

Indian Opinion

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO EUROPE

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

HERE are questions asked at other meetings :

Passive Resistance And Non-violence

Q.—Must we go even to the extent of being killed by the authorities for refusing to render military service?

A.—If a soldier who is armed with external weapons takes the vow of surrendering his life in doing his duty, viz., destroying his enemy, how much more should a lover of non-violence and truth pledge his life and all before he embarks on his experiments? In a country like France where there is conscription my answer may savour of high treason against the State and as a guest-visitor passing through your city and spending a few hours here, it would be perhaps wisdom on my part to evade this question. But on your arches, on the gates of justice, in your lawbooks, in your constitution, equality, liberty and fraternity are written in bold type, and let it be said to its credit that your Government has not up to now suppressed liberty of speech. Knowing, therefore, this great law of yours I have not hesitated to give the only reply that I could give to your question.

Q.—What is the distinction between the Christian doctrine of non-resistance and your resistance without violence? Have you taken your principle from Tolstoy?

A.—It has often been said that I owe my principle of non-violent resistance to Tolstoy, It is not the whole truth. I derived the greatest benefit from his writings, but as Tolstoy himself admitted I cultivated and developed and elaborated the method in South Africa, so much so, that it looked quite different from the non-resistance that Tolstoy had written and recommended. This I say in no derogation of Tolstoy. He is no apt pupil who will not build upon the foundations laid by his teacher for him. He only deserves a good teacher who would add to the legacy that the teacher has left him. I should be an unworthy son to my father if I should not add to my inheritance and so I have always regarded it as a matter of pride that, thanks be to God, what I have learnt from Tolstoy has fructified a hundredfold. Tolstoy talked of passive resistance largely, but the non-violent resistance elaborated in the Transvaal is a force infinitely more active than the resistance that an armed man can devise and I am glad to recall the fact that in a long letter he wrote to me unsolicited he said that his eyes were fixed upon me and my experiment wherever I was. If you study the movement in India and South Africa, you will find how this thing is capable of infinite expansion.

Women As The Stronger Sex

Q.—Is not non-resistance submission to the strong?

A.—Passive resistance is regarded as the weapon of the weak but the resistance for which I had to coin a new name altogether is the weapon of the strongest. I had to coin a new word to signify what I meant. But its matchless beauty lies in the fact that though it is the weapon of the strongest it can be wielded by the weak in body, by the aged and even by the children if they have stout hearts. And since resistance in Satyagraha is offered through self-suffering it is a weapon pre-eminently open to women. We found last year that women in India in many instances surpassed their brothers in sufferings and the two played a noble part in the campaign. For the idea of self-suffering became contagious and they embarked upon amazing acts of self-denial. Supposing that the women and the children of Europe became fired with love of humanity they would take the men by storm and reduce militarism to nothingness in an incredibly short time. The underlying idea is that women, children and others have the same soul, same potentiality. The question is one of drawing out the limitless power of truth.

Women And Militarism

At various meetings the question was pointedly asked as to how women may help in fighting militarism. In Italy at a private meeting Gandhiji was asked to tell the women of Italy something they could learn from the women of India.

"If only women will forget that they belong to the weaker sex," he said in Paris, "I have no doubt that they can do infinitely more than men against war. Answer for yourselves what your great soldiers and generals would do if their wives and daughters and mothers refused to countenance their participation in any shape or form in militarism."

"I do not know," he said at Lausanne, "if I have the courage to give message for the women of Europe that you asked for. If I am to do so without incurring their wrath, I would direct their steps to the women of India who rose in one mass last year, and I really believe that if Europe will drink in the lesson of non-violence it will do so through its women. Woman, I hold, is the personification of self-sacrifice, but unfortunately to-day she does not realise what a tremendous advantage she has over man. As Tolstoy used to say they are labouring under the hypnotic influence of man. If they would realise the strength of non-violence they would not consent to be called the weaker sex."

Speaking to a group of women in Italy he said : "The beauty of non-violent war is that women can play the same part in it as men. In a violent war the women have no such privilege, and the Indian women played a more effective part in our last non-violent war than men. The reason is simple. Non-violent war calls into play suffering to the largest extent, and who can suffer more purely and nobly than women? The women in India tore down the *pardah* and came forward to work for the nation. They saw that the country demanded something more than their looking after their homes. They manufactured contraband salt, they picketed foreign cloth shops and liquor shops and tried to wean both the seller and the customer from both. At late hours in the night they pursued the drunkards to their dens with courage and charity in their hearts. They marched to jails and they sustained *lathi* blows as few men did. If the women of the West will try to vie with men in becoming brutes, they have no lesson to learn from the women of India. They will have to cease to take delight in sending their husbands and sons to kill people and congratulate them on their valour.

