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NOTES AND NEWS

Attitude Of Non-European Front Leaders

AN S.A.P.A. message from Cape-town dated July 31 states:

The attitude of the non-European United Front towards the passive resistance movement suggested by Indians in the Transvaal is set out in a statement issued over the signatures of Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool and other members of the United Front Committee. It states: "While the non-European United Front will at all times give assistance to any section of oppressed people engaged in the struggle against segregation or the colour bar laws, it is of the opinion that it would be premature for a group within the Indian community to launch a separate and independent campaign against the Government. The problem facing Indians is a sectional problem, but it cannot be solved by Indians acting on their own." Hope is expressed "that passive resistance will not hastily be embarked upon until mutual consultation and preparation for simultaneous action can be taken by the leading organisations of non-European people."

We are surprised that Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool should interfere in matters which purely affect Indians, when she herself is not an Indian, and seek to advise Indians as to what they should or should not do. Indians in South Africa have the voice of four hundred million people of India to advise and to guide them. While we have the fullest sympathy for the Bantu people of South Africa and advise our people not to do anything that would mar their progress, we have no doubt they will fully realise that their problem is peculiarly different to that of the Indians and that they cannot therefore mix up their problem with the Indian problem. Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool and members of the United Front Committee would be well advised to help those who are in need of their help and not seek to offer advice on matters they are not competent to do so.

Northern Natal Congress Branches Condemn Headquarters' Attitude

The Northern Natal Conference of the Natal Indian Congress branches held at Newcastle on Sunday, July 23, at which

delegates from Ladysmith, Glencoe, Dundee, Dannhauser and Newcastle were present, the following resolution, moved by Mr. V. G. Naidoo, (Dundee), seconded by Mr. O. J. Christopher, (Newcastle), and supported by Mr. S. Bhagwandeem (Glencoe), and Mr. R. Khan, (Ladysmith) was passed unanimously:

"That this conference of Northern Natal Branches of the Natal Indian Congress held at Newcastle deplores the attitude of the headquarters in connection with passive resistance and the unity movement, and requests the headquarters to place these two items on the agenda of the special general meeting on July 30, and to convey to the Branches the decision arrived at at that meeting concerning these matters."

The special general meeting, as we had not wrongly conjectured, was after all not convened on July 30! Bravo to Mr. A. I. Kajee. He has once again succeeded in having his own way and it is left to him now when he will be as gracious enough to convene it.

Mr. Stuttaford Explains

Segregation Act

"The segregation Act which is now being enforced will not be used as an instrument of repression," declared Mr. Richard Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior, in an interview with a Press-representative on July 27. "My Department," continued Mr. Stuttaford, "will carry out the Act with scrupulous fairness. I can see no reason why the law should not function easily. In fact, I anticipate very little difficulty in applying it." When Mr. Stuttaford was asked what had happened to those applications for licences that had been received between June 1 and July 15, that is, between the time when the Act was passed by Parliament and the date of its promulgation, he stated that, with one single exception, all these applications had been granted. "My Department," he declared, "reported that there was nothing abnormal in the applications, and in the circumstances they were granted. There was nothing unusual in the one rejected applicant."

Rev. Andrews On Indian

Question In South Africa

In the course of a series of three articles written by him in *The Hindu*, Madras, on "Indians' Plight In South

Africa," the Rev. C. F. Andrews states: "A golden opportunity has now been afforded to the European community in India to demonstrate to their fellow-Europeans in South Africa, what a fatal mistake they are committing, and what a perilous step they are now intending to take, almost without realising what they are doing. Every European in this country knows that Indians to-day will not submit to be treated as an inferior people. The racial barrier was broken down long ago, and Europeans have surely learnt that this 'colour bar' attitude of intolerance will not be submitted to any longer. If, therefore, those who have the leadership in India, in the different European Associations, were able to make luminously clear in South Africa, that, on this point of national honour, Indians could not possibly yield, any more than the Japanese, then the Union-Parliament might well pause before it mortally offended India, its next door neighbour. The argument might be driven home that it would be madness on the part of South Africa, at the very time when it was being threatened by Nazi Germany to go out of its way to strike a deadly blow at India. To put this in other words, it would be a folly which calm and sensible people, like the Dutch in South Africa, would hardly commit, if only they were clearly aware that the bitter hostility of India would be the inevitable result of segregation."

In the third article Mr. Andrews discusses the various methods that could be adopted by India to bring home to South Africa the indignation felt by India against the former's treatment of Indians. In doing so he rules out as impracticable and ineffective any retaliatory measures by India against South Africa but suggests that "the quiet and dignified withdrawal of the Agent-General of the Government of India might well be a step in the right direction. It would express in an open way the deep and bitter feelings of India. Therefore it may well happen soon, that this step ought to be taken. Yet I cannot help feeling, along with Mahatmaji, that the same impression might be made in an even stronger manner (i) by the United European Associations of India themselves declaring to the Europeans in South Africa that the step they pro-

pose to take, by segregating Indians, was a most deadly insult; (ii) by the Viceroy himself issuing a pronouncement which would show to all the world how grave the injury was which was being committed. Perhaps, steps like these should be taken first.

"While I have been thinking over the whole matter, in the light of past experience, a copy of *The Hindu* has been lying on my table which tells me how the campaign in Nazi Germany for the return of German South West Africa is about to start. This is probably the most serious issue that the Union Government has ever had to face since the time of the world war. As that Nazi campaign develops, South Africa will look around for friends as she has never done before. I can hardly imagine

General Hertzog, General Smuts, Mr. Stuttaford and Mr. Pirow being so foolish as to flout openly the friendship of India when their own interests are being threatened.

"But again I return to the point which cannot be emphasised too strongly. *It must be made clear, without a shadow of doubt, that this is a life and death matter for India; that segregation of Indians, as an inferior race, is quite intolerable at a time when national sentiment in India is acutely awake.* This one point must be driven home before any further drastic step is taken by South Africa. My own hope is, that without any useless threats of retaliation the better mind of South Africa will respond, and the ultimate step of racial segregation against India will not be taken."

wane. The article is full of untruths and half-truths designed only to belittle those who have decided to stand up for justice by undergoing self-imposed suffering.

Our contemporary suggests that Mahatma Gandhi deprecates passive resistance, on various grounds, "not the least important being that he has hopes of an honourable settlement of South African Indian differences with the Union Government, since both the Governments of India and that of Great Britain are trying to obtain relief." Mahatma Gandhi has done nothing of the sort. He does not deprecate the campaign but asks for a brief postponement because he himself is in touch with the Ministers and has some hope of an honourable settlement.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, AUGUST 4TH, 1939

Postponement

THE passive resistance campaign against the Transvaal Asiatics (Land and Trading) Act, which was to have begun on August 1, has, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, been postponed for a time, because Gandhiji states that he is in touch with the Ministers and has some hope of an honourable settlement. "It is the code of passive resisters," says Gandhiji, "to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance, if it can be done honourably." The Passive Resistance Council, has done wisely in following Gandhiji's advice. Whilst it is strongly felt by the members of the Passive Resistance Council, that the Union Government, by insisting on passing the interim measure whilst negotiations were still proceeding between themselves and the Government of India, and by the offensive statements made by the Minister of the Interior in Parliament against the Government of India, rendering the latter's position as though they stood before the Union Government like importunate beggars, have barred the door for any further negotiations with any sense of honour, they have implicit faith in Gandhiji not lending himself to anything that would bring dishonour to our community or country.

