general meeting of the Maritzburg District Indian Football Association took place recently, at which the following officials were elected:— Patron: Mr. F. J. Lewis; president: Mr. R. P. Naidoo; vice-presidents: Messrs. V. P. Christian, B. Sewpaul, B. Bugwandeen, B. Ramchuran, S. G. Naidoo and R. Krishnasamy; hon. secretary and treasurer: Mr. I. Anthony; board of inquiry: Messrs. R. P. Naidoo, V. P. Christian, B. Bugwandeen, I. A. Haffajee and R. Manickum; selection committee (seniors): Messrs. R. P. Naidoo, R. Manickum and V. Arumugum; selection committee (juniors and juveniles): Messrs. B. Sunder, S. G. Naidoo and M. G. Naidoo; delegates to Natal Indian Football Association: Messrs. R. P. Naidoo, B. Ramchuran, R. Manickum and I. Anthony; delegates to the Maritzburg Indian Sports Grounds Association: Messrs. R. P. Naidoo, B. Sewpaul and B. Bugwandeen.

## Natal Indian Lawn Tennis Association

The final tennis match for Maneck's Memorial Natal Tennis Shield was played between the Moonlighters and Spes Bona Tennis Clubs on Sunday, April 30, at the Moonlighter's court, Sydenham, and resulted in a win for the Moonlighters by 5 matches to 1. The Moonlighters declared and scratched the remaining three matches in favour of Spes Bona.

## Pinetown And Suburban Indian Schools Sports Association

The third annual general meeting of the Pinetown and Suburban Indian Schools Sports Association was held at the Roosfontein School, and the following schools were represented: Pinetown, Roosfontein, Malvern, Alencon and St. Thomas's. The following officials were elected:—President: Mr. K. R. Nair; hon. secretary: Mr. N. M. Chetty; hon. treasurer: Mr. G. V. Govender; hon. auditor: Mr. S. C. Narayadu; hon. record clerk: Mr. L. M. Bethii.

## Northern Transvaal Indian Cricket Association

We have received several letters repudiating Mr. R. Varatharajaloo's assertion that a motion of no confidence in the president of the association was not

passed. We publish below only one of them, by Mr. B. Rámkian, who writes:— "As the hon. record clerk of the Northern Transvaal Indian Cricket Association, I am surprised to read the article inserted by Mr. R. Varatharajaloo (hon. secretary N.T.I.C.A.) that the motion of no confidence passed on the president of the association, Mr. Sooboo, is incorrect. Mr. Varatharajaloo, who was very strong to see the motion passed, convened a special general meeting for the purpose and failed to attend it without reason. I, in my capacity as the hon. record clerk, was present in that meeting and the motion passed is quite correct."

Mr. Varatharajaloo's note appeared in our issue of April 24 under the heading "Correction."

[Note—This controversy is now closed. Ed.]

## Mr. Kallenbach Returns To The Union

Mr. H. Kallenbach who recently went on a visit to India with a view to spending some time with Mahatma Gandhi returned to Durban last Sunday by the *Durham Castle*. While in India Mr. Kallenbach attended the Tripuri Congress and was in Delhi with Mahatma Gandhi.

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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# ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના હસ્તે  
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું.

પુસ્તક ૩૭ મું.

ફીનીક્સ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૫ મે ૧૯૩૯

અંક ૧૮.

## “ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૫ મે ૧૯૩૯.

### આગળ આવતા મુશ્કેલીના દિવસો

૬૧ ધી થોડા દિવસમાં સીમલા અને કેપટાઉનથી હાંદી કામને ગંભીર ચિંતા અને નિરાશા ઉપજાવનારી ખબરો આવી છે. સીમલાથી જાહેર કરવામાં આવ્યું છે કે: “યુનીયનના હાંદીઓના વસવાટના લતાઓના સંબંધમાં ૭૫ ટકાની સર્વોચ્ચતની યુનીયન સરકારની યોજનાના સંબંધમાં હાંદી અને યુનીયન સરકારો વચ્ચે થએલી મસલતોના પરિણામે રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સની સુચના ક્વખતની ગણાઇ છે.” વળી એવું પણ જણાવાયું છે કે “સેક્રેગેશનના ધોરણે સવાલનું” કંઈ પણ સમાધાન થશે તેમાં હાંદી સરકાર લાગીદાર નહિ અને.”

૭૫ ટકાની યોજના એ છે કે જે લતામાં ૭૫ ટકા યુરોપીયન વસતી વિરૂદ્ધ હોય તે લતામાં હાંદીઓથી વસી કે સ્થાવર મીલકતની માલીકી ધરાવી નહિ શકાય.

