

INDIAN OPINION

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THE CHOICE BEFORE US

IF I had any power at my command, I would make a thorough study of *Mein Kampf* a required course of every high school, college, and university in the United States and in all the democracies. Adolf Hitler may not be a master of literary style, but his book is among the three important volumes in the history of modern thought. Though not great in character, it ranks in power of influence with Darwin's *Origin of Species* and Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. When the historian comes to write about our era, he will point to its philosophy, more than to any other, as responsible for the map of the world eventuating from the present political world crisis. Not since the early part of the sixteenth century, when Michiavelli wrote *The Prince* has there appeared such a complete philosophy of statecraft for those who rule by the will of power.

I shall not attempt to review it, however, for since it is nearly 1,000 pages in length that would be impossible in one discourse. I simply give my reactions to some of its leading principles in their relation to the topic of the hour. I begin by repeating that the book cannot be treated lightly. Had responsible statesmen regarded it seriously, they would have had before them an outline of Hitler's political programme and policies and they might have prevented the developments of recent years. Nevertheless, I am not so much concerned with it from the angle of political prophecy, but as a statement of a philosophy of life. This is by far its most serious aspect. For Adolf Hitler does not bring into focus something new in the history of humanity but re-emphasises a view of life which in all centuries has sought dominion over the minds of men. He revitalises and re-incarnates a theory of existence which again and again has captivated the imagination of nations and which today, as perhaps in no former period, is making a bid for dominion over the heart of mankind.

But he does more than this. He throws down the gauntlet to every ideal which the world has associated with the Christian faith. If the philosophy of *Mein Kampf* should triumph—

By
HORACE WESTWOOD
In "Unity" (Chicago)

and it is by no means a foregone conclusion that it will not—there will be no Christianity! For let us not deceive ourselves. Mr. Hitler has no more love for the Christian than he has for the Jew. The Jew looks upon the Fuehrer as the supreme embodiment of anti-Semitism. But if everything that is opposed to the Christian point of view and the Christian outlook upon life could be expressed in terms of one person, I would point to Adolf Hitler. Indeed, if I were a Fundamentalist instead of a Liberal, I would have no hesitation in saying that he is the long-expected anti-Christ prophesied in centuries past as the great scourge of the nations.

Be this as it may, we have in his volume a view of life with which there can be no temporising, and the choice before our modern world is the great question as to whether it will bow to the philosophy symbolised by the Sword of Hitler, or give itself in heartfelt devotion to those values symbolised by the Cross of Christ. This is the alternative confronting our civilisation—not alone the governments of the nations, but the hearts and minds of individuals like ourselves. And I want to say that this great alternative is inescapable. The decision is before us, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

The choice is very definite, for as I read *Mein Kampf* and compare it with the Gospels I am impressed with the absolutisms which both contain. Hitler, no less than Jesus, demands the united loyalty of the whole man. Both insist upon the uncompromising devotion of the entire person. Both insist that an individual cannot be half one thing and half another. "No man can serve two masters...Ye cannot serve God and Mammon!"—cries Jesus, even as he exclaims, "He that loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me." Similarly, Hitler maintains that one cannot be loyal to the German State and humanity at the same time, and one cannot share his devotion to the

Germanic race with devotion to any humanitarian ideal. The German race must be made absolutely pure, therefore absolutely ruthless in purging out all racial admixtures and thoroughly contemptuous in relation to all other peoples. Naziism can permit no compromise with any other movement and the slightest toleration of anything associated with the democratic ideal is the worst possible treason. Note these words:

The future of a movement is conditioned by the fanaticism, even more the intolerance, with which its adherents present it as the only right one, and enforce it in the face of all other formations of a similar kind.

To paraphrase the message of Jesus concerning the laws by which men shall live, Hitler would say:

Thou shalt love thy Fuehrer with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength. And thou shalt love thy fellow Nazi as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

Indeed, Hitler arrogates to himself the spirit of the first two commandments in the decalogue, and would exclaim:

Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. For I, thy Leader, am a jealous leader visiting the disloyalties and the compromises of the fathers upon the children, even unto the third and fourth generation.