By our postponing the struggle we have proved our earnest that it is not the purpose of those who have decided to launch passive resistance to embarrass the Government or the people of South Africa in any way. They want to risk their own lives for the

sake of their national honour and self-respect which they hold dearer than any earthly possessions. They are also not out to endanger or inconvenience the public in any way. They are going to violate only such laws that will do no harm to the public peace and will invite punishment on themselves which they will be prepared willingly and quietly to suffer.

Their fight is against the discriminatory and offensive laws of the country and not against the people. The authorities have all the machinery at their disposal to adequately deal with them, and passive resisters will not in any way resist that machinery being applied against them. In this act we have not the least doubt that they will have the sympathy of all thinking people of South Africa.

Let us not waste the interim period we have at our disposal. It should be utilised in organising our forces and training the volunteers to be true passive resisters.

Facts Misconstrued

THE leader of *The Star* (Johannesburg), on the postponement of passive resistance is only another instance of the fact that is constantly being driven home throughout the world that those high principles of justice and fairplay which are known to be the foundation of the British Empire are on the

Our contemporary pretends ignorance when it states, "that the legislation which has brought into being the Committee of Action has not yet been enacted." The Committee of Action has come into being in order to resist the action of the Union Government in flouting Indian public opinion both in South Africa and in India and insisting on passing an interim measure in the Transvaal which not only deprives Indians of their rights as human-beings but which hurls an insult to the Indian nation by placing on it a stigma of inferiority—and that too without any justification. This very act has really closed the door against the Indian Government for honourably carrying on any further negotiations. It is only India that stands before the Union Government as a mendicant. For any other independent State the present situation would have long been considered as sufficiently warranting a state of war. Indians in South Africa have, however, chosen to adopt the honourable course of undergoing self-suffering.

What code of justice, we would ask, allows the passing of a sentence without the accused being given the fullest opportunity of defending his case? If this interim measure is not a sentence passed against the Transvaal Indians before their case is heard, we would like to know what it is.

We are therefore not prepared to believe our contemporary when it says that the position has not yet arisen to justify people with any sense of self-respect taking recourse to passive resistance which is the only honourable method they have of effectively protesting.

"The majority of law-abiding Indians in this Province," says our contemporary,

"have so far abstained from the course advocated by the more demonstrative minority, and this fact alone cannot but weaken the force of any sectional protest."

Well, we are shocked! If this is not a wilful act of hiding the truth and propagating untruth, we would like to know what other interpretation could be given to it. —

That so-called "majority of law-abiding Indians" either in the Transvaal or in Natal has not yet had the guts to hold a public meeting to denounce the course advocated by what our contemporary terms "the more demonstrative minority," whereas the latter was at least able to hold that memorable mass meeting of July 9, where 6,000 Indians had peacefully assembled and had unanimously resolved to resort to passive resistance to protest against the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act. Our contemporary very grudgingly published a report of that meeting and distorted the resolutions. Again that very "demonstrative minority" had attracted over three thousand Indians in Durban and those who will not keep their eyes closed, as our contemporary appears to be doing, can easily observe the growing support this "demonstrative minority" is gaining from throughout the country.

On the other hand the "majority of law-abiding Indians" are personified in Mr. S. M. Nana in the Transvaal and Mr. A. I. Kaje in Natal, who have assumed dictatorial powers in the community. The sooner they begin to realise that their wings are being steadily but surely clipped the better it will be for them.

There is, however, one thing in our contemporary's article which is worth taking note of. That is the following:

"The door to an honourable settlement has not yet been finally closed, and there are many forces at work in this country which do their utmost to see such a settlement is finally effected. Nor is it right at this juncture to say that neither the Government nor the Minister for the Interior is disposed to find a solution for a vexed question that will bring honourable finality to the problem of Indian trading and occupational rights in the Transvaal."

Our contemporary further goes on to say:

"Time and again it has been shown that the community in South Africa has many friends and well wishers among the European population both in and out of Parliament. Few of these would be disposed to condone a resort at the present time to passive resistance, which, however sincere at the outset, is calculated sometimes to lead to actual clashes with the authority; and both they and the Indians themselves are bound to recognise that the present conditions in the Union and in the outside world demand that political disturbances should be sedulously avoided."

If those who have resolved to resort to passive resistance are convinced that the door to an *honourable* settlement is still open Dr. Dadoo, the leader of the movement, has made it quite clear, that "they are prepared to go to any lengths to avoid resistance." It is for that, and for no other reason, that they have, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, postponed the launching of the struggle.

As for the warning that the present condition in the Union and in the outside world demands that political disturbances should be sedulously avoided, is it not incumbent upon the Government and the European people of the Union to avoid, at a time like this, wontonly and unjustifiably trampling under their feet the sentiments and self-respect of 200,000 Indians, who form just a little over two and a half per cent of the total population of this vast sub-continent, and over 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in this country and know no other home, and who have remained in this country always as a peaceful and law abiding community, and whose ancestors have given their life blood in the development and prosperity of this country; and further indirectly wounding the susceptibilities and insulting the honour of a whole nation of four hundred million people who have been the main pillar of the British Empire? Are the lives of Indians considered to be so cheap as to be dealt with any how simply because India does not wield the power that Japan, for instance, does? Are they therefore to be conveniently treated like pawns in the political game of the Union? Are those who have a sense of self-respect to be blamed if they refuse to allow their self-respect to be trampled and are prepared to sacrifice instead their physical selves? If this appears to be such a terrifyingly "extreme" method of protest then the only best course for those who complain against it is to see that steps are taken to remove the cause of it. Why does our contemporary not suggest that instead of castigating those who are fighting for those high principles of justice and fairplay the British people have been so boastful of?

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Travesty Of Justice

SINCE writing the above the castigation of the *Rand Daily Mail* against the advocates of passive resistance has come to our notice. We are not prepared to believe, as our contemporary would have us

believe, that the plan of the advocates of passive resistance was weak. It is in fact the strength of that plan that has led Mahatma Gandhi from his multifarious and far more important engagements to once again interest himself actively in the Indian question of South Africa. That in itself is a victory on the side of the advocates of passive resistance.

To say that the launching of passive resistance has been postponed because of the weakness of their plan is to misconstrue facts. Advocates of passive resistance were never averse to seeking redress by negotiations if it could be done *honourably*. We are against the new legislation not because it is a "pegging-down measure" and that it will have the effect of decreasing the number of Indian trading licences, but because it casts a stigma of inferiority against Indians as a race and lays down the principle of segregation, while representations are yet being made by the Government of India against that very principle. Mr. Stuttaford was far from sympathetic when he spoke on the measure in Parliament and when he interpreted the exemption clause in the Senate. He has now climbed down slightly in declaring that "the Act will not be used as an instrument of repression," and that it will be carried out with "scrupulous fairness." Those who believe we are out only for these crumbs have failed to understand our innermost feelings. This declaration of Mr. Stuttaford does not satisfy the sentiments of the advocates of passive resistance. If there is the slightest sense of justice and fairplay in the ruling race of South Africa, it should understand that the least that was essential was to suspend the operation of the objectionable clauses in the measure while negotiations were still continuing for the permanent solution of the Indian question. These clauses were strongly condemned by the European Press generally, and we acknowledge with profound appreciation that our contemporary, the *Rand Daily Mail*, was the strongest in condemning them. A thing that is condemnable can only be acceptable to those who are something less than humanbeings. Advocates of passive resistance want to prove that they are humanbeings with the same sense of honour and susceptibilities as are claimed by the ruling race of South Africa.

