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### LAY YOUR LIVES FOR FREEDOM

66 CONSIDER it a crime to be a slave, and therefore, as long as we do not establish a truly People's government in this country, where every community gets equal opportunities for expansion, you will find me struggling for that freedom, no matter who dominates the scene then. If we face our difficulties, I do not see why we should even fail. The cause of freedom is always just and a fight in that direction always noble. It behoves us to lay our lives for this."

FRONTIER GANDHI.

### Audian Opinion

FRIDAY, 7TH DECEMBER, 1945

### Approach Of Critical Moment

active. A deputation from the United Party which is General Smuts' Party met him at Pretoria during the week. It is reported in the Press that General'. Smuts told the deputation that he would take cognisance of the representations made by them as well as by other deputations which had seen him. Among the other deputations was the anti-Asiatic City Council of Durban which is determined on bringing about racial radial zoning, in the doing of which expropriation will play no small part directly and indirectly.

Bit by bit Indians are being dealt with but we do not see any signs of Indians being given the franchise. That question is severely left alone by General Smuts. We hold that the first and fundamental question is the franchise for Indians. It is and while the High Commissioner sits in Johannes-

HE anti-Asiatics are which are being attacked. General Smuts hears Indians and expects them to agree to a reduction of their very limited rights to satisfy the clamour of the anti-Asiatics. But never have we heard General Smuts say that he is going to do any particular thing for the increase of their limited rights or for their advancement in the country. He has recently said that they must be satisfied to get things by bits and that is the way things grow. But they wait in vain for the bits while the anti-Asiatic water flows under the bridge:

Parliament will meet next month and in the Press we read important discussions on the Asiatic question are taking place between the General, Senator Clarkson who is now in charge of the Ministry of the Interior alone and would be devoting his full time to it, Mr. D. E. Mitchell who is the Adbecoming a farce that while ministrator of Natal, Senator it is said that Indians should D. G. Shepstone and State not look to India for help officials. The Indian community is in a state of suspense as' to the nature of burg, Capetown or Durban the proclamation to be and declares Indians in this made by the Governor country belong to South General and the things Africa, the meagre rights of General Smuts is going to Indians are being whittled do on Indian matters in

has to say on the Nata! Housing Ordinance which is to be promulgated this week end.

Thère has been no statement so far in the Press by the new officials of the Natal Indian Congress of what actually took place between them and General Smuts when they met him as a deputation. Neither have they informed their members of what they said to General Smuts and what General Smuts said to them. Nor have they gone to the community. The cry of the anti-Segregationists was that the previous officials of the 'Congress did not go to their members or the community. on any matter. Their members and the community naturally expect them to tell them what General Smuts and they had to say to each other especially after they had carried a campaign against their predecessors on that score when they were 'demanding rightly for the calling of the annual general meeting of the Congress. Is it to be with them also that what took place between General Smuts and them must remain a secret with them who met General Smuts. If so we fail to see in this respect that there is any difference between the present officials and their predecessors. Democracy to some is a thing of the moment.

A report appeared in the away. Indians without the Parliament. The public is Press of a meeting held at. franchise cannot have any promised that they will Sydenham at which the say in matters affecting them however be hearing what he officials of the Natal Indian

Congress, Sydenham Indian Ratepayers Association and the Sydenham Landowners Association were present. It was a meeting on the expropriation of Indian properties in the area round about Garbuth Road in Sydenham. A resolution was passed on the matter. It was expected that the new officials of the Congress would follow up the resolution to which they were a party. It would appear that their cry now is we under-stand that they are unable to do anything because the people concerned feel that they have no option but to sell to the Durban Corporation. It is true that their predecessors also had had this matter in hand. But it had passed on to the new officials on the retirement of their predecessors. It is now a matter for the new officials. Is it to go by in default.

The sooner in this critical period it is realised by all, whether they are in or out of the present Congress, that it is their duty to unite the community and to give the community a lead that the community can stand by and the Government will understand what the community stands for and if necessary is prepared to suffer for. If such unity is not immediately possible, the question arises what is the next thing to be done. Members of the community who are seriously concerned about the position of the community and what is happening about it cannot sit with folded arms and like the late Lord Asquith say: Wait and see. The moment demands action and that action must come from somewhere. The sooner, the better if the community is to make any impresions on General Smuts and his Government and to bring any pressure upon the Government of India to continue the work begun by it by the way of the Capetown Agree.\* ment.

# AS ONE OLD MAN TO ANOTHER

By L. W. RITCH

THE writer's last article was a call from old age to youth; in this he ventures to address his contemporaries—an old man's talk with his elderly brother—men.

The greatest privilege we who are in the Autumn of our days can enjoy is, as far as possible, to give the rising generation the benefit of our own experiences. so that our youth may be helped to avoid the mistakes we have made and be encouraged to choose the better way some of us have paid dearly to discover. Not that our good intentions are always appreciated, for youth loves to make its own experiments, to find out for itself; but our sympathies naturally prompt: ing us to try and save the inexperienced from the traps and pitfalls into which we have fallen or only just avoided, we say what we have to say and having done our duty hope for the best.

For our own part, just as the day's work done, we may occupy the quiet of the evening with a mental survey of the day's activities and happenings, so, in this the evening twilight of our lives it may prove useful and perhaps even profitable for us to review our live's activities and happenings—the things we did, the thoughts we had, the conclusions we have arrived at, the character, we have formed; in short, to what uses we have put the 60 or 70 years of this sojourn of ours on earth and to what real profit we have turned them. For, to most of those to whom this article is more directly addressed, death does not mean extinction but merely an abandonment of this earthly vehicle (vahan) by the dweller in the body, the man himself, for the purpose of rest and the assimila. tion of experiences gained, to be followed later by rebirth and a resumption of earth's schooling. Thus regarded, we each of us carry forward from life to life the balance of gains and losses to date so that when near the close of any one such life this matter of stocktaking becomes rather important.