Vegetarianism And Liquor

I summarise here for the benefit of the European reader Gandhiji's views on the value of vegetarian diet and on the baneful effect of liquor. The question was asked in a meeting of pacifists, and though there is nothing in it that is new for the Indian reader the European reader would like to have on record what Gandhiji said on these questions.

"The vegetarian diet has a priceless value for me, though it may have none for beef-eating Europe. But I do feel that spirit progress does demand at some stage that we should cease to kill our fellow creatures for satisfaction of our bodily wants. The beautiful lines of Goldsmith occur to me as I tell you of my vegetarian fact :

'No flocks that range the valley free
To slaughter I condemn ;
Taught by the power that pities me
I learn to pity them.'

"Liquor, as we say, is an invention of the devil. In Islam it is said that when Satan began to beguile men and women he dangled before them the 'red water.' I have seen in so many cases that liquor has not only robbed men of their money but of their reason, they have for the time being forgotten the distinction between wife and mother, lawful and unlawful. I have seen drunken barristers wallowing in gutters carried home by the police. I have found on two occasions captains of steamers so dead drunk as to be incapable of keeping charge of their boats, and the first officer had to take charge of their boats till they came to their senses. For both flesh-meats and liquor the sovereign rule is "we must not live in order to eat and drink and be merry, but eat and drink in order to make our bodies temples of God and to use them for service of man. Liquor may be a medical necessity on occasion, and when life seems to be extinct it may be possible to prolong it with a dose of liquor, but that is about all that can be said for it. It is quite possible to keep perfect health without flesh-meat, though it is possible that one may not develop brute strength or the cruelty of a soldier without flesh-meat. You may not be knowing that Japan when she took to developing her military strength in imitation to the West, made beef-eating compulsory for its soldiers.

(Concluded)

INDIANS IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

REV. C. F. ANDREWS on his way to India disembarked from s.s. *Karanja* to Lourenco Marques and Beira and from both these places he has sent us two communications which we gladly publish elsewhere in this issue. A drastic foreign Ordinance is presented to the Legislative Council at Lourenco Marques for approval. One of its clauses insists that any business which engages assistants must necessarily engage seventy-five per cent. of them from the Portuguese subjects. If the proposed Ordinance is passed by the Legislative Assembly the resident Indian community is likely to be ruined and they will have to suffer greatest hardships. The Indians in that territory are mostly engaged in trade. They rightly fear that their trade will be ruined if this Ordinance is passed. We have not seen the draft copy of this Ordinance. Mr. Andrews has just mentioned one of its clauses which will affect mostly and ruin the legitimate trade of the resident Indian community. The Indian community in that territory must immediately wake up and organise meetings and lodge effective protests to the proper authorities before it is too late. We are glad to see that Rev. Andrews has taken this question in his hands and has acted at once. He has sent cables to the Government of India and the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay pointing out the danger in which the community of that territory is involved. He will now soon reach Bombay. We advise the Indian community in Portuguese East Africa that they should keep Mr. Andrews informed if necessary by cable so that he can place all the facts before the Government of India. The obvious intention of this proposed Ordinance is to seek employment for the Portuguese people who are on the unemployment role. One can easily see it. It is the choice of each individual whom he should employ in his service. It is the undoubted liberty of each individual. No Government has a right to compel an individual to employ only a certain section of the people in his service. This proposed Ordinance takes away the individual liberty of the people. The Portuguese Government is based on republican principles, and the republican Governments first of all stand and care for individual and collective liberty most. Their motto is Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. We are at a loss to understand how a Republican Government like the Portuguese can bring in a measure like this which strikes at the very root of its principles. Mr. Andrews has made one good suggestion that the Government of India be urged to appoint a permanent Indian Consul to guard the interests of the Indian community in this territory. We entirely agree with this suggestion and advise the Indian community of Portuguese East Africa to approach the Government of India on this question and press the demand forward. We on our part respectfully urge the Government of India to accept this suggestion. We assure the Indian community of Portuguese East Africa that this paper is always at their service. Whenever the occasion demands we will not lag behind to take up their cause.

POCKET OR HEART?

(By L. W. RYON)

THE issues that formed the subject matter of the Capetown Conference would still appear to be undecided, and it may safely be assumed that whatever decision is arrived at will be determined by one of two considerations. Mr. Andrews has stressed the one. He has appealed to the Union's self-interest by reminding the Union of the material advantages to be derived by the latter from the commercial intercourse that might flow between a friendly India and a complacent South Africa. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that Mr. Andrews regards bribery of the nature indicated as the best and highest reason why justice should be accorded to the resident Indian peoples. As an apostle of righteousness, Mr. Andrews is and would be among the first to insist that Right must be done for Right's sake, and that the doing of it is its own reward.

The other consideration is that oft-debated expression, Change of Heart, and it was upon this that the writer ventured to concentrate in his address to the Select Committee of 1930.