It is a travesty of justice to charge the advocates of passive resistance with "coercion" when they are really the victims of coercion at the hands of the authorities. If willingness to stake one's life for the sake of one's honour is to be interpreted as coercion it certainly, in the present instance, betrays a weak case on the part of those who complain about coercion.

TEMPORARY POSTPONEMENT OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ADVICE

ON Saturday morning, July 29, the *Natal Mercury* published the following under the bold headlines "Gandhi Opposes Civil Disobedience," "S. A. Indians May Change Programme."

Mahatma Gandhi cabled to certain prominent South African Indians last week saying that he was against the institution of a passive resistance campaign while negotiations were still proceeding.

The campaign was to be opened by Transvaal Indians on August 1 as a protest against the Transvaal Asiatics (Land, and Trading) Act. It is now thought that in view of Gandhiji's advice the programme may be changed.

The contents of the cable, it is now revealed, were not disclosed at the meeting of Indians in the Durban City Hall last Saturday.

Fresh Developments

There have been several fresh developments this week which may also alter the position.

On Thursday Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior, said that his Department would carry out the Act with scrupulous fairness. So far only one application for a licence had been refused since the promulgation of the Act.

On that day, too, the Union Cabinet discussed the Indian question in the knowledge that the Government of India had not abandoned hope of a Round Table Conference on it.

Sir Rama Rau, Agent-General for India, and his secretary, Mr. S. Ridley, left Durban for Pretoria this week.

In the light of these developments it is felt in some quarters that the launching of a civil disobedience campaign would only complicate the position.

Britain May Exert Influence

"This movement," said Mr. A. I. Kaje in an interview, "is certain to cause tension in India, and there the opinion is gaining ground that Great Britain, in order to retain Indian sympathy, may influence South Africa to remove the grievances of South African Indians."

Those responsible for having engineered the publication of the above had the satisfaction of having caused a great deal of excitement in the community and the *Natal Daily News* more than once sought interviews with Mr.

Manilal Gandhi to find out if he knew anything about the cables. Mr. Gandhi, however, refused to make any statement and stated that the public should take no notice of what appears in the Press as long as no official statement is made by Dr. Dadoo, the leader of the passive resistance movement. The *Daily News*, however, was apparently only anxious to extort, if possible, the cable mentioned above and did not publish the statement made by Mr. Gandhi, but published almost the same thing that appeared in the *Natal Mercury*.

But the Agencies responsible for trying to play the secret service rushed to the Press a bit too hurriedly and to their disappointment perhaps made a hash of the whole thing.

The same night Reuter transmitted from Wardha, India, a message from Mahatma Gandhi, which was published in all the papers and on Sunday morning the air was quite cleared. The message was as follows:

Gandhiji has asked the South African Indian Passive Resistance Committee to postpone for a time the proposed launching of the struggle on August 1, as he has some hope that an honourable settlement will be achieved.

In the course of a statement, Gandhiji says: "I know the Government of India, as well as the British Government, are trying to obtain relief. I have put myself in touch with the Ministers in the circumstances. I think a brief postponement of the struggle is necessary."

"I have been in telegraphic correspondence with Dr. Dadoo, leader of the passive resistance movement in South Africa. I have no hesitation in asking the Passive Resistance Committee to postpone for a time the proposed launching of the struggle."

"I am fully aware of the enthusiasm of the 'resisters'—they have proved their mettle before. They will do so again if it becomes necessary, but it is the code of the passive resisters to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance if it can be done honourably."

"Every cessation in the search of peace adds to the strength of the real fighters. Let them remember the settlement in 1914 was the outcome of the cessation of the struggle for the sake of peace. I hope the proposed cessation will lead to a similar result."

"Should it unfortunately prove to be otherwise, and should the struggle

begin, let Dr. Dadoo and his fellow-resisters know that the whole of India will be at their back."

Dr. Dadoo's Statement

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, leader of the passive resistance movement in the Transvaal, has issued the following statement regarding the postponement of the campaign: "In view of the cable advice given by Mahatma Gandhi to me and also his public appeal to postpone passive resistance pending further advice from him, the passive resistance committee desires to inform the public and volunteers that it will accede to the request of Mahatma Gandhi."

"Mahatma Gandhi has been our guide and mentor in all that the passive resistance council has been doing in this matter and we shall whole-heartedly await his advice, for we realise that his interest in the cause of Indians in South Africa has not abated one whit, even though many years have elapsed since he left South African shores."

"I, however, desire to stress that the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939, which aims at the virtual economic extinction of the Indian community of the Transvaal, casts a slur of inferiority on the whole Indian nation. The passive resistance council sincerely hopes that the negotiations that are now proceeding will result in an honourable settlement."

Kindliest Feelings Towards Europeans

In the course of an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail*, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo said:

"I am at the moment not fully aware of the precise nature of the negotiations that appear to be going on between Mahatma Gandhi and the various Governments directly and indirectly concerned. We are prepared to go to any lengths to avoid resistance, and effect an honourable and peaceful settlement. That is why we are now anxiously waiting for further advice."

Dr. Dadoo emphasised that the proposed passive resistance campaign was in no way a sign of unfriendliness or hostility towards the European community as a whole.

"We have nothing but the kindest of feelings towards our European fellow citizens as a whole. We merely wish to register our passive protest against the policy of the Union Government towards our people."

EUROPEAN PRESS ON PASSIVE RESISTANCE

"The Star"

The Star (Johannesburg), in its issue of July 31, writes the following leaderett under the caption "Mr Gandhi's Advice":—

THE Indian Committee of Action has done wisely in accepting Mr. Gandhi's advice to postpone its proposed passive resistance campaign in this country. Mr. Gandhi, in his message to his compatriots in the Union, deprecates the suggested campaign on various grounds, not the least important being that he has hopes of an honourable settlement of South African Indian differences with the Union Government, since both the Government of India and that of Great Britain "are trying to obtain relief." A still more cogent argument is the Mahatma's reminder that "every cessation in search of peace adds to the strength of the real fighters." This, he says, is the code of passive resistance who are enjoined to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance if it can be done honourably.

It is not only Mr. Gandhi's counsel at this juncture that should deter those contemplating this extreme form of protest against a situation that has not yet arisen. The legislation which has brought into being the Committee of Action has not yet been enacted, for Parliament last session did little more than endorse the *status quo* for a further and still indefinite period. The door to an honourable settlement has not yet been finally closed, and there are many forces at work in this country which will do their utmost to see that such a settlement is finally effected. Nor is it right at this juncture to say that neither the Government nor the Minister for the Interior is disposed to find a solution for a vexed question that will bring honourable finality to the problem of Indian trading and occupational rights in the Transvaal. If so extreme a measure as passive resistance were ever to be justified—we do not agree that such a situation should arise—it could only be after Parliament had finally and inflexibly ratified a settlement that an aggrieved element felt it could not accept.

Up to now no such position has arisen, nor is the Indian community itself by any means agreed on the policy advocated by the Committee of Action. The majority of law-abiding Indians in this Province have so far abstained from the course advocated by the more demonstrative minority, and this fact alone cannot but weaken the force of sectional protest. Time and again it has been shown that the Indian com-

munity in South Africa has many friends and well-wishers among the European population both in and out of Parliament. Few of these would be disposed to condone a resort at the present time to passive resistance—which, however sincere at the outset, is calculated sometimes to lead to actual clashes with authority; and both they and the Indians themselves are bound to recognise that the present conditions in the Union and in the outside world demand that political disturbances should be sedulously avoided.