Mellowed by the years and with riper judgment, certain significant results emerge from our stocktaking, perhaps the most important of which is that we find we have gained in our sense of proportion. The things we, as young men, thought mattered most, no longer matter anything like, as much. We observe too that our estimate of values has undergone a consider-

able change. We started off with ambitions, planning to achieve success in whatever career fate had seemingly predestined us to. We resolved to become "big shots"; wealth, power, influence and position seemed of all things the most desirable. And so with these as our goal we devoted the years to concentrated effort towards becoming and possessing what as men of the world we were taught to believe brought to. their successful seekers happiness and satisfaction.

We are a little wiser now. Experience has dispelled many of our illusions. 'We know the meaning of disappointment even with some of our successes, the salt of which we found had somehow lost its savour. Speaking generally, we have been driven to the conclusion that realisation rarely if ever came up to expectation and that so much of what looked fair and appetising turned out to be no better, than Dead Sea Fruit. Like Solomon we are tempted to exclaim "Vanity! Vanity! All is Vanity!"

Thus reflecting, we turn from past to future, the immediate future that is the heritage of the younger generation, the more, remote future that is to be ours after we shall have taken our rest and returned once more to resume our schooling on earth. In what way can we best influence our successors, the younger generation? Unless our lessons have gone unlearnt, we have at least discovered that there is an aspect of our being that craves for something more satisfying than worldly success, that there is an inner being, a somewhat in us that finds no satisfaction in things perishable and impermanent and of which willy nilly we must let go when death claims: our bodies. It is borne in upon, us that most of these things we, prized so highly were (and are). no better than idols unworthy of, the worship we gave them, idols, that appealed to the lowest and, meanest of our instincts and. seduced us away from the impulsions of unselfishness, service, and sacrifice emphasised by every form of religious teaching as the essentials to man's real advancement and ultimate bappi-

We of this generation have a responsibility as trustees for the rising generation, and that trusteeship includes both precept and example. Perhaps, the example we would prefer our young men to follow is not

altogether the example we ourselves set in the glamorous days of our own youth, but if riper judgment has improved our sense of values and brought us consciously nearer to reality, the closing years of our lives should, in some measure at least serve to influence their conduct.

Let us also recognise that "death" is but a vacation. That we must return to resume our earthly schooling at the end of it under conditions and in circumstances we ourselves have,

helped to create both directly and indirectly; that the purpose of our lives here on earth is Growth—Growth of the Soul, of the real Man, towards self-conscious, self-realised godhood, and that the way to that self-realisation is God's own way the way of sacrifice.

Youth is not easily weaned from its egotisms; at the same time, youth is usually idealistic. It may not at once follow the better way but it can and does instinitively respect the examplar of what is fine and noble. Sooner or later conviction and practice are born of that respect. Example is the most powerful of arguments.

# INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

THE Congress Working Committee will meet in Calcutta on December 6th. Mahatma Gandhi who proceeds on a tour in Bengal on December 1st will attend the Committee meeting. This will be a very important session in the history of the Congress as it is expected to discuss and decide the future parliamentary programme of the Congress and also draft election manifesto for the provincial. assembly elections which will contain a blue print of the Congress programme in the provinces covering economic, industrial, agrarian, political and social problems.

Assam will be the first pro vince to go to Polis and Bengal will be the last. Elections to the Provincial Assemblies which commence early January in Assam will last till the end of March. Following is the time table: Assam, 9th to 12th January; Sind, 18th to 21st January; N.W.F., 25th January; The Punjab, 1st to 15th February; Bihar, 22nd February; C.P., 22nd to 23rd February; U.P. 25th February; Madras, 18th, March; Bombay, 18th to 21st March, Bengal, 18th to 23rd. March; Orissa date not yet fixed.

The scrutiny of the nominations filed by candidates for Central Assembly elections are now over. It is disclosed that 30 out of 65 candidates nominated. by the Congress have been returned unopposed, 25 in General Constituencies and 5 in Special Constituencies. Elections to the Central which commence on the 25th will be over by the 1st week of December when the Congress Working Committee will review the position and also decide the policy which the Congree party will follow during the budget session of the Central Assembly.

The outstanding event in the Indian political world during the week under review is Mr. Jinnah's exposition of Pakistan scheme. The leader of the Mus-.lim League who was hitherto avoiding his definition of Pakistan came out with an outline of his scheme. He proceeds that there will be one State of Pakistan but it will have two zones. West Zone comprising North Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sind, and East Zone comprising Assam, Bengal including the commercial port of Calcutta, but he further states that there will be a Central Government for Pakistan with certain list of Central subjects and extending autonomy to the federating units. While he opposed federal scheme in a United India on the score that democracy is unsuited to this country, the leader of the Muslim League says Pakistan will be based on democracy and minorities will be given adequate representation and their rights will be fully protected. If the same assurances of representation for minorities in a United andia offered by the Congress are not acceptable to the League, how does the Leader of the Muslim League expect the so called minorities in the Pakistan area to be satisfied with them.