The writer was convinced then, and still remains convinced, that any change of policy save it be inspired by such change of heart must inevitably prove unstable, impermanent, and ineffective; that concessions conceded in a spirit of bargaining for some calculated material advantage must run the grave risk of being withdrawn if the bargain should prove less satisfactory than contemplated or capable of being improved upon. The example of the Gentleman's Agreement illustrates the point. Therein the quid pro quo was repatriation. The results having proved disappointing from the Government's point of view, the Government resumed its original attitude on the plea that it was not getting the value of its forbearance that it had contemplated in the making of the bargain.

A bargain has been defined as a deal in which the parties to the transaction anticipate scoring an advantage over one another. In the formation of a civil contract, it is an essential factor that the contracting parties shall be ad idem—that their minds shall "come together." When, however, the civilised world resolved that chattel slavery should cease, the urge behind that resolution was not merely one of expediency. It arose from a change of heart, from a real conversion, from an advance in moral and ethical outlook and values. Intellectual arguments, considerations of consequent commercial drawbacks and inconveniences, were swept aside and wiped out of account, once the heart became articulate with the voice of the Higher Reason called sometimes, Conscience. It is the function of the lower mind to calculate, to weigh the pros and cons, from the point of view of self-interest; to be concerned only with "practical politics," with the pounds, shillings and pence aspects of life; to eschew sentiment lest it interfere with "business." Its slogan is that expressed in the Pious Editor's Creed, "I don't believe in principle; but oh! I do in interest!" And it is in just this spirit that the claims of the community have been weighed and examined. If those claims have any virtue, their virtue lies in their morality and in the immorality of condemning any section of a community to a life of helotage. The recognition of this does involve a change of heart, without which there can be no real hope for the people.

Statement Submitted By S.A.I.C.

To Government Of India Delegation

The Honourable Leader and Members of the Delegation:

"We, the officials of the South African Indian Congress, which is constituted of the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the Cape Indian Congress, and which represents the Indian community of South Africa, desire to submit to you the following statement of the Indian situation in the Union at date.

In our statement presented to the Habeshah Delegation at Capetown on the 27th December, 1926, we emphasised the omission of securing the representation of the South African Indian Congress, as the mouthpiece of the Indian community in South Africa, at the Round Table Conference between the two Governments. We then, at now, feel that, in any discussion for an honourable and lasting settlement of the Indian problem in the Union, Indians, whose fate and future in the country were the subjects of discussion at the Round Table Conference, should, as parties vitally concerned, be given representation.

As we are given to understand the procedure that was adopted before would be followed, and that discussions would be confined between the representatives of the two Governments, we, while regretting our exclusion to take part in the proceedings of the Conference on behalf of our countrymen here, desire firmly but respectfully to emphasise that any conclusions arrived at between the two Governments in the revision of the Capetown Agreement, will necessarily have to be considered by the Congress.

We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of submitting to the Government of India Delegation all the information we have, and at the same time bringing to the notice of the Delegation the several grievances and disabilities under which Indians labour in the Union. We take the firm view that anything short of the removal of these grievances and disabilities, the Indian community will not feel itself happy and contented until it is freed from all differential and restrictive legislation. Their grievances are so grave, and their disabilities so burdensome, that they feel that so long as these are not removed, or relief given, their chances of becoming part of the "permanent population" and of exercising their energies to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities are, indeed, remote.

It is not our intention, nor will it serve any useful purpose to present you with a review of the Indian history in South Africa. Their immigration into this country, their contribution of labour to its success and prosperity, especially to that of Natal, their sufferings, struggles and trials in order to maintain their self-respect and honour through series after series of differential legislation, and its concomitant results are well known to you and need no repetition.

Soon after the Agreement was published, a Conference was convened by the Congress at Johannesburg in 1927, when the conclusions arrived at were considered and the following resolution was passed:

"That this seventh session of the South African Indian Congress in conference assembled hereby resolves to accept the Agreement reached at the Round Table Conference between the Governments of the Union and India, recognising it as an honest attempt to find a solution to the Indian problem. The Conference while prepared to work it as such, feels, however, the necessity to criticise certain features of the Agreement, specially (1) The restriction of the

sales of unalienated lands in Municipalities, (2) The serious failure to restore the Municipal Franchise, (3) The failure to remove the disability under the Colour Bar Act.

This Conference further reserves to itself the right to critically examine the Liquor Bill, where it affects the community and any draft Bill that may be brought forward to implement the Agreement."

Again at the annual conference held at Kimberley in January 1928, a re-affirmation of our faith in the Agreement as contained in the aforementioned resolution, was made, and assurance was given that the Congress "will stand by and will generally honour the Agreement arrived at between the Indian and Union Governments in the spirit in which it has been conceived."

We shall now deal as briefly as possible, with the position of our community, as it stood on the eve of the consummation of the Agreement.