"The Rand Daily Mail"

The Rand Daily Mail dated August 1, writes under the caption "Extreme Measures Would't Pay":—

In spite of his long absence from South Africa, Mr. Gandhi seems to have a clearer and more realistic grasp of conditions in the Union than those of his compatriots who have been advocating

WARNING

THE public is warned against giving subscriptions to any person collecting in the name of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress unless official receipt has been issued by the officials of the Group, or the person collecting holds a letter bearing the signature of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Leader of the Nationalist Group.

passive resistance and the formation of a so-called "Non-European Front." Indeed, it is not to the credit of the leaders of the projected campaign that they realised the weakness of their plan at the very last moment, and this fact should greatly strengthen the hands of the representatives of Indian opinion in the Union who have always maintained that such extreme measures were not only unjustified, but doomed to failure.

It has not yet been proved that the new legislation, which was described by Mr. Stuttaford as "a pegging-down measure," will have the effect of decreasing the number of Indian trading licences. If the law is administered with tolerance and understanding—and that is only possible if the Indians do not adopt methods which might call for retaliation from other extremists—then the *status quo* can undoubtedly be maintained until a final settlement is reached.

There is no reason to suppose that the representatives of liberal opinion on this question in the Union will not be able to introduce reforms without interfering with existing rights. Appeals and advice from the Governments of India and Great Britain will add force to their argument, but it must not be forgotten that any suggestion of coercion or active intervention will be strongly resented by a large proportion of the people of the Union.

In the circumstances, the Indian community in South Africa, which should realise that it has many friends among the European section, will be well advised to seek a solution along the lines of discussion and negotiation, and to pay no further attention to the advocates of methods which can only lead to serious disturbances at a time when every effort should be made to avoid racial clashes.

"Die Transvaaler"

The following is a translation of a leading article in the Nationalist Party organ, *Die Transvaaler*, dated July 25, on passive resistance, which was to have started on August 1. Any comment on our part would be superfluous:—

Before long, namely August 1, a section of the Indian community will begin with a campaign against all legislative measures which define their position in South Africa differently from that of Europeans. They are against the absolutely weak temporary measure which was accepted last session. Greater rebelliousness can be expected later when the more important and all-embracing measures advocated by the Nationalist Party are introduced or accepted. We have here thus to cope with what in fact is a rebellion of the Indians against the segregation measures whereby the European civilisation has to maintain its interests.

"The campaign will take the form of so-called civil disobedience, that means that certain groups of Indians will break the ordinary laws of the land viz, those which they consider give them unjust treatment in comparison with Europeans. The aim is to undergo imprisonment, to offer no resistance and to undergo punishment. They hope that the more they are in detention, the more inconvenient it will be for the Government. Apart from that they believe that they will be looked upon as martyrs, especially when they begin with their hunger strikes. In that way, especially because there exists a big outcry in India, they will try to force the Government to submit.

"Here is now a case where the United Party and the press which support the

Government should stand together to maintain the prestige of the Government. Every Nationalist, as well as the Nationalist newspapers will stand behind the Government in such a conflict against Indian tyranny. The best method to combat this threatening campaign of resistance against the laws is to treat them as little as possible in the way they wish. The government must leave it to the public to deal with them. Their branches must receive no sympathetic publicity. The public must unani-

mously ignore those who trade in forbidden places. If Indians try to enter the Free State it should be left to the "Burghers" to drive them out. Every possible Indian undertaking must experience an inexorable boycott from Europeans. These law-breakers and their families will receive openly or secretly the necessary monetary help through apparently law-abiding people.

"Through disobedience against the law as a means for fighting, they are exposing themselves against the sharp-

est measures of Europeans. It now appears important to drive out from commerce (while they are now allowed) that group which openly plead for such movements. Trade being their only means of livelihood gives rise for their demand and brutal intentions.

"Will the Government, Press and United Party supporters immediately declare their readiness to maintain the authority of the State? And will they immediately go over to start the propaganda for the coming week?"

THE ASPIRATIONS OF YOUNG INDIA

I

INDIA of to-day is not the India of even a couple of centuries ago. The crushing poverty and rank illiteracy of the people, which have become almost proverbial in India to-day, present a sad contrast to the state of affairs obtaining in this land in the ancient and medieval ages. The painful spectacle of modern India denuded of all her pristine wealth and glory cannot but fill every patriotic heart with profound indignation and sorrow. Once a land of plenty and profusion—a veritable El Dorado, India has become the poorest country in the world to-day, and serves only as the dumping ground for all the exploiting nations on earth. The present atrophied condition of her economic life would hardly warrant anyone to believe that she was the feeder of nations till the very beginning of the nineteenth century. That a bold and industrious peasantry peopled the smiling and peaceful villages of ancient India and cultivated the endless expanse of fertile fields, while the artisans in towns carried their various manufactures to a state of perfection, and that the industrial products of India were known to the merchants of Assyria and Babylon, Phenicia and Egypt, Sumatra and Java as also to the distant parts of the Western world are facts testified to by a host of European travellers. Measthene and Arrian Stabo and Pliny, Fahien and Hieuen Tsang—all have given a brilliant pen picture of the life and activities of the Indians of their times, and have clearly pointed out that India was a highly opulent country and the arts and crafts of the land attained to a high level of excellence. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, an authoritative book on India's maritime activities, furnishes a glowing account of her trading relations with the far-off lands of the West as well as of the precious articles exported from Indian shores to foreign territories. The annals of Moslem India (*i.e.*, of the medieval age) tell almost the very same tale. The hopes and aspirations of the Moslem emperors were bound up with the well-being of those over whom they

By THE EDITOR

"Prabuddha Bharata"

were destined to rule. The history bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that not a single farthing received from the Indian tax-payers did ever go beyond the borders of India to fill the coffers of the Moslems abroad. India was made their motherland and as such the most benevolent of the Moslem emperors spared no pains to enhance the peace and wealth of the people at large. Prof. Dewye writing in 1871 remarked, "We appeal to the testimony of those who marched through Bengal after the death of Sirajuddoula that at that time the country was one of the richest, most populous and best cultivated kingdoms in the world. The great men and merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and manufacturers were blessed with plenty, content and ease."