And in his service anything is justified—force, unmeasured and without stint—brutality and cruelty without compassion—persecution and oppression to the utmost limit—treachery, lying and betrayal—and if it should come to pass that the world shall be plunged into war and the earth deluged with rivers of blood, what does it matter provided his will is absolute and his dreams of domination are fulfilled?

In order that we may see more fully the nature of the choice before us, let us analyse its character in greater detail.

(Continued on page 262)

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, JULY 7TH, 1939

Non-European United Front

THERE is a growing mentality in favour of the formation of a non-European united front in South Africa against segregation measures of the Government. There are many Indians too who are in favour of adopting that course, but Mahatma Gandhi has advised otherwise.

Mahatma Gandhi, in giving his reasons for doing so, states that "the Union Government's Indian segregation policy has nothing in common with the policy governing the African races. He yields to none in his regard for the Native races of South Africa, but the Indian problem is small compared with the vast problem of the African races, and it is impossible to speak of the two in the same breath." Mahatma Gandhi further states, that had this particular clause, referring to uniting with the African inhabitants, in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee, expressing regret at the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers not been deleted, the appeal to the Union Government would then have lost all point. Mahatma Gandhi urges the Union Government that to say they should not absorb 200,000 Indians, 80 per cent of whom are South African-born, is not playing the game.

We are inclined to agree whole-heartedly with the point of view expressed by Mahatma Gandhi and would urge upon our brethren who have a strong inclination towards forming a non-European united front, not to engage themselves in those activities.

Our position is distinct from that of the Natives. We are a small community fighting for the right to live as self-respecting citizens. The problem of the African races is a vast one and quite different to that of ours.

The motive underlying this propaganda for a non-European united front is to embarrass the Government. It is tinged with a sense of violence, and let us not forget that our struggle is to be fought on absolutely non-violent lines. Satyagraha can only be fought on the lines it was fought under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. There is only one code for Satyagraha and that is to win the enemy by self-suffering, and, in doing so, there should be no set purpose of causing embarrassment to the enemy. There are vital principles on which Satyagraha is based and those who attempt to wield that weapon without fully understanding the implications of it will only mar their good cause. Satyagraha is not a weapon to be lightly played with. This is a fact

that everyone pledged to Satyagraha should thoroughly understand.

There are some very useful points we would do well to remember from the past struggle. We will quote but one for the present. In 1918 when Mahatma Gandhi was about to conduct the march over the Transvaal border with the Indian strikers, a great strike of the European employees of the Union railways took place which made the position of the Government extremely delicate. Mahatma Gandhi was called upon to commence the Indian march at such a fortunate juncture. But Gandhiji declared that the Indians could not thus assist the railway strikers, as they were not out to harass the Government, their struggle being entirely different and differently conceived. "Even if we undertook the march, we would begin it at some other time when the railway trouble had ended," says Mahatma Gandhi in his 'Satyagraha in South Africa.' "This decision of ours created a deep impression, and was cabled to England by Reuter. Lord Amphill cabled his congratulations from England, English friends in South Africa too appreciated our decision. One of the secretaries of General Smuts jocularly said, 'I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence, like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness.'"

"In every step that he takes, the Satyagrahi is bound to consider the position of his adversary," says Mahatma Gandhi.

It will be well for us to keep this great ideal before our eyes and to be guarded against the slightest act of haughtiness for that is not the way of a Satyagrahi.

Indian Education In Natal

THE speeches made at the Sastri College at the opening of the thirteenth annual conference of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society on Tuesday July 5, cast a sad reflection on the Natal Provincial Administration in regard to its responsibilities of imparting education to Indian children.

The Agent-General was mild in his criticism when he said that the existing facilities for education were inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population.

While appreciating the fact that the number of State schools has increased from nine in 1927 to 17 in 1936 and the State-aided schools from 44 to 85 and that the number of pupils enrolled in these schools had gone up by nearly 180 per cent. and that the expenditure on