The dominating feature of Mr. Jinnah's scheme is the inclusion of South Punjab with a population of 67 per cent. of non. Muslims, Western Districts of Bengal which has also a predominently Hindu population and Assam which has only 30 per cent. Muslim population, It appears Mr. Jinnah plans to compel these areas and population to be included in the Pakistan to make it economically and financially workable. The Con-

gress Party rejected it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said during this week that the Pakistan which Mr. Jinnah has outlined is no solution to the communal question and will create new problems.

#### Cricket Match

The unofficial test between india XI and the Australians which took place in Brabourne Stadium during this week attendance, large attracted about 50,000. Though technically a draw, India was morally defeated in the contest. It disclosed weakness of the Indian team viz., poor fielding. As many as twelve catches were missed. Our batsmen have no big match temperament and the Captain displayed total nervousness. The Australians were at the top because of superb fielding and excellent team spirit, which they displayed. Their bowling and batting were infinitely below normal but they disclosed indomitable will to do their best. It was this spirit which made them shine better than the Indian team.

#### Panditjee's Birthday Celebration

The outstanding event during the week under review is the celebration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's 57th birthday, The occasion was utilised by the leaders including Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to make frank utterances in regard to Pakistan and Indian independence. In the course of a talk with pressmen, Pandit Jawaharlal Nebru pricked the bubble and emphasised that Pakistan of linnah's conception was unthinkable and could never be achieved. The Southern Punjab and the Western Bengal which Mr. Jinnah had included in his map of Pakistan which are predominently non-Muslim, would never agree to Pakistan. Evidently Mr. Jinnah had been hoping to compel them with the help of the British Government to. agree to come into his Pakistan. This, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised, was impossible of realisation as the Sikhs and other minorities had expressed their views in a manner which placed anyone beyond any doubt. Mr. Nehru proceeded that Mr. Jinnah's conception of Pakistan not a territorial conception but placed on two Nation theory. According to this definition, Pakistan exists ail over India. No State could have stability on that basis. Inevitably there must be common bonds between various parts of India. In Mr. Nehru's opinion Pakistan affected the sense of security. The Pandit stressed that the Muslim League could never form in any province including the Punjab,

Sind, N. W. F. P. and Bengal, a League Ministry. In these provinces willynilly coalition Ministries would have to be established. Muslim League will not be able to find any party in the Legislature agreeable to form a coalition with them. Therefore, the Muslim League has no future even in these provinces.

Taking Bengal as an example

there are 125 seats for Muslims

out 240 seats in the Bengal

Assembly. The Krisho Proja

Party, the Nationalist Muslims, the congress Muslims are contesting every one of these seats. Even Mr. Jinnah admits that he could not capture all the 125 seats. According to the League circles, the Bengal Muslim League is expected to capture 80 to 85 seats. According to Congress circles, anti-League groups are expected to capture 50 to 60 seats, which leaves 75 seats for the League. Including the Scheduled caste seats Congress hopes to capture 80 out of the go non-Muslim seats, the rest, about 25 seats, being reserved for Europeans. In Bengal either the Congress or the League will be the largest single party. Both cannot form a ministry unless there is a coalition of the non-League Muslims. The chances of coalition between the non-League Muslims and the Congress are always bright. The European votes will be with the party in power. Under these circumstances, the chance of the Muslim League forming a ministry in Bengal where it is supposed to have the brightest prospect of capturing largest number of seats are, therefore, remote. Similarly in'the Punjab, the League could capture only 25 to 30 seats at the most generous estimation! Here again either the Congress or the Unionists will be the largest single majority party. It would therefore be either a Congress Coalition Ministry or Unionist Coalition Ministry in the Punjab but the League has no chance of forming any coalition here. Again in Sind out of sixty seats, the Congress will capture majority of the non-Muslim League seats numbering about 25. Out of the remaining 35 Muslim seats there will be a tri-cornered fight between the Muslim League, Nationalist Muslim under the Leadership of Maula Bux and Gulam Mahomed Syed's group who have revolted against the Jinnah Leaguers. Granting that Jinnah Leaguers capture fifteen seats out of 35 or even 20 seats out of 35, they have no chance of forming a ministry. Therefore the chances of the Muslim League Ministry anywhere in any province are very remote if not nil. Acute bitterness alone will result from

the present policy of the Muslim League whose fate of forming any ministry in any province is once for all sealed.

This aspect of the question was dealt with by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He thought Pakistan would liquidate itself. He concluded that India must consider the communal problem afresh. It should get out of the old rut of separate electorates, safeguards etc. They could take the Russian model as one of the examples and attempt a new approach.

The commemoration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's 57th birthday also has given an occasion in England particularly among the British Labourites for hard thinking. Accounts received here from London indicate that the demonstrations held in London during the week gave Labour rank and file the first opportunity publicly to dissociate themselves with the policies pursued by the Labour Government in Imperial and Foreign affairs since Labour came into office. Refusal to permit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Indonesia was condemned. Mr. Fenner Brockway said that he had no doubt within the next three years Pandit Nehru would be sitting in international conferences as the representative of his people shaping the new world. While some of the Labour leaders would be forgotten men the world would be anxiously waiting for the lead from Pandit Nehru at these international Assemblies. He added that Pandit Nehru's name would go down in history as maker of destiny, as champion of the oppressed people; but there would be nothing left to hoast about the British Socialist Government

Prof. Harold Laski's observations are a matter of recent history. The angry protest against the Government's policy by the British Labour rank and file should open the eyes of the Government and it is hoped that it would probably lead to a change in the policy. Mr. Jacobs Secretary of the powerful London Trades Council confessed that the Labour Government was embarrassing the rank and file of the movement by its action in India and Indonesia, He accused the Labour. Government of violating its election pledges, thus betraying the British working-class which, he said, in due course will rise in revolt against the very Government it put in Office.