II

If the testimony of historians is to be believed, one cannot ignore the tragic phenomenon that the entire outlook of the land began to undergo a miraculous transformation with the advent of the white races in India. The country which was once the richest is to-day the poorest in the world. Mr. H. M. Howsin does not seem to be wrong when he observes in *The Significance of Indian Nationalism*, "The genesis of this poverty in India may be traced to the early days of the Company's rule, when in addition to pillage and extortion, the rich manufacturers of India were killed by excessive pro-British duties and unfair monopolies, and the surplus population thrown on the land in an utterly destitute condition, there to be subjected to severe and ceaseless taxation. The much augmented agricultural population have never had the opportunity to recuperate their exhausted energies and resources." Frederick John Shore (formerly of the Bengal Civil Service) has also remarked, "The halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large portion of wealth she once

possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of rule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." Similarly did Mr. Sullivan, who was at one time a member of the Government of Madras, frankly admit,

"Under their own dynasties all revenue that was collected in the country was spent in the country; but under our rule a large portion of the revenue is annually drained away, without any return being made for it....Our system acts very much like a sponge drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames." This is the testimony, not of Indians but of accredited European officials who held responsible positions in the administration of British India. As a result of this systematic exploitation of her material resources, India is experiencing to-day the bitterness of economic atrophy unparalleled in the history of any existing nation in the civilised world. The villages have become now the veritable dens of jackals and hyenas, a creeping paralysis has already begun to spread over every limb of our rural system and millions of people are dying of starvation and diseases every year. If we take the trouble of examining the statistics of the average annual income of the different countries of the world, the lurid picture of India's present destitution and economic prostration becomes revealed in all its nakedness unto our eyes. India has not at the present day more than Rs. 27/- to her credit as the average income per head per annum, whereas the big imperialistic powers of the West such as America, England, France and Japan, have Rs. 1,000/-, Rs. 750/-, Rs. 450/- and Rs. 345/- as the average annual income per head respectively. The condition of education in this country is none the less appalling. A comparative study of the world figures of the progress of literacy discloses startling disparity in this regard between India and the rest of the countries. Literacy in Holland, Norway, Denmark and Germany is 100 per cent., in America 95.4, in England 93.5, and in Japan 97.8, whereas in

British India it is only 8 per cent! In short 92 per cent of her people are still without the elementary knowledge of the three R's. The figures given above, though disconcerting, are revelatory of our actual position in the educational world to-day. In British India alone every year four hundred and fifty lakhs of people suffer from various kinds of diseases, and out of them 866 people die every hour. The average length of life in America is 55.5, in England 52.5, in France 48.5 and in Japan 44.3, whereas in India it is only 22.7. And so far as the question of unemployment in different countries is concerned, the statistics collected by the League of Nations show that 40 million people are unemployed elsewhere in the whole world, but more than that number are without any employment in India alone. Even when the comparative efficiency of an average individual is taken into consideration, India cannot produce more than 1.5 on her record, though America, England, France and Germany have 30, 18, 8½, and 12 to their credit respectively. Thus in short India has the highest record in death rate and unemployment and the lowest record in income, literacy and efficiency.

III

As a matter of fact the political problem of the land can be solved only when the economic interests of the people are duly safeguarded and prompt measures are taken to bring about an intellectual renaissance amongst the sunken masses so as to make them realise their actual position in their own country. The Hon'ble Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister of Madras for Labour and Industries, once remarked, "We have to scientifically organise the whole country, I mean the seven lakhs of villages in India. It is a well-known fact that India is pre-eminently an agricultural country. It is now practically admitted that people cannot rely on agriculture alone for their sustenance. Unless therefore in the first instance you set up subsidiary industries which do not require great outlay, the population in the villages have necessarily to starve." He further suggests that the land that is at present lying fallow and is in the possession of the Government should be thrown open to the peasantry for cultivation. But mere exploitation of this land representing an area of 229,900 sq. miles capable of supporting a population of 55,721,750, will not be of any value unless middle class industries and cottage industries are started in these areas, which will result in giving subsidiary occupation for the workers staying in these villages during the season when there is no cultivation. "Even in Germany, a highly efficient industrial nation," said Mr. Giri, "they have certain cottage industries, and export their goods to other countries. The cottage industries in Japan are run mostly by power, and that may be one of the

reasons why they produce goods in large quantities and thus dump them on to other countries. Therefore, from whichever way we may look at it, the only hope for the solution of unemployment problem or for the development of rural areas lies firstly in the establishment of cottage industries on a large scale throughout the length and breadth of India." In order to put these ideas into effect, he adds, there must be real and effective central and local economic councils on which there must be eminent economists and representatives of labour, agriculture and other interests. But industrialisation of the country on a factory basis can hardly be resisted at this stage when it has already begun to work and make its usefulness felt in every centre of our economic activity. What is wanted is not a total negation or rejection but an assimilation, and an adjustment of our corporate life to the industrial system with an adequate safeguard against the evils inherent in it. It is a self-evident fact that the situation has been rendered complicated by the interaction of manifold conflicting interests of the different classes, and it can be stated with positive certitude that unless there is a surrender and sacrifice of vested interests at the altar of national well-being, no amount of pious wishes or frothy sentimentalism will be able to ameliorate the condition of the bleeding proletariat. In the significant words of Mr. Stein, the celebrated German statesman, we can also say, "If the nation is to be uplifted, the submerged part must be given liberty, independence, property and protection of laws."

IV

Many even fail to realise that there is an intimate connection between rural development and educational reform. The idea that elementary education should develop the capacity for facing the problem of life intelligently and with determination has not yet been acted on on a very large scale in India. It cannot be denied that the present system of education is to a large extent responsible for the helpless condition of India to-day. Even the young men of the land, when highly educated, fail to have that synthetic understanding of the intimate relation between the ideal and the real as well as between their individual aspirations and the general good of a corporate life. An educated Indian is, in many cases, nothing short of an Anglicized polyglot or an idle visionary having no solid ground of practical training to stand upon. Rightly does Mahatma Gandhi say, "If education means a general discontent with one's surroundings, a wrench with the past without hope for the future and a general scramble for employment, the whole of the beautiful edifice must one morning come down with a sudden crash. Without the culture of the heart and the hand mere growth of literacy

has no attraction for me. What is wanted therefore is a drastic measure giving not an indifferent manual training but a proper occupational training, specially designed to make it worth while for educated men not to look up to Government service. . . . Unless the mind of the student world is given a bent in the direction of the main and natural sources of livelihood and is developed in a scientific spirit in keeping with the special Indian condition, the gulf between the educated classes and the masses must widen; the former must live on the latter instead of the former living with and for the latter and sweetening their life." As a matter of fact much of our present state of helplessness can be traced to the defective system of modern education. The ideal of a university must not only be the promotion of liberty of mind or freedom of thought among its alumni, but should also be to open before them adequate facilities for harnessing their intellectual knowledge to the fruitful work of rural reconstruction and social well-being. In a country where 80 per cent. of people live in villages and hardly get a square meal even in the course of a year, the education of a university would be considered a complete failure if it fails to create opportunities for them to build their lives on a sound moral and economic basis. Regarding the ideal of a university rightly did Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, remark in his learned Convocation Address at the Patna University, "The Indian universities, if they are to play their role in the rebuilding of a new India, must not regard themselves as exclusive institutions which exist apart from the currents of the country's life. Let them train their alumni in a worthy manner and saturate them with the lessons of Indian history and civilisation; instil into them unity and reason, strength and dauntlessness, inspire them with skill and knowledge and teach them to apply themselves devotedly unselfishly to the service of their fellow men." In fact the recovery of the old knowledge in its depth and fulness, its restatement in new forms adapted to present needs, and an original handling of the novel situations that have arisen in the light of the Indian spirit, and the practical application of the knowledge so gathered, to the development of a healthy economic life and sound social order, are but some of the urgent necessities of the hour. In the words of Prof. Radhakrishnan, "An education that brings up a young man in entire indifference to the misery and poverty surrounding him, to the general stringency of life, to the dumb pangs of the tortured bodies and the lives submerged in the shadow is essentially a failure."