Population

The Indian population of the Union according to the Census of 1921 was as follows:—

Natal	...	...	...	141,336
Transvaal	...	...	...	12,405
Cape	...	...	...	6,491

Total 161,239

There has been no census taken of the Indian population since 1921, but basing on the estimate figures supplied, we say that since 1911 the percentage of increase in the European population of Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population is resident has always been much higher than that of the Indians.

To justify our statement we quote the following figures:—

NATAL

1911.	133,611 Indians including other Asiatics.	98,761 Europeans
1921.	141,336 Indians only	137,417 Europeans
1930.	159,164 Indians including other Asiatics (estimated)	176,061 Europeans (estimated)

It would therefore be observed that whilst the percentage of increase in the European population for the 20 years is 72.5, the increase in the Indian population is only 19.5. The Indian population has remained more or less stationary, and if there is an increase, that may easily be set off against the large number that has been repatriated under the assisted emigration scheme.

We submit that the resident Indian population of South Africa is almost South African in character for eighty-five per cent. are born in this country and form part of the permanent population.

The following major grievances and disabilities existed in the

NATAL PROVINCE :

- (1) The dispossession of Parliamentary Franchise (Vide Natal Act of 1896).
- (2) The dispossession of Municipal Franchise (Vide Boroughs Ordinance 19 of 1924).
- (3) The unfair application of provisions of the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924 so as to exclude Indians from owning or occupying unalienated lands (Ordinance 19 of 1924).
- (4) The harsh, unjust and unfair administration of the Licensing Laws in Natal in relation to Indians.
- (5) The policy pursued by the Provincial authority to retard the progress of Indian education.
- (6) The refusal to grant permit to hold fire-arms in respect of genuine case for self-protection.
- (7) The exclusion of Indians from the benefits of Old Age Pension.

- (8) The discrimination made against Indians as regards payment of witness fees.
9. Colour Bar in Post Offices, Law Courts and other public places.

TRANSVAAL PROVINCE :

- (2) The retention of the old Republican Law No. 3 of 1885.
 - (a) which excluded Indians from ownership of landed property "except only in such streets, wards and locations as the Government for the purpose of sanitation shall assign to them to live in."
 - (2) The severe disabilities imposed upon the Indians under Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law (Transvaal Act 35 of 1908) and Section 62 of the Township Act as to prohibition of residence and occupation by Indians on proclaimed land.
 - (3) The legal disability imposed under Act 37 of 1919 in respect of ownership of land by Limited Liability Companies.
 - (4) The limitation of Indian education to the standard of primary education.

CAPE PROVINCE :

Differential treatment in regard to the issue of licences to Indians in certain areas.

The major grievances which affected Indians as a whole in the Union were:—

- (1) The harsh administration of the Immigrants' Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913 in regard to:
 - (a) movement and entry of domiciled Indians;
 - (b) procedure followed in respect of proof of domicile, and in respect of entry of wives and minor children into the Union;
 - (c) procedure followed in regard to the hearing of appeals before the Immigrants' Appeal Board;
 - (d) the exclusion of right of appeal by an aggrieved party to Supreme Courts both on facts and law.

These then were the grievances, both Provincial and Union, at the time of the Agreement.

What is the position after practically five years' working of the Agreement?

In the Natal Province as a result of investigation by a Provincial Committee into the question of Indian education, practically the whole of the Union Government subsidy which was diverted to other channels of expenditure, was decided to be used in extending facilities for the education of Indian children, and the granting of £50,000 under the Housing Act for Indian housing scheme in and around Durban.

In other respects, with this exception, the position in the Natal Province is as it was before the Agreement.

In the Transvaal Province not only has the position of Indians been made much worse than it was before by rigorous enforcement of laws which impose special restriction on occupation and residence of Indians and incidentally on trade but also the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill which is pending before the Parliament for consideration further threatens the existence of Indians by introducing into the same principles of segregation and other serious restrictions as were contained in the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provisions) Bill of 1926.

In the Cape Province, the extension of franchise to women of European descent only, not only created a colour bar against non-European women but has doubled the European votes while leaving the non-European votes unchanged. This has made each Indian vote only worth half its former value.

Throughout the Union Indians are subjected to the same irksome, irritating and differential treatment in regard to the subject of :

(a) Licence, (b) Immigration, (c) Travelling on the Railways, (d) Racial bar in public services such as Post Offices and Railways, Denial of economic opportunities to Indians, the maintenance of Colour Bar and other disabilities also continue.

Having regard to the importance of the present Round Table Conference, which we understand meets to exchange views on the working of and to revise the Agreement, the South African Indian Congress convened an Emergency Conference at Johannesburg on the 31st December and 1st January 1932, at which in his address to the Conference the President of the Congress reviewed briefly the situation as it obtains at date. A copy of the address is attached to this Statement as Appendix marked "A".