Thus Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday had been the occasion to review both in England and India the policy hitherto pursued by the British Government and also to utter a warning to overhaul it and grant

India complete independence which is long overdue.

#### Mahatmaji

Mahatma Gandhi left Poona for Sevagram on the 19th November. He reached the latter place on the 21st November. After 10 days stay, he left for Bengal on the 30th November, reaching Calcutta on the 1st December. He will attend the Congress Working Committee on the 6th, 7th and 8th December and then tour the province for a month. From Bengal he will proceed to Madras to preside over the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Sammalan Silver Jubilee.

### Maritzburg Land Sales

#### Boycotted By Indians

Only two of the 41 residential sites in the Camps Drift area are said to have been sold by public auction in Maritzburg, the purchasers being Europeans. The sale was attended by many Indians who boycotted the sale as a protest against the City Council's action in setting aside the Camps Drift area for Indians only. At a meeting of the Maritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress held on the day previous to the sale it was decided to boycott the sale as being based on racial segregation and at variance with the right of the individual to choose his own place of residence. The lots in the Camps Drift area vary in size from an acre to half an acre. The upset price was £50 a lot with a building clause of £250. The sale was conducted by the Market Master, the auctioneer being Mr. H. Keppler. It was attended by the Mayor and some city councillors and municipal officials. When the sale began there were only about 14 Indians present, a large crowd having gathered at the entrance of the City Hall and in the corridors. They gradually drifted in to the sale until the supper-room was well filled. At the close of the sale the Market Master announced that the sites would now be available for private treaty. No one took immediate advantage of the offer, but it is understood that offers have been received for private sale. Some city councillors are considering a suggestion put forward by an ex councillor that the sites should be offered to Natives as the Indians were obviously not interested.

#### Indians Now Buying Sites

In spite of the boycott by Indians of building sites at Camps Drift, the sale by private treaty of sites is going well ahead, states the Daily News correspondent. The two sites sold by public auction on Monday were bought by two Europeans on behalf of Indians. Since then five sites have been sold and the City Tressurer's Department, which handles the sales, has had numerous inquiries. It is expected that a great many sites will be dispused of very soon.

# THE FUTURE OF INDIA

By PROF. HAROLD LASKI In "The Forum"

BECAUSE South Africa faces east as well as west, it is east as well as west, it is directly affected by what happens in India for on India's future depends much of the future of the Far East. Because India is now moving on the road towards full self-government and, is a member of the British Commonwealth, intra-Commonwealth affairs are closely connected with the way in . which South Africa handles its Indian minority group.

The task now of Indian political leaders is to build a unified political opinion in India. Once that emerges, no British Government could resist its demand for that full self-government for India of which full statehood is the obvious and direct consequence.

I have two fears about the next stage in the evolution of these grave issues.

The first is the fear that the relation of the princes to the Indian future will be made a problem far more important than it actually is. Few people can have any admiration for them as a body of rulers. They are, in the mass, a relic of ancient reaction preserved without justification by the British Raj They ought not to be allowed to complicate the problem of self-government for British India.

If they are to participate in discussions of a Constituent Assembly they ought at least to prove their interest in constitutionalism; and that means an overwhelming reorganisation of their mostly feudal and predatory institutions.

Indeed, as the paramount power in India, it seems to me an obligation upon the British Government to see that the princes set their houses in order.

On any other terms it is difficult to see how they could be anything other than a threat to the success of the Constituent Assembly, if the princes themselves nominate their members to represent them, it is difficult to see how the interest of their subjects could, a handful of exceptions apart, be safeguard in a future India.

My second fear is lest the Congress Party overplays its hand by claiming to be more than it actually is.

I share the view of those who think that Mr. Jinnah, the Moslem League leader, does a grave wrong to India by both his methods and his poli y. I think he exaggerates that wrong by his arrogance and his egotism.

I think his scheme for a Pa-

kistan separate state is politically unwise and economically absurd, and that it would create far more minority problems than it would solve.

I largely agree with Mr. Nehru, the Congress Party leader, that in recent years British policy in India, in its communal. emphasis and its arrangements, in the Act of 1935, for the franchise, has regrettably and unnecessarily strengthened Mr. Jinnah's hand.

I think the strength is in considerable part an artificial strength, and that those who support the Moslem League mostly love India less and existing patterns of vested interest

But the Moslem League is an ugly fact wherever the blame for its ucliness ought to rest. That makes it all-important that the Congress Party, during the elections for the Constituent Assembly, should make it their primary objective to detach from the Moslem League that support which is at once anxious for a really united and really free India, yet is still afraid of an India dominated by a Hindu majority.

Now that the Rajagopalacharia is back in the Congress Party, it is important for its supporters to build policy upon his insight that unity is more important than piestige,

What the Congress Party confronts is a condition and not a theory. I hope it will confront the condition is its policy and methods at the elections. The more sweeping the victories it can win, the more easy it will be to make the Constituent Assembly a body with some chance

When it comes to building the Assembly, there are, I think, three things it is important to bear in mind:

Constituent Assemblies are not often successful if they debate before an audience of several hundred million people.

They are not often successful if they are large bodies.

They require a secretariat of exceptional capacity if they are to have at their command the materials they need to do their

I hope, therefore, that the constitution-making body will be small, that it will sit in private until its work is complete, and that it will realise how much a conference of this character depends for success on technical organisation.