(To be continued)

Government should stand together to maintain the prestige of the Government. Every Nationalist, as well as the Nationalist newspapers will stand behind the Government in such a conflict against Indian tyranny. The best method to combat this threatening campaign of resistance against the laws is to treat them as little as possible in the way they wish. The government must leave it to the public to deal with them. Their branches must receive no sympathetic publicity. The public must unani-

mously ignore those who trade in forbidden places. If Indians try to enter the Free State it should be left to the "Burghers" to drive them out. Every possible Indian undertaking must experience an inexorable boycott from Europeans. These law-breakers and their families will receive openly or secretly the necessary monetary help through apparently law-abiding people. "Through disobedience against the law as a means for fighting, they are exposing themselves against the sharp-

est measures of Europeans. It now appears important to drive out from commerce (while they are now allowed) that group which openly plead for such movements. Trade being their only means of livelihood gives rise for their demand and brutal intentions.

"Will the Government, Press and United Party supporters immediately declare their readiness to maintain the authority of the State? And will they immediately go over to start the propaganda for the coming week?"

THE ASPIRATIONS OF YOUNG INDIA

I

INDIA of to-day is not the India of even a couple of centuries ago. The crushing poverty and rank illiteracy of the people, which have become almost proverbial in India to-day, present a sad contrast to the state of affairs obtaining in this land in the ancient and medieval ages. The painful spectacle of modern India denuded of all her pristine wealth and glory cannot but fill every patriotic heart with profound indignation and sorrow. Once a land of plenty and profusion—a veritable El Dorado, India has become the poorest country in the world to-day, and serves only as the dumping ground for all the exploiting nations on earth. The present atrophied condition of her economic life would hardly warrant anyone to believe that she was the feeder of nations till the very beginning of the nineteenth century. That a bold and industrious peasantry peopled the smiling and peaceful villages of ancient India and cultivated the endless expanse of fertile fields, while the artisans in towns carried their various manufactures to a state of perfection, and that the industrial products of India were known to the merchants of Assyria and Babylon, Phœnicia and Egypt, Sumatra and Java as also to the distant parts of the Western world are facts testified to by a host of European travellers. Measthene and Arrian Stabo and Pliny, Fahien and Hieuen Tsang—all have given a brilliant pen picture of the life and activities of the Indians of their times, and have clearly pointed out that India was a highly opulent country and the arts and crafts of the land attained to a high level of excellence. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, an authoritative book on India's maritime activities, furnishes a glowing account of her trading relations with the far-off lands of the West as well as of the precious articles exported from Indian shores to foreign territories. The annals of Moslem India (i.e., of the medieval age) tell almost the very same tale. The hopes and aspirations of the Moslem emperors were bound up with the well-being of those over whom they

By THE EDITOR

"Prabuddha Bharata"

were destined to rule. The history bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that not a single farthing received from the Indian tax-payers did ever go beyond the borders of India to fill the coffers of the Moslems abroad. India was made their motherland and as such the most benevolent of the Moslem emperors spared no pains to enhance the peace and wealth of the people at large. Prof. Dewye writing in 1871 remarked, "We appeal to the testimony of those who marched through Bengal after the death of Sirajuddoula that at that time the country was one of the richest, most populous and best cultivated kingdoms in the world. The great men and merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and manufacturers were blessed with plenty, content and ease."

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possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of rule in which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." Similarly did Mr. Sullivan, who was at one time a member of the Government of Madras, frankly admit "Under their own dynasties all revenue that was collected in the country was spent in the country; but under our rule a large portion of the revenue is annually drained away, without any return being made for it.....Our system acts very much like a sponge drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames." This is the testimony, not of Indians but of accredited European officials who held responsible positions in the administration of British India. As a result of this systematic exploitation of her material resources, India is experiencing to-day the bitterness of economic atrophy unparalleled in the history of any existing nation in the civilised world. The villages have become now the veritable dens of jackals and hyenas, a creeping paralysis has already begun to spread over every limb of our rural system and millions of people are dying of starvation and diseases every year. If we take the trouble of examining the statistics of the average annual income of the different countries of the world, the lurid picture of India's present destitution and economic prostration becomes revealed in all its nakedness unto our eyes. India has not at the present day more than Rs. 27/- to her credit as the average income per head per annum, whereas the big imperialistic powers of the West such as America, England, France and Japan, have Rs. 1,000/-, Rs. 750/-, Rs. 450/- and Rs. 345/- as the average annual income per head respectively. The condition of education in this country is none the less appalling. A comparative study of the world figures of the progress of literacy discloses startling disparity in this regard between India and the rest of the countries. Literacy in Holland, Norway, Denmark and Germany is 100 per cent., in America 95.4, in England 93.5, and in Japan 97.8, whereas in

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(To be continued)

Things In General

Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society

THE fourth annual general meeting of the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society was held on July 20, at the Magazine Barracks Hall, Somtsein Road, Durban. Mr. T. S. John (president), presided. Amongst others present were Mr. H. A. Smith, the Deputy and City Water Engineer of Durban, Mrs. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. A. Christopher, Messrs. S. L. Singh and K. Soobramoney. The hall was packed to capacity and many had to remain outside. Mr. S. L. Singh in his secretarial report stated that the Durban municipality employs 3,337 Indians, including 2,950 unskilled labourers and 64 women, who are engaged as grass cutters and bath attendants. As a result of Dr. K. McNeill's attention to the poor rations supplied by the municipality a better quality of rice is now being supplied to the Indian employees. The uniform supplied to Indian police was also the subject of complaint to the municipality. "It is urged that white tunics be provided during the summer months as the present uniforms are heavy and uncomfortable," stated Mr. Singh. The age limit of Indian employees has now been increased from 45 to 50 subject to the applicants' satisfactory medical report. The society has also made representations to the Council on the question of payment of a house allowance in lieu of accommodation at the municipal barracks. A new recreation hall, according to the secretary's report, has now been completed for the use of the Indian employees. The Council, with the approval of the Administrator, has approved of a building scheme to help applicants who have partly paid for their land. On behalf of the society Mr. S. L. Singh congratulated Mr. Smith on his promotion as the City and Water Engineer of Durban, and appealed to him to give due consideration to the representations of the society. He stated that the society is only too willing to co-operate with him, and any demands they make would certainly be just and reasonable. Mr. Smith was garlanded by the chairman and a bouquet was presented to Mrs. Smith. Mr. Smith in response thanked the society and stated that as in the past he would do all he could for the welfare and upliftment of the workers. The minutes of the last meeting and the hon. treasurer's financial statement were read and accepted. Mr. S. L. Singh and Mr. K. Soobramoney, the hon. and assistant organising secretaries, submitted a lengthy report describing the useful activities of the society. The chairman in moving for its adoption referred to the untiring and unselfish services rendered by Mr. S. L. Singh to the society and a resolution

was passed unanimously recording and conveying the society's appreciation and thanks to him, and also to Advocate A. Christopher, the hon. legal adviser, for his invaluable advice from time to time in all matters affecting the society. Mr. and Mrs. Christopher address the meeting at length and congratulated the society on their creditable work and appealed to non-members to join forces with the society and wished it every success. The following officials were elected:— President: Mr. T. S. John; hon. organising secretary: Mr. S. L. Singh; assistant organising secretary: Mr. K. Soobramoney; hon. legal adviser: Advocate A. Christopher; hon. treasurers: Messrs. M. S. John and V. M. Naicker; hon. secretary: Mr. A. Doraswami.

BHULABHAI DESAI

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Wage Board

On Thursday, July 27, Messrs. A. Christopher (president), P. R. Pather (joint hon. secretary), Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney (Johannesburg), as representing the South African Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, together with Messrs. S. L. Singh (hon. organising secretary), K. Soobramoney (assistant organising secretary) and T. S. John (president) of the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society, interviewed the members of the Wage Board, that is presently in Durban investigating in certain industries. The deputation laid stress on important points and was given a very sympathetic hearing. The association will submit a lengthy memorandum to the Board in the near future.