This Emergency Conference after fully discussing the problems that confront the Indian community unanimously and with one voice, passed the following resolution :—

That this Emergency Conference of the South African Indian Congress, representing the Indian community in South Africa, authorises the President, Joint hon. Secretary, Joint hon. Treasurer of the Congress, Messrs. A. Christopher, S. R. Naidoo, E. M. Ally, representing the Natal Indian Congress, Joosub Ebrahim Gardi, S. B. Medh, P. K. Desai, Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney, representing the Transvaal Indian Congress, and H. Khan Gool, A. Ismail, C. Sundra Pillay and S. Dawood representing the Cape Indian Congress, as delegates to present a statement on matters differentially and specially affecting Indians in the Union, to the Government of India Delegation at the Round Table Conference and authorises and empowers them to press for :

1. The complete withdrawal of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Bill.
2. The repeal of all restrictive laws which affect Indians in the Transvaal, especially Law 3 of 1885, Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law and Section 62 of the Townships Act, Transvaal.
3. The abandonment of the Assisted Emigration Scheme.
4. The entry into the Union of wives and minor children who are affected by the decision in the case of Rashid Amod.
5. The removal of differential treatment meted out to Condones in regard to immigration matters.
6. The granting of permission for the entry of wives and minor children now in India of those who have taken out Protection Certificates.
7. The repeal of provisions of Act 15 of 1931, which impose fresh limitation on the rights of Indians.
8. Increased facilities in the matter of education and in providing industrial and technical education.
9. The liberal application of sanitation and housing schemes to meet the wishes of the Indian community.
10. The immediate fulfilment of the undertaking given in the "Licence Clause" of the Agreement, and the withdrawal of the Licensing Control Ordinance of Transvaal, which awaits the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council.
11. The removal of all restrictions and disabilities imposed on Indians in the Liquor Act.
12. Equal economic opportunities to Indians in the application of industrial legislation, and the removal of the Government White Labour Policy.
13. The removal of all other disabilities imposed upon and differential treatment meted out to Indians, as outlined in the Presidential speech delivered before this Conference, especially the repeal of Indian immigration laws.
14. The liberal application of the 'Uplift' Clause

as contained in the Agreement to give full expression to the declaration made thereunder by the Union Government.

We propose to deal with and to furnish information on these points of grievances in their order for the earnest consideration of the members of the Delegation.

(To be Continued)

The Proposed Ordinance In Portuguese East Africa

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

Here in Beira things are very critical. A cable has just been received from Lourenco Marques about the new proposed Ordinance which insists on seventy-five per cent. of assistants in all businesses being Portuguese subjects.

If this Ordinance is passed the Indian population in Mozambique Territory will be automatically reduced by almost seventy-five per cent; for everyone here is engaged in trade and there is no other occupation. I have at once approached the Goanese from India who have had the most generous treatment in India itself to protest against this cruel law. They have promised me that they will do so. It would, for instance, be possible to pass the same Ordinance in Bombay towards foreign firms there such as those from Portuguese territory; but the last thing in the world, which we should wish, would be to disturb our present friendly relations with all our neighbours. The proposed law in Lourenco Marques must clearly be stopped. It must not be allowed to disturb friendly relations.

From this serious incident it has become more clear than ever to me how very great is the importance and value of INDIAN OPINION as a newspaper. I am urging here as I did in Lourenco Marques that everything ought to be done to protest against this new measure and also to send news to INDIAN OPINION. The Indian merchants here have promised me that they will do so.

A cable has been sent to Beira Indian merchants from Lourenco Marques as follows :—

"Drastic foreign law has been presented before the Legislative Council for approval. If law is approved it will prejudice most seriously our interests in this Mozambique Province. We are strongly protesting against it. Meanwhile we require good financial help from the whole Indian community. Please arrange to remit urgently one hundred pounds gold to Chamber of Commerce. We are posting particulars.—Camara Commercial Indian."

The foreign law mentioned in this cable is the one which I have referred to in these articles. How serious it is may easily be seen. I would suggest that the South African Indian Congress take up the matter immediately and if things go further they should make their protest. I have myself cabled to the Acting Agent-General, to Sir Fazli-Husain and also to the Imperial Citizenship Association as follows :—

To Sir Fazli Husain, New Delhi :

"Extremely serious situation arising here owing drastic foreign Ordinance presented to Lourenco Marques Legislative Council for approval insisting seventy-five per cent. assistants any business must be Portuguese subjects. This if passed likely ruin Indian trade therefore necessary Government

make immediate protest. Myself reaching Bombay March thirteenth coming Delhi direct explaining fully everything meanwhile please enquire and take action."

To Equality, Bombay :

"Immediately protest against proposed new Ordinance in Portuguese East which would force all business houses employ seventy-five per cent. Portuguese subjects. Appeal to Goanese press protest also myself arriving Bombay thirteenth with information."

Here is an opportunity of rendering brotherly assistance which I am sure that the Congress Executive will be eager to seize.