સીમલાથી ઉપલું જાહેર થયું તેજ વખતે લમલમ કેપટાઉનથી પણ જાહેર થયું કે “મુલકી પ્રધાન મી. સ્ટેટ્સડે આમની સલામાં ટ્રાંસવાલ માં એશિયાટીકના વેપાર તેમજ વસવાટપર વધુ પ્રતિબંધો મુકનારૂં બીલ લાવવાની રજૂ માગી છે.”

૭૫ ટકા વાણું સર્વોચ્ચત બીલ મુકી દેવામાં નથી આવ્યું પરંતુ માત્ર સુલતવીજ રાખવામાં આવ્યું છે એ જોતાં રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સની સુચના ક્વખતની કેમ ગણવામાં આવી છે એ અમારા સમજવામાં નથી આવતું. રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ ભરવાનો વખત જો કદી પણ પાકેલો હોય તો અમારા મત પ્રમાણે તો મજબૂર બીલ લાવવામાં આવે તે પહેલાંજ પાકેલો ગણાય નહિ કે દાખલ થઇ ચુક્યા પછી.

પરંતુ ખરી વસ્તુસ્થિતિ અમને તો એ લાગે છે કે રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સની સુચના ક્વખતની નથી પણ યુનીયન સરકારે એવી વલણ લીધેલી છે કે જે રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ ભરાવાની શક્તિઓપરજ પાણી ફેરવનારી છે. યુનીયન સરકારે હાંદુસ્તાનની સરકારને કે પ્રજાને ગમે યા ન ગમે અને કેપટાઉનના કરારનો હડેઓક ભાગ થતો હોય યા નહિ તો પણ સેક્રેગેશનને

કાંપેલો લાવવાનો દ્રઢ નિશ્ચય કરેલો જણાય છે. તેજે યુનીયનમાં વસતા જે લાખ હાંદીઓના જ અવાજને નહિ પરંતુ ચાળીસ કરોડની મહાન પ્રજાની લાગણીઓને તરછોડવાનો નિશ્ચય કર્યો છે. આથી યુનીયન સરકારે સેક્રેગેશનનું એક બીલ હજુ એરજ્યુપર ધકાઇ રહ્યું છે તેટલામાં ટ્રાંસવાલના હાંદીઓને લાગુ પડનારૂં બીલનું એક બીલ હાંદી કામના સખત વિરોધની પરવા કર્યા વિના પાલમિન્ટમાં દાખલ કર્યું છે. એ બીલ હજુ હવાયું પથુ નહોતું તે પહેલાં તો તેનું પહેલું વાંચન થઇ ગયું અને આ લીટીઓ લખાઇ રહી છે તે વખતે બીજા વાંચનમાંથી પસાર થઇ રહ્યું છે, અને તેમ છતાં બીજાની નકલ હજુ જોએને તે લાગુ પડવાનું છે તેઓના હાથમાં પથુ નથી પહોંચી. સા. આ. પ્રેસ એસોસીએશનનો આમની સલામાંથી મે તા. ૩ જીને એક સંદેશો દર્શનિક વર્તમાનપત્રોમાં પ્રસિદ્ધ થયો છે. તેમાં જણાવવામાં આવ્યું છે કે:

“એશિયાટીકસ (ટ્રાંસવાલ) લેન્ડ એન્ડ ડેવલોપમેન્ટ બીલ, જે આજે પ્રસિદ્ધ થયું છે, તે એશિયાટીકને અથવા જે વેપારને અંકુશ એશિયાટીકના હાથમાં હોય તેવા વેપારને માટે, મુલકી પ્રધાનની ખાસ પરવાનગી સિવાય, વેપાર કરવાના પરવાના માટેનું સર્ટીફિકેટ આપવાની કે-એક વેપારને નવા સ્થળમાં ફેરવેલ કરવાની બંધી કરનારૂં છે. આ બીલ માત્ર ટ્રાંસવાલનેજ લાગુ પડે છે.

તા. ૧ મે, ૧૯૩૯ થી તે અમલમાં મુકાશે અને જે વરસ સુધી અમલમાં રહેશે

રીફરના શીધામ કમીશને ભલામણ કરેલા લતાઓમાંના સોનેરી કાયદામાંથી એકએમ્પશનોની મુદતને બીલ જે વખતે માટે વધારે છે.