Social And Personal

Mrs. Sayed Camroo, accompanied by her eldest daughter Aysha-Begum of Ladysmith, left for India on Sunday by the *s.s. Kenya*. A large gathering of Indians had assembled at the Durban Point to bid farewell to Mrs. Sayed Camroo who is going back to India after 49 years' stay in South Africa.

Obituary

Death Of Mrs. G. Moodley

After a short illness, the death of Mrs. Govindamah A. Moodley occurred at her residence in First Avenue, Durban, on Sunday, July 23. Mrs. Moodley was a daughter of Mr. Charlie Nulliah of Maritzburg. She was on the teaching staff of the York Road Government Indian School for many years and resigned on her marriage. Mrs. Moodley was associated with the public life of her community. In Maritzburg she was prominently connected with the Maritzburg Indian Parliamentary and Debating Society, being "Education Minister" during several sessions. In Durban she for some time was the president of the Indian Women's Association and took part in other Indian social activities. She leaves a husband, three young children, her parents and a large number of relatives. The funeral took place at the Mountain Rise Cemetery, Maritzburg.

Death Of Abdul Aziz

Master Abdul Aziz, fifth son of Mr. G. R. Moonshi of Pietersburg, Transvaal, passed away peacefully on Tuesday after two days' illness. He was a brilliant student at Sastri College and gained his Matric Certificate last December, and was preparing to leave by the end of the year to Edinburgh to take up medicine.

Apology

I tender my sincere apology to Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Gabriel of 122 First Avenue, Durban, for assaulting their daughter, Florence, in First Avenue on June 5, and also I sincerely withdraw all statements made concerning her.

(Sgd.) GRACE SAMUELS.

Durban,

12th July, 1939.

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A Coloured, European or an Indian lady teacher to teach sewing and knitting for the Heidelberg Indian and Coloured Government School.

Apply to:

SECRETARY SCHOOL BOARD,
P. O. Box 17,
Heidelberg, Transvaal.

The Sporting World

Boxing

ALL the boxers figuring in the title bouts on Saturday evening at the City Hall, Durban, are in fine condition. Seaman Chetty, the bantam weight title holder is making his last appearance before going overseas. Sonny Thomas, the light-weight champion, is determined to retain his title. After this fight he intends tackling Gorilla Thompson at catch-weights. Mannie Dixon is confident that he will turn the tables on Thomas. Two good preliminaries complete the programme.

Soccer At Currie's Fountain

Soccer in the Natal Indian Cup competition on Saturday afternoon at Currie's Fountain reached high standards, all three matches being keenly contested. Star, Shamrocks and Stella came through the second round at the expense of Whipsnade, Afritex and Daffodils respectively.

The results are as follows:—Star beat Whipsnade 2-1; Shamrocks beat Afritex 3-1; and Stella beat Daffodils 3-2.

Representative teams of the Durban Coloured Football Association and the Durban Indian Sunday League met on Sunday at Currie's Fountain in a friendly match which resulted in a win for the Indian team by three goals to nil. Both

sides gave an excellent exhibition of soccer.

Forthcoming Tournament

In view of the forthcoming tournament the Frontier Indian Football Association tested the local eleven against an Eastern Province Moslem (Malay) eleven which resulted in a win for the Frontier by 5 goals to 1. The following players represented the Frontier I. F. A.: S. Hassen (goalkeeper), T. Moodley, Charles O'Brien (backs); V. Charles, C. Rangasamy, George Phillips (halves); R. Pillay, Vaasen Moodley, Sunny Narasoo, B. Christian, C. Vengadajellum (forwards).

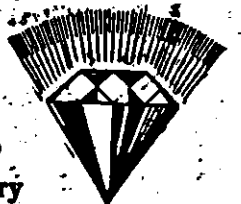
Durban & District Table Tennis Union

Delegates from the Hindu Youth Club, Hindu Social Club, Muslim Institute, Austins Sports Club, Bharat Social Club, Sastri College Social Club, formed the above organisation and elected its officials. The union invites the other table tennis clubs in and around Durban to affiliate and thereby help in the general progress of table tennis. Any club seeking affiliation should elect its delegate to the Union Committee, the first meeting of which is to be called soon. Affiliation fee is 5s. 3d. and registration fee 6d. per player. All communications should be addressed to the secretary, c/o P. O. Box 1773, Durban.

Sastri College Old Boys' Club

There was a fair attendance when the Sastri College Old Boys' Club held its first monthly social at the College hall on Saturday July 29. Mr. Morris Broughton was unable to be present, and Mr. Warriner, while explaining his absence also informed the members that the Elsteddfod final concert was set down for August 16. The members present thoroughly enjoyed the games. As the cricket season is approaching the club appeals to all its cricketers to support the officials in their efforts to raise up a team. The chief difficulty is finance and the officials are contemplating the idea of a grand social during the Michaelmas holidays.

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અંક ૩૧.

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર, તા. ૪ ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૩૯.

મો કુરી

સલાહના એશીયાટીકસ લેન્ડ એન્ડ ટ્રેડિંગ એક્ટની સામે ઓગસ્ટ તા. ૧ લીએ શરૂ થનાર સલાહની હાલત ગાંધીજીની સુચનાથી ટુંક સુદતને માટે મોકુફ રાખવામાં આવી છે. ગાંધીજી કહે છે કે તેઓ પ્રધાનોની સાથે મસલત કરી રહ્યા છે અને માનભરેલું સમાધાન થાય તેવી તેઓ કંઈક આશા ધરાવે છે. તેઓ વધુમાં કહે છે કે “સલાહની-ઓના નીચમ છે કે હાલત માનભરેલી રીતે અટકી શકતી હોય તો તેમ કરવાની હરેક તક તેઓએ લેતાં સુધું નહિ જોઈએ.”

સલાહની કાઉન્સિલે ગાંધીજીની સલાહ મુજબ વર્તવાનું ઠરાવવામાં કહાપણ વાપર્યું છે. સલાહની કાઉન્સિલના સભ્યોનો જે કે એવો મજબુત મત છે, કે યુનીયન સરકારે, તેની અને હીંદ સરકારની વચ્ચે હજી મસલતો ચાલી રહી હતી તેવે વખતે ટ્રાંસવાલનો કાયદો પસાર કરી દેવાનું પગલું લઇને, તેમજ પાલીએન્ડમાં મુલકી પ્રધાને હીંદ સરકારની સ્થિતિ કરમરતા બિલકુલના જેવી કરી મુકનારા તેની સામે કરેલા પ્રકારોથી, માનભરેલી રીતે મસલતો ચલાવવાના દરવાજાને તાળાં મારી દીધેલાં છે, છતાં ગાંધીજી ઉપર તેઓનો પ્રદેશ વિશ્વાસ છે કે આપણી કોમ કે આપણા દેશનું અપમાન થાય તેવી કોઈ પણ વસ્તુને તેઓ ટેકો નહીં આપે.