The Indian Community At Lourenco Marques

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

While I spent a full day at Lourenco Marques, disembarking for the time being from s.s. *Karanja*, I found out certain things which were of the utmost importance to take notice of immediately concerning the Indian community in that city.

(1) There is really very little help possible from the British Consul, whose main concern is with British subjects from Great Britain. What is needed immediately is an Indian Consul, representing India (just as the Italian Consul represents Italy). He should have such an income as to be able to take his rank socially with the other Consuls in Lourenco Marques. The whole Indian community would welcome him with open arms; and if he were the right person he could do more than anything else to bind Indians of all classes together. He could also deal with the very difficult questions arising between Goanese Indians who are Portuguese subjects and other Indians.

(2) INDIAN OPINION ought surely to be the one medium of communication between this colony of Indians and the rest of the world. I would suggest that INDIAN OPINION should reach up as far as Rhodesia and the whole of Mozambique. Then, north of that territory, the East African Indian newspapers should have their own proper sphere. It is vitally important that no small Indian colony should be isolated. I have seen the result of this isolation in the West Indies, where Indians, in some islands, had forgotten that they were from India at all.

(3) An immediate protest is needed against the new regulation, which is likely to be enforced, making it compulsory to have 75 per cent. of the assistants in all shops and houses of business Portuguese. This is almost impossible for Indians. It would ruin most of them and it brings in an element of racial discord and discrimination. But the struggle against this new regulation can hardly be effective if the Indian Colony has no representative, such as an Indian Consul from India, and also if it has no newspaper, such as INDIAN OPINION, to make known its cause. I hope that very soon it will have both means of support and I would suggest that the Editor of INDIAN OPINION should go down to Lourenco Marques as soon as possible in order to carry out this proposal of mine of linking up far more closely the Indian community at Beira and Lourenco Marques and Mozambique with the Indian community in South Africa and Rhodesia.

At the first possible moment, after my return to India, I shall put forward before the authorities the proposal that an Indian Consul should take up his permanent residence in Lourenco Marques.

Immigration Law And Indians

Bloemfontein, March 4.—The Appeal Court heard argument on Friday in another of the many appeals in connection with the interpretation of the laws dealing with immigrant Indians.

The appellant was one, Abdool Bhyat, the son of Mooma Bhyat, a Cape Malay. He had, in India, entered into a union recognised as a marriage—according to the tenets of Indian religion which recognises polygamy—with an Indian woman in 1915 and appellant had been born in India in 1920 as the offspring of that union. Appellant's mother returned to India on a visit in 1919 and remained there till her death in 1923. Appellant's father resides in the Transvaal, but appellant, his son, when he first entered the Transvaal last year, was declared a prohibited immigrant.

It was admitted by Mr. Nesor, on behalf of the Commissioner for Immigration, who argued the appeal from the Transvaal Court, that if appellant's father had been a British Indian and not a Cape Malay the appellant would have been admitted, and that if the amendment of the Immigration Act of 1913 by the Indians Relief Act of 1914 were read in its ordinary grammatical meaning the appellant must succeed. His contention was that as the title of the 1914 Act referred to Indians only all its provisions must be read as applying exclusively to Indians.

Mr. Rosenberg appeared for the appellant, and his contention that the Transvaal Court was wrong in reading the section in question, namely, Section 3 of the 1913 Act in the narrow sense now contended for, found favour with the Court. At the conclusion of argument Acting Chief Justice Sir John Wessels intimated that judgment would be delivered later.—Reuter.

Indians Right To Appeal

Order Against Immigration Officer

An application by an Indian to compel the Principal Immigration Officer of the Union to perform certain duties laid down in the Immigration Regulations was decided in favour of the applicant by Mr. Justice Barry in the Supreme Court, Pretoria. Mr. P. Millin, K.C., and with him Mr. O. Rathouse, appeared for the applicant, Mahomed Essop; and Mr. V. H. Nesor for the Immigration Officer.

Applicant, said Mr. Millin, was a boy of 12 born in India, who first presented himself to an immigration officer at the Union border last April. He failed to satisfy the officer that he was the son of a registered Indian domiciled in the Transvaal, and had been forbidden to enter the country.

He appealed, but the Appeal Board rejected his evidence as unsatisfactory. The applicant had accordingly withdrawn and taken up residence at Lourenco Marques. In the meantime efforts were made to obtain fresh evidence, which in September was tendered, and the applicant's attorney wrote to the Immigration Officer, stating that what was in his opinion "convincing" evidence had been pro-

cured. The Immigration Officer replied, refusing to hear the case.

Fresh Application

The next stage was that the boy openly entered the Transvaal. Armed with the fresh evidence, he presented himself at Komatipoort, and was allowed to enter the Union by permit. The Principal Immigration Officer took exception to this mode of entry, but the applicant, in order to avoid litigation, offered to make a fresh application. The Immigration Officer agreed to consider it.