મત એપ્રીલ તા. ૩૦ મીના જે જમીનમાં કલર્ડ લોકો કે એશિયાટીકો વસવાટ નહિ કરતા હોય તે જમીન પ્રધાનની પરવાનગી સિવાય એશિયાટીકને લાડે આપવાની અથવા તેમાં એશિયાટીકને વસવાટ કરવાની બીલ બંધી કરે છે.

હવાત એશિયાટીક લતાઓ અથવા બગીચાને આ કાયદો લાગુ નહિ પડે.

આ બીલથી જે કશું પણ થતું હોય તો યુનીયન અને હાંદી વચ્ચે રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ મળવાની આશાઓને અવશ્ય છિન્ન બિલ કરી નાખે છે. યુનીયન સરકારને જે દુસ્મનીજ નહિ કરવી હોત અને હાંદી સાથે મસલતને માટે દાર

પુલ્કું રાખવાની ઇચ્છા હોત તો આ બીલદારા શીધામ કમીશન તરફથી ભલામણ થએલા લતાઓમાંના સોનેરી કાયદામાંથી અપાયેલાં એકએમ્પશનો, કે જેની મુદત એપ્રીલ તા. ૩૦ મીએ પુરી થઇ છે, તેને લંબાવવાના તેના પગલાંનું વાજબીપણું અમે સમજી શકત. પરંતુ બીલની અસર એ કરતા ઘણીજ વધારે થાય છે એ જોતાં એવાજ નિર્ણય ઉપર આવી શકાય છે કે રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સને માટે યુનીયન સરકારે દારને તાળાં મારી દીધેલાં છે અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હાંદીઓ તરફ પોતાની ઇચ્છામાં આવે તેમ વર્તવાનો અને તેમાં હાંદુસ્તાનની દખલગીરી બીલકુલ સહન નહિ કરવાનો તેજે નિશ્ચય કરેલો છે.

આ સંજોગમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હાંદીઓએ પરિસ્થિતિની ગંભીરતા સંપૂર્ણપણે સમજવાની જરૂર છે.

આપણે માટે-ત્રણ માર્ગો ખુલાં છે: (૧) આપણી ઉપર નાખવામાં આવતાં સઘળાં અપમાનો સહી લેવાં, (૨) તેનો સામનો કરવો, અથવા (૩) ગાંસડા પોટલા બાંધી સ્વદેશ રવાના થવું.

આ ત્રીજો માર્ગ બધાથી તો ન લઇ શકાય કેમકે મોટા ભાગના હાંદીઓ આ દેશમાં જન્મેલા અને ઉછરેલા છે. આ જૂમીના તેઓ સંતાનો છે અને આ દેશ સિવાય બીલનું એકે વતન તેઓ જાણતા નથી.

પહેલો માર્ગ સહેલો છે પરંતુ જેઓ એ માર્ગ લે તેઓથી મનુષ્યો તરીકેનું માન નજ મેળવી શકાય. તેઓની ઉપર જુલમી કાયદાઓના અમલ કરનાગએને પણ તેઓની તાબેદારીને માટે તેઓ પ્રત્યે માન નહિ ઉપજે, બલકે તેઓના પ્રત્યે એટલો તિરસ્કાર ઉપજશે કે તેઓના કરતાં તેઓના તબેલામાંના જનવરો પ્રત્યે તેઓ વધારે માન ધરાવશે.

સારે રસો માત્ર બીજો માર્ગ અને તે એકજ વિચારવા જેવો છે. એ માર્ગ આપણી ઉપર નાખવામાં આવતાં અપમાનોનો સામનો કરવો એ એ માર્ગ લેવાને આપણે ઇચ્છરોજ ડર રાખવો જોઇએ, તેનીજ દોરવણીપર આધાર રાખવો જોઇએ અને મનુષ્યનો ડર ઊડવો જોઇએ. જે એ કરી શક્યો છે તે પોતાની ઉપર ગમે તેટલો સીતમ યુગ્મરવામાં આવે તેથી નિર્ભય રહે છે.

યુનીયન સરકારે એક અતિ અપવિત્ર કૃલ કરવાનું જોખમ ખેડેલું છે. યુનીયનના હાંદીઓ, કે જેમની, આ દેશના સર્વોચ્ચ રાજનીતીજોએ ફરી ફરીને યાદી પરિપદો જેવા મહાન પ્રસંગોએ, તેઓ એક કાયદાને વધાદાર રહેનારી અને છાંત કામ હોવાની તારીફ કરેલી છે, અને જેમની