સલાહની હાલત સુલતવી રાખીને આપણે આપણી સલાહની સિદ્ધ કરી આપેલી છે, કે જેઓએ સલાહ કરવાનો ઠરાવ કરેલો છે તેઓ આ દેશની સરકાર કે પ્રબંધને કોઈ પણ પ્રકારની અડચણમાં નાખવા ઇચ્છતા નથી. તેઓ માત્ર પોતાના સ્વમાન અને રાષ્ટ્રીય ગૌરવ, કે જેને તેઓ પોતાના જનના કરતાં પણ વધારે આહે છે, તેને ખાતર તેઓ પોતાના જન કુરબાન કરવા માગે છે. વળી તેઓ જાહેર પ્રબંધને પણ કોઈ પણ જાતના જોખમ કે અગવડમાં નાખવા નથી ઇચ્છતા. તેઓ માત્ર એવાજ કાયદાઓનો ભંગ કરવાના છે કે જેથી જાહેર શાંતિને કશું નુકસાન નહિ થાય પરંતુ પોતાની ઉપરજ સજા આવી પડશે જે તેઓ ખુશીથી અને શાંતિથી સહન કરી લેશે. તેઓની હાલત

લોકોની સામે નથી પરંતુ વર્ણબેદ પાડનારા અને અપમાનભરેલા કાયદાની સામે છે. સરકારની પાસે સલાહનીઓને પહેાંચી વળવાને પુરતાં સાધનો છે અને એ સાધનોના તેઓની સામે ઉપયોગ થાય તેનો તેઓ જરાપણ વિરોધ કરવાના નથી. આ તેઓના પગલાંમાં સધળા વિચારવાન લોકોની તેઓને દિલસોજી અને સહાનુભૂતી છે જેવી અમારી સંપૂર્ણ ખાતરી છે.

આપણે આ નવરાશનો થોડોક વખત મનેલો છે તેને વ્યર્થ વીતાડી દેવો નહિ જોઈએ. આપણું બળ વધારવા અને વ્યવસ્થિત કરવામાં અને સ્વયંસેવકોને ખરા સલાહનીઓ બનવાની તાલીમ આપવામાં તેનો સદુપયોગ કરવો જોઈએ.

પોતાં સ્વરૂપમાં મુકાએલી સત્ય હકીકતો

સલાહની મોકુફીપર જોહાનીસબખના ‘સ્ટાર’ લખેલો લેખ, જે આ અંકમાં અન્ય સ્થળે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરીએ છીએ, તે જગતને વધુને વધુ ઠસતી જતી એજ હકીકતનો એક વધુ પુરાવો આપનારો છે, કે ન્યાય અને અદલત-સાદના સિદ્ધાંતો, જે ખ્રીષ્ટીય શહેનશાહતના પામારૂપ ગણવામાં આવેલા છે, તેની પડતી દશા બેઠેલી છે. એ લેખ અસરો, અને અર્થસત્યોથી ભરેલો છે અને ન્યાયને ખાતર જેઓએ પોતાના જન કુરબાન કરવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો છે તેઓને હલકા પાડવાનો તેનો હેતુ છે.

એ પત્ર સુચવે છે કે “ગાંધીજીએ અનેક કારણોસર સલાહને વખોડી કાઢેલો છે, “જેમાનું મુખ્ય એ છે, કે હીંદ સરકાર તેમજ ખ્રીષ્ટીય સરકાર રાહત મેળવવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરી રહી છે અને તેથી યુનીયન સરકાર સાથેના દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હીંદીઓના મતબેદોનું માનભરેલું સમાધાન થવાની તેઓ આશા સેવી રહ્યા છે.” હકીકતમાં ગાંધીજીએ એવું કશુંજ સુચવેલું નથી. ગાંધીજી સલાહને વખોડી નથી કાઢતા પરંતુ તેઓ તરફથી વધુ સુંચના મળે લાં સુધી ટુંક સુદતને માટે તેને મોકુફ રાખવાનું સુચવે છે, કારણ કે તેઓ જાતે પ્રધાનોની સાથે સંબંધમાં

છે અને માનભરેલું સમાધાન થાય એવી તેઓને કંઈક આશા છે. “સલાહ કમીટીને હસ્તીમાં લાવનાર કાયદો હજી થયો નથી” એમ કહીને ભાષભંધ ‘સ્ટાર’ અજ્ઞાનતાનો ડોળ કરે છે. સલાહ કમીટી યુનીયન સરકારે, દક્ષિણ આ-આફ્રિકાના તેમજ હીંદના હીંદી પ્રબંધને ઠેકર મારી, કોઈ પણ જાતના વાળખીપણા સિવાય, ટ્રાંસવાલમાં હીંદીઓના મનુષ્યજાતી તરીકેના કુદરતી હકો છીનવી લેનારોજ નહિ, પરંતુ એક જાતી તરીકે હીંદીઓપર હલકાપણાની છાપ મારનારો કાયદો પસાર કરીને સમસ્ત હીંદી પ્રબંધનું અપમાન કરેલું છે, તેનો સામનો કરવાને હસ્તીમાં આવેલી છે.

આ કાયદાઓજ ખરી રીતે હીંદ સરકારની સામે માનભરેલી રીતે મસલત ચલાવવાને માટે દરવાજો બંધ કરી દીધેલો છે. હીંદુસ્તાન એ એકજ દેશ એવો છે કે જે યુનીયન સરકારની સમક્ષ આજે બિલ્કાપાત્ર લઈ ખડું રહી શકે છે. ખીજા કોઈ પણ સ્વતંત્ર રાજ્યને માટે તો આ બનાવ મુકના આહવાને માટે ક્યારનો પુરતો મંબીર મણાઈ ગયો હોય. પરંતુ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા ના હીંદીઓએ તો જાતે દુઃખ સહન કરવાનો માનભરેલો માર્ગ સ્વિકારેલો છે.

અને પુછીએ છીએ કે ન્યાયનો કયો સિદ્ધાંત એમ કહે છે, કે આરોપીને પોતાનો બચાવ કરવાની સંપૂર્ણ તક આપ્યા સિવાય તેનાપર સજા ઠોકી બેસાડી શકાય? અને આ ટ્રાંસવાલનો કાયદો ટ્રાંસવાલના હીંદીઓને તેઓનો બચાવ સાંભળ્યા પહેલાંજ સજા કરનારો નથી તો ખીજું શું છે!

આથી ‘સ્ટાર’ પત્રનું એ કહેવું માનવાને અમે ખીલકુલ તૈયાર નથી, કે હજી એવી સ્થિતિ ઉત્પન્ન નથી થઈ, કે જ્યારે સ્વમાનનું રહેજ પણ બાન ધરાવનારા લોકોએ પોતાનો વિરોધ અસરકારક રીતે દર્શાવવાને સલાહનો એકમાત્ર માનભરેલો માર્ગ લેવાનો હજી સમય નથી આવ્યો.

‘સ્ટાર’ વધુમાં કહે છે કે “આ પ્રાંતના કાયદાને વધારા હીંદીઓની બહુમતિ વધુ દેખાવો કરનારી લઘુમતિ તરફથી હિમાયત થઈ રહેલા માર્ગથી હજી દુર રહી છે, અને આજ હકીકતમાત્ર કોઈ પણ વર્ગીય વિરોધનું બળ ભાંગી નાખવાને પુરતું છે.

ખરેજ અમે તાજુબં થઈએ છીએ! સહન છુપાવવાનું અને અસહનનો પ્રચાર કરનારો જે આ જાણી કરીને લેવાયેલું પગલું નહિ મણાઈ તો તેને ખીજો કયો અર્થ લાગુ પડી શકે એ અમારી અક્ષમની બહાર છે.