I hope there are men and women in India today who are working hard at the assimilation of the records of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, of the discussions in Canada which preceded the British North America Act of 1867, and of the invaluable printed records of the debates in Australia which led up to the fival triumph of the Commonwealth of Australia Act of 1901. There is a mass of experience and experiment to digest; but it ought to be digested before the Constituent Assembly begins its work, and not aterwards.

I can understand the psychological background in which Indianinationalism operates. It has so much frustration, so much ill-will to encounter, so many thousands of its supporters have been imprisoned and ill-treated, that it tends to regard with suspicion every step the British Government may take. That is natural enough in the light of

But it ou\_ht now to be set in the perspective of a realisation

that Britain's Labour Government has obligations and reaponsibilities of a different order from those which Mr. Churchill' was prepared to assume.

It has these when, if peace has not been made, hostilities, at least, have ceased. It has them, also, when a large body of British soldiers have been in India, and have returned to Great Britain convinced, as citizens, that the era of British domination in India cannot end too quickly.

It is immensely important for men who wield the immense influence of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru to create the atmosphere in which the British Government is helped to make the transition as easy and as direct as it can be in virtue of its inherent complexity.

An air of aloofness, a mood of hostility exacerbates the whole situation. They strengthen all the forces the enemies of Indian freedom can mobilise.

The vital duty in these next months of all the friends of Indian freedom is to display its strength in unbreakable majesty. The furure is on its side. Their task is to do all they can to make that future seen as reasonable as it is inevitable.

### SAPA-REUTER NEWS

Election Campaign At Bombay .

Bombay, Tuesday. HERE was keen interest in ■ in the Central Assembly elections today, the polling day for the Moslem constituency of Bombay city, home town of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, president of the Moslem League. The president himself is contesting the seat against Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, who is not a member of the League. Against the 55 per cent, in the general constituency yesterday, 75 per cent of the Moslem electors voted today including 200 women in purdah. League supporters predict an easy walk over for Mr. Jinnah. The Moslem League has declared it is fighting the elections the first in which it has participated since the League adopted Pakistan as its political woaln the Pakistan issue and to vindicate its claim to represent the Moslew community of India.

#### Congress Vs. League

. Bombay, Thursday.

Apart from demanding the speedy surrender of British rule. the two main political parties in the Indian elections—which are being held to lay the foundations for impending constitu-

tional changes in India-bave little in common, says Reuter's political correspondent. The Moslem League wants Pakistana separate Moslem nation composed of five provinces in India in which the Moslems claim a majority. But the Congress Party rejects the partition of India.

#### Mr. Jinnah On The Elections

The elections for the Central Legislative Assembly, which are normally spread over several weeks, are now in full swing. Mr. Jinnah, president of the Moslem League, has declared that the elections are a life and death question for the Moslems. He says they will give a clear verdict on the issue whether the Moslems of India will stand for Pakistan, or for an undivided India. "We shall fight both Englishmen and Hindus if they unite against us," Mr. Jinnah said. They are both "banias" (traders -- a community to which Maharma Gandhi, leader of the Congress Party belon\_s) Declaring that once the Moslems were plomised freedom in their homelands they would excel the Hindus in sacrifices, Mr. Jinnah says the Moslems cannot be expected to shed their blood fo

their own enslavement in a cause that would lead to Hindu rule over the Moslems.

#### Congress Manifesto

The Congress Party, which is led actively by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and passively by Mahatma Gandhi, has stated in a manifesto: "Congress has envisaged a free democratic state with the fundamental rights and civil liberties of all citizens guaranteed in the constitution. This constitution should be a federal one with a great deal of autonomy for the constituent units and its legislative organs elected by the universal adult suffrage." Congress plans the development of a free India into a co-operative commonwealth. Its sims, according to its manifesto, are to plan and coordinate social advance, prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, prevent vested interests inimical to society from increasing and to secure social control of mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution on the land, in industry and other departments of national activity. The time is coming, says the manifesto, when we shall redeem in full our oft-taken pledge of independence, not by the election, but by what comes after. The party says it is contesting the election to show what the inevitable result must be, and to demonstrate the overwhelming solidarity of the voters on the issue of independence. The Government of India Act of 1935 extended the franchise to about 10 per cent, of the population of British India (which was 291,000,000 in 1941). It secured representation women, depressed classes, industrial labour, for special interests and the bulk of small landowners, cultivators and urban ratepayers. There are about 6,000,000 women voters.

#### Members Of Central Assembly

Of the 145 seats in the Central Assembly, 102 are open for election and the remaining 43 are filled by government nominators on the basis of representation of the minorities, which include, among others, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Parsees and Sikhs.

#### Congress Concentrating On Povincial Elections

The Congress Party is holding its hand in the Central Assembly elections because it considers the Assembly is powerless, and it is concentrating instead on the provincial elections,

which are to take place in the new year. This does not mean that the Moslem League candidates will have things all their own way in the present election. because their ranks are divided. Its president, Mr. Jinnah, is opposed in Bombay by another Moslem, a businessman who is president of the all India conference of Shias, one of two Moslem sects. Religious division in India is so great that Indians are practically forced to vote for a candidate who belongs to their own religion. Congress, however, has a Moslen, Dr. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as its present president, and is trying to break down past prejudices and secure Moslem votes in support of its claim to be a national, and not a Hindu organisation. Interest in the elections has been overshadowed by two events which touch the heart of every Indian, whether Hindu or Moslem. These are the trials of members of the former Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army, at New Delhi, and the use of Indian troops against Indonesian nationalists in Java, where the majority of the population are Moslems.