A fresh application was then made. The officer replied by letter that he had carefully considered the new evidence and was not prepared to reopen the case. The applicant's attorney then noted an appeal.

After hearing Mr. Naser, in reply, the Court held that applicant had the right again to appeal.

The Court directed the Immigration Officer to convene a meeting of the Appeal Board to hear the applicant's appeal. The applicant was also entitled to the costs of the present action.

The Heritage Of The East

(From an article by Mr. T. Raghavan)

(Continued from last week)

The rule of the Portuguese was shortlived. In 1640 the Dutch capture Malacca and took all the Portuguese possessions from them. During the next century and a half this south-eastern corner of Asia was treated as a place for plunder rather than as a seat of civilisation. The islands close to Malacca were used for the purpose of obtaining cloves and spices. A Dutch monopoly was held in this trade against all comers. The natives of the islands who grew the spices were treated as slaves of the company and they were ruthlessly pillaged on many occasions. The story of those days as told in the contemporary Dutch history makes terrible reading. At last, the monopoly of the Dutch was challenged by other rival European Powers but the Dutch interests were not completely broken until towards the middle of the eighteenth century. In India French rivalry sprang up in the Madras Presidency. The East India Company then began to press in on every side and towards the close of the eighteenth century the British succeeded in getting a footing not only in India itself in the three coastal areas of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, but also in the Malaya Peninsula at Penang. Malacca was captured in 1795. Then came the Napoleonic war with the final struggle for power in the world outside Europe between the British and the French.

Early in the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles came to this part of the world. He was

A Genius Of The Highest Order

And wherever his influence penetrated he left a mark which is noticeable to-day. From 1811-1817, he ruled over Java, and it was his deep interest in the archaeological remains of the East which rescued Borobudur from decay and ultimate ruin. At the end of the war against Napoleon, the division of the spoils in the South East of Asia between the Dutch and English were finally ceded to Great Britain. Sumatra and Java and other islands of Indonesia were handed over finally to the Dutch.

At first, the British settlements in Malaya were

only at the coast. Penang and Malacca were the two ports that were made bases of sea power at first. But in 1819 a momentous step was taken. Sir Stamford Raffles took possession of a sheltered harbour on a small island at the very foot of the Malaya Peninsula which was called by the ancient name of Simhapura, the Lion City. Raffles foresaw clearly the great geographical importance of the position and declared it a free port, from the first, in order to destroy the Dutch monopoly. To-day Singapore is reckoned to be the seventh port in importance in the world, and the volume of trade which passes through it is increasing every year. It is also being made into an immense naval and aeronautic base, which will be the strongest in fortification in the whole of the Far East.

The occupation of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles formed

The Turning-Point

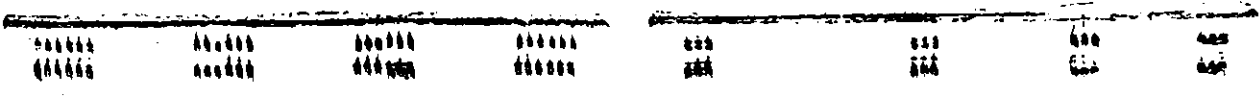
In the history of the British power in South Eastern Asia. Along with Penang and Colombo it gave to Great Britain a complete protected sea route. This in turn made the trade with China naturally fall chiefly into British hands for a whole century. The importance of Singapore, however, is not merely that of commerce and trade; it has also become the centre of immigration for millions of Chinese, who have come there chiefly from Canton and the southern parts of China in order to make money in Malaya and then afterwards return to China.

This Chinese population has now been for nearly a century more or less a floating population. The work of development of the Malaya Peninsula has been carried on by these immigrants, who come on account of the high wages offered and then as soon as possible return home again. The vast extent of this seasonal migration in the past may be judged by the fact that between 1911 and 1912 more than a million Chinese went back to China and yet at the same time the Chinese population in Malaya increased by over 28 per cent. The most remarkable fact since the end of the World War has been the number of Chinese women who have accompanied their husbands owing to the disturbed conditions in China itself. This is likely to increase the permanent Chinese population as against that of India which has come for labour purposes across the Bay of Bengal.

I have ventured elsewhere to forecast with some confidence that Malaya must become in the future an integral portion of Greater China. The reason for this is not the immense flow of immigrants to and fro between Singapore and Canton, but rather this new feature of Chinese family life in Singapore and Malaya. For since Chinese who are now coming to Singapore are bringing with them their families they will soon far exceed any other race.

The policy of the British Government at Singapore has been one of encouragement of this migration from China, leaving it to take its own free course. But one sinister aspect of this traffic has been the monopoly of opium which the Government of Singapore has possessed. The Chinese immigrants are in reality taxed for a very large part of the expenditure incurred in Singapore itself by the payments they make to the Government for opium smoking. In one year, not very long ago, the whole local expenditure of Singapore was covered by this opium taxation.