#### Explosion

Calcutta, Tuesday.
Ninety-one people were killed
in an explosion at Kamchrapara
(Bengal) ammunition disposal
area when eight truck-loads of
condemned Chinese smokeless
powder were being unloaded
Of these 84 were Indian civilian
employees and seven American
soldiers. In addition five American servicemen and 11 Indians
were injured.

#### Indian Troops Arrested

Singapore, Thursday,

Steps are being taken in Singapore to arrest the leaders of a small garrison of Indian troops on Christmas Island in the southern Indian Ocean who mutinied and murdered their British officer. Captain Williams and his four non-commissioned officers in March 1942 after Malaya had fallen to the Japanese. The bodies were thrown down a passage used for the disposal of rubbish into the sea. Afterwards all the Europeans on the island, including the district officer, who governed it, were lined up by the Indians and told they were going to be killed. After a long discussion between the district officer and the leaders of the mutineers the executions were postponed and the Europeans were confined under armed guard in the district officer's house. When the Japanese arrived three weeks later the Indians handed the prisoners over to them.

#### The Delhi Trial

New Delhi, Friday. Witnesses at the trial here of three Indian National Army officers said that several Indian National Army men were shot for trying to desert to the allied forces. The officers are accused of waging war against the King and of murder. The court adjourned until Thursday so thatthe witnesses from Java may attend. A government communique stated today: that the number of Indian National Army men to be tried would be between 20 and 50. The trial would be limited to cases of alleged brutality. The communique said that of 60,000 Indians taken prisoners by the Japanese, 20,000 joined the Indian National Army. thousand were believed to have joined under pressure, and would be treated with clemency. They would receive pay and leave. Of 800 who joined with the clear intention of helping the Japanese, many were believed to have been genuinely misled. They would be dismissed and forfeit pay, but no further action would be taken. A small number committed acts of gross brutality and would be courtmartialled.

# Gandhiji Leaves For Calcutta

Bombay, Friday, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been living quietly since his release from detention on medical grounds in May last year, left for Calcutta today on a five weeks tour of Bengal and Assam.

#### Interview With Governor Of Bengal

Calcutta, Saturday.

Mahatma Gandhi, who arrived here on his first visit for four years, today called at Government House the residence of Mr. Richard Casey, Governor of Bengal.

Calcutta, Sunday,
Mahatma Gandhi, who saw
Mr. R. G. Casey, the Governor of
Bengal, yesterday, went to Government House for another interview with Mr. Casey today.
Gandhiji is on tour of Bengal
and Assam. He said today that
his visit had no connection with
the Congress Party's election
campaign, but was concerned
with famine relief measures.

Calcutta, Monday. Mahatma Gandhi met Mr. R. G. Casey Governor of Bengal again today for third day in succession.

#### Labour Party's Attitude Towards India

Allahabad, Sunday.
There was no difference between the British Labour an 1

Conservative Parties on the Indian question, said president of the Indian Congress Party, Dr. Azad, in a speech today. The search for an indication of goodwill towards India has proved fruitless, he said. The British Labour Party has done nothing to implement the promises which their leaders made before coming into power.

#### Cricket

Madras, Sunday\* Southern Zone made 159 in the first innings of their three-day match against the Australian Services touring team. The Australians had 124 for six wickets when stumps were drawn. The last five South wickets fell for five runs, Ellis and Price sharing the tail-end wickets. Ellis took four wickets for 21 and Price four for 33. The first Australian wicket fell at 65, when Carmody was out for 33. The next five wickets fell for 19 runs, but the rot was stopped when Price joined Workman, who opened the innings with Carmody and had 52 not out at the close of play.

Madras, Monday. South Zone scored 213 for the loss of eight wickets in their second innings to day and are 177 runs ahead of the Australians Services touring side, who made 195 in their first innings. South Zone scored 195 in their first innings. The Australian opening bat, Workman and Price put on 85 for the seventh wicket, making 76 and 31 respectively. Roper and Bremner added a useful 20 between them for the last wicket Three South Zone batsmen, Aibare, Ram Singh and Gopalan, eash made over 40. Aibara is top scorer, so far, with 45.

#### TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

A bi-ennial general meeting will be held on Sunday, 16th December, 1945, at 2.30 p.m. at the Indian Sports Ground, (City & Suburban), Johannesburg.

AGENDA: (1) Election, (2) Constitution,

- (a) To resolve that in clause (4) of the Constitution the number 48 appearing under heading of "Officials and Committee" be deleted and number 66 be substituted, and that the number 10 appearing in 7a be deleted and that number 15 be substituted.
- (b) Notices of motion to amend constitution.

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Natal Deputation See Gen. Smuls On Indian Problem

The deputation appointed by the Natal Provincial Council of the United Party to discuss the Natal Indian question with the Prime Minister saw General Smuts at Union Buildings, Pretoria on Wednesday. The deputation was led by Mr. Claud Hills. The Minister of the Interior, Senator Clarkson, the Administrator of Natal, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, Senator Shepstone and State officials were present. It is understood that General Smuts told the depution that he would take cognisance of the representations made by them as well as other deputations which had seen him. It is expected that a Governor-General's problamation will be issued at Pretoria later this week. This will coincide with the promulgation in the Natal Provincial Gazette of the Natal Housing Ordinance. An official statement by the Prime Minister on the Ordinance is expected to be made about the same time.

Indian Split

The schism in the Natal Indian Congress has not yet been healed. In Durban the Anti-Segregation Council group control the Congress but in Northern Natal the Mall-Meer-Morar group (supporters of the Kajes-Pather group) are

virtually in charge. Profests On Sales To Indians European residents in the Southern Umlazi area have requisitioned their Health Board to call a public meeting at Warner Beach to protest against the sale of a European Winklespruit property, run as a dairy, to an Indian This property, it is stated, is in the heart of a European festdential area. Indian penetration in their area was also discussed at a meeting of the Town Board of Malvern. The Malvern Town Clerk has sent the following telegram to the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatio Affairs:-"There being 'further flagrant penetration in this township, the latest being the purchase of a dwelling house very close to the Post Office and European schools, the Board adamantly and insistently repeats its requests for effective steps being taken by the Minister to afford relief. The Board regards the matter as urgent and considers it should not be shelved pending the passing of the relevant Ordi-The dwelling house nance." which is the subject of the telegram to the Commissioner was the property of Mrs. F. A. C. Kennedy, of Ixopo, and was sold to Mr. M. Rangasamy Govender, a builder of Escombe, for £850.

M.P.C's. Views Opposed The members of the Malvern Town Board are said to be dis-

# Things In General

satisfied with the views of Mr. A. Blaikie, M.P.C., on the Indian question. The Board addressed letters to the M.Ps. and M.P.Cs. representing that area. Mr. Blaikie, in his reply, stated that he had "very advanced views" on the Indian and other colour problems. His letter said: "I consider this is a world question and not simply a Durban problem and although it is often said that we are perturbed as to what is going to happen to future generations in connection with the Indian question, I personally think that future generatious are going to be much more tolerant and amused at our attitude towards these problems. It is understood that Mr. Blaikie's letter, when read at a meeting of the Board, caused "a good deal of surprise" and members were unanimous in their expressions of dissatisfaction and non-agreement with Mr. Blaikie's views.

"Europeans Main Cause Of Indian Problem

"If the Indians do not like the the word segregation, then segregate the European," declared Dr. L. S. Steenkamp, M.P. for Vryheid, at a United Party meeting at Port Shepstone. "If, as a first step, we can residentially separate ourselves from the Indians, let us expect it as the first step towards a final solution of this problem. The main cause of the Indian problem was the European, he said. "We make it possible for him to make his pile We are the people who support him, because he pays £5 or £10 more. It is high time we began to speak of the European problem in relation to this question. We can go in for a policy of zming, but it can be a natural development if we give them the necessary facilities, as is done in the Cape to solve the Coloured problem. The Mayor of Port Shepstone on this question, said: "My policy is that there should be residential zoning. The new Natal Indian Congress is opposed to racial zoning. The Indian question has become an international one, but we must make it a national question, and the one way to do so is to give the Indian some say on own Councils, on our Provincial Councils and in our Parliament by communal franchise.' Mr. Classen is a member of the United Party deputation which will interview the Prime Minister on the Indian question.

Indian Hold On European Properties

During the three months ended October, Indians in Durban borrowed £474,645, mostly from European Building Societies, on

fixed properties. At this rate the total for the year will exceed the highest borrowing of £1,257,540 for the year ended July, 1943. Since August 1942, the total amounts of mortgage bonds passed by Indians has reached £3,915,670. In these three months bonds passed over properties in predominantly European areas amounted to £153,615. Building societies and individuals, mostly Europeans, have also lent, money to Indians on a considerable scale on properties situated in the Added Areas.

Europeans Sell Property To Indians

During October property transfers by Europeans to Indians in Durban numbered 14. The total purchase price was £9,934. During the same month there were three transfers by Indians to Europeans at.a total purchase price of £600.

Application By Indians To Occupy Property.

The Finannee Committee of the Durban City Council has recommended that permits should not be granted to Indian owners of a property at 132 Mansfield Road, Durban, who have made application under the Pegging Act to occupy the property which is owned by Randerse Investments (Pty) Ltd. The application to occupy is made by D. Hargovan and P. E. Hargovan and their families. According to a report by the City Valuator and Estates Manager the property does not fall within an area that was accepted by the Broome Commission as being predominantly Indian owned, there being 30 properties occupied by Europeans, out of 43.

Dannhauser Produce Dealers 'Complaint

The Dannhauser Fresh Produce Dealers' Association deputation met Mr. Robertson, M.P. for Newcastle District at Dundee. The deputation requested Mr. Robertson to take the matter up with the Railway Administration in connection with the late delivery of perishable goods from Johannesburg. Perishable goods from Johannesburg take as much as six days to arrive at Dannhanser. The Association supplies the Schools, the town and the residents on the mines with fresh fruit and vegetables. The deputation was given a sympathetic bearing and Mr. Robertson promised to go fully into the matter with the General Manager of the Railways.

Arrivals From India

Among those returned on Monday by the S. S. Karagola were the fallowing: Messrs. Tribhovandas Girdharbhai Patel of Messis. I. C. Ashabhai & Co. Johannesburg, Vithaldas Gokaldas of Messrs. V. Gokal & Co., B. H. Dhupelia of Mesers. Dhupelia & Co. and J. G. Kala of Mesers. N. G. Kala & Co. of Pretoria.

Control On Export Of Books Removed

South African importers of religious and educational books from India may now get supplies of such books from India by direct negotiations with Indian exporters. The control which formerly existed on the export of such books has been discontinued by the Government of India.

Northern Transvaal

Indian Cricket Union At the ninth annual general meeting of the above union the following were elected to hold office for the ensuing season, namely: Patron: Goolam Manjee, president: P. Raidoo, hon. life vice presidents: D. Soma, G. Sooboo, R. Vaidhu; vice presidents: M. Singb, M. T. Mooloo, M. H. Dasoo, B. T. Pillay, B. Ramcian; treasurer: O. M. Patel; secretary: G. D. Chetty; record clerk: A. Singh; delegates to T.I.C.U.: D. Chetty, C. M Patel, P. Raidoo, A. H. Ellemdin, G. Manjee, V. Modi.