During the earlier period of the nineteenth century, up to the 1887, the different possessions in Malaya, such as those of Singapore, Malacca and Penang, governed from Calcutta by the Governor-General of India. They were actually a part of the



British Indian administration. This made the connection with India very close indeed.

When

The Queen's Proclamation

Was published in 1858, promising equal treatment of all races, the Proclamation was issued in Penang and Singapore as well as in Delhi and Calcutta.

After the year 1867, a new charter in the history of the Malay Peninsula began. For the Straits Settlements were made into a colony and placed under the Colonial Office. They have remained under the Colonial Office ever since. It can be shown historically that their progress has been far more rapid under the Colonial Office than it was under the British Indian Government. The anarchy, piracy and free-booting, which was rife in the neighbouring Malaya States, made it more and more difficult to keep the peace of the whole country intact without taking under protection one Sultan after another, and federating the Malaya State under British rule.

A careful reading of the conditions during the period before they came under British protection shows that when once Penang and Singapore were occupied the further unification was inevitable. On the whole, the material progress of the different States, since the time when they came under British protection, has been remarkable. I have myself travelled both in the Federated and Unfederated State, and I have no doubt personally that the great improvement in the administration which has taken place is due—(1) to the separation of Malaya from the Government of British India, (2) to the remarkable series of administrators who have been able to work side by side with the Sultans of Malaya giving them help in their difficulties, keeping the peace, preserving order, and at the same time leaving them as far as possible with their own local powers intact. The settled peace which has prevailed in the Malaya Peninsula ever since the time when it was separated from the British Government in India, has produced a remarkable effect in racial union and racial intermarriage. Without this settled peace the races, which are so diverse as those of China, Malaya and India, could never have been kept side by side among their illiterate members without friction. Also the habits of dacoity which had become almost a second nature in Malaya, might have gone on increasing. But owing to the settled administration the races have remarkably intermingled. Indeed very rarely have races so divergent become so friendly together as those in Malay and in so short a time. A harmony has been springing up between all the three races and in certain important directions intermarriages are constantly taking place. The only stock which does not intermarry is the Hindu society where some caste traditions have been maintained. In other directions what we observe to-day is the formation of a new human stock in which three different cultures and three different races will probably in the end intermingle and unite.

Thus the Indians who go to Malaya do not go there as foreigners. They pass out across the Bay of Bengal to a country with which India has been intimately connected from the very first. The Hindu traditions are not alien to Malaya, but a vital portion of the most ancient civilization of the land. The Malaysians themselves have already imbibed that culture, and it remains deeply embedded in their legends, folk plays and songs beneath the exterior ceremonial of Islam. There should be no difficulty whatever in its revival. It is true that the course of events points to a pre-

dominance of Chinese population in the near future, but there is no reason why the cultural traditions of India should not remain as the background of the whole scene of human life in this wonderful land, if only the spiritual enterprises which prevailed in India in Hindu Buddhist times is not now lacking.

News In Brief

The fourth annual general meeting of the Young Men's Arya Samaj, was held in Durban on Sunday last. The following were the officials elected for the year 1932. Patron Swami Bhawni Dayal, President Mr. J. K. Singh, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer Mr. H. Maghrajh, Vice Presidents Messrs. S. Purmasir and H. J. Maghrajh. Committees: Messrs. Balarajh Maghrajh, L. purmasir, H. H. Singh, R. Bhogwan and G. Athmananda. The first Committee meeting will be held at the secretary's residence, 52 Sydenham Road, Durban, on Sunday the 20th March 1932, at 2 p.m. It is hoped all members will be present.—Contributed.

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Sir Kurma Reddi, recently Agent-General for India in the Union, painted a glowing picture of the halcyon life of Indians in South Africa when he spoke at Delhi the other day, cables the Calcutta correspondent of *The Natal Mercury*. As a result several Indian leaders have written to the Press inquiring if wholesale emigration to South Africa could be arranged.

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New Delhi, Monday.—A pact favouring the representation of the depressed classes in the Legislatures through a joint electorate, with the reservation of seats on a population basis, has been approved by conference of leading Sikh and Hindu members of the Central Legislature. The conference is determined to give every support to the depressed classes. The association resolved that all minority problems should be solved on the basis of the League of Nations.—Reuter.

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Calcutta, Thursday.—Burma will be separated from India on April 1, 1934 if the Burmese people decide at the general election, which it is proposed to hold in the autumn of this year, on the separation issue that they do not want their country to join the Indian Federation. This announcement was made in the Burma Legislative Council by Sir Charles Innes, Governor of Burma. Consequently, Burma should cease to be part of the Indian Empire. The Governor's forecast of a constitutional timetable for Burma can also reasonably be assumed to throw light on the British Government's hopes of progress for India, too. If the Burma Bill goes through Parliament in 1933, the India Bill should also go through, with consequent elections in the autumn, and new Ministries by the end of the year.

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