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- 2. The bursary shall be open to any Indian student of the Union of South Africa who has sufficient qualification for admission to the faculty of Architecture (i.e. matriculation or an equivalent examination at least)
- 3. The bursary shall be for a complete degree course.
- 4. The bursary shall be in the form of a loan bureary to cover the successful candidate's University fees and books and boarding and lodging expenses should the successful candidate have his h-me away from the Witwatersrand.
- 5. The successful candidate shall FIVE years after Graduation commence the payment of the loan and complete the full payment of the loan WITHIN Ten years after graduation.

6. The bursary shall be free of Interest

Applications should be directed to the Secretary, Treasurer, University Indian Students Bursary Committee.

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# 'DHARMA' OF A SLAVE NATION

### IS TO SHAKE OFF FOREIGN YOKE

dharma' of a subject nation is to shake off the foreign yoke. A slave is an 'Adishudra' by compulsion, no matter what resounding titles he holds, whethether he is a judge or a judge's orderly, a prince or a pauper.' Thus writes Mahatma Gandhi in a prefatory 'Key' to the collection of his writings on 'Varnavyavastha.'

He writes: Man moves either forward or backwards. He never stands still. Such being the universal law, I need scarcely say that I am not today where I was yesterday or where I shall be tomorrow.

It is necessary, however, that my utterances or writings should not confuse or mislead anyone; they should not lend themselves to conflicting interpretations. To put it in another way, my speech, writing and conduct should always satisfy the test of truth and ahimsa. I have striven to keep these observances ever since I took certain vows at my mother's instance on going to England for study or so far as truth is concerned since as a child I began to understand things.

This does not mean that I have had or have even today a full vision of truth and ahimsa. All that I can say is that my vision of truth and ahimsa is becoming clearer everyday. Therefore, it would not be correct to say that my conception of varnashrama dharma today is just what it has ever been. I have called the institutions of varnas and ashramas the special gift of Hinduism to the world. I still adhere to that view, but today neither the varnas nor the ashramas of my conception are in existence anywhere.

Ashramas may be said to have disappeared altogether from our midst, while varnas are to be seen only in the corrupt form of exclusive rights and class privileges. All caste feeling whether in a Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya connotes pride, and pride and religion go ill together. Where does the poor Sudra stand in this classification? Right at the bottom. And the Adishudra—the untouchable? He is the meanest of the mean. This is not religion but its negation.

Where are the four varnas of the Gila today? Varna and caste are two entirely different things. The varieties of the latter are legion. I know of no authority for caste in the Gila or any other scripture. The Gila has prescribed four varnas based on

one's special aptitudes and corresponding duties. The number is only illustrative. It may be added to or reduced. I am convinced that today there is one varna only, viz., Shudra or say, Adishudra, Harijan, untouchable.

If Hindu society were to be converted to my view, all our internal treables would come to an end. The communal tension with the Mussalmans too would disappear and India would occupy the place of honour which should be hers in the world. Just as all distinctions of high and low are not dharma but adharma, so also all colour prejudice is immoral. If a scripture is found to sanction caste distinction or distinctions of race and colour, it does not deserve that name. The basic assumption with which to approach the study of scriptural texts is that they can never sanction anything that is contrary to fundamental ethics.

The caste distinctions have taken such deep root amongst us that they have also infected the Muslims, Christians and followers of other religions in India. It is true that class barriers are also to be found in a more or less degree in other parts of the world. This means that it is a distemper common to the human race. It can be eliminated only by the inculcation of religion in its true sense. I have not found sanction for such barriers and distinctions in the scriptures of any religion. In the eye of religion all men are equal. Learning, intellect or riches do not entitle one to claim superiority over those who are lacking in these. If a person is suffused and Eactified with the purifying essence and the discipline of true religion he regards himself under obligation to share his advantages with all those who have fewer.

That being so, in our present fallen state true religion requires us all to become Adishudras by choice. We must regard ourselves not as owners but as trustees of our wealth, and use it for the service of society, taking for ourselves no more than a fair return for service rendered. Under this system there would be none poor, none rich. All religions would be held equal. All quarrels arising out of religion, caste or economic grievance would cease to disturb peace on earth.

Here it is necessary to emphasise that the first and foremost 'dharma' of a subject nation is to shake off the foreign yoke. A slave is an 'Adiahudra' by compulsion, no matter what resounding title he holds, whether he is

a judge or a judge's orderly, a prince or a pauper. Indeed the higher one's title the more abject is one's condition under alieurale. Thus by correlating freedom with religion, dharma, which would inform every department of human activity, we shall in the natural course of things arrive at the state described in the previous paragraph.

The man of religion, will not bother as to the time when this is realised. If many believe and act thus, it would not only end our subjection but our freedom would be unmarred by anarchy or confusion. This is the Swarajya of my dreams My soul yearns for it and to its attainment I want to devote every breath of my life.

The reader is, therefore, requisted to discard anything in these pages that is or may appear incompatible with this conception of varnas.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that all persons who claim to be interested as Shareholders or otherwise in the HABIBIA GARDEN COMPANY must lodge their claims together with all documents or evidence in support thereof with the undersigned on or before the 31st December, 1945.

DATED AT JOHANNESBURG this 1st day of NOVEMBER, 1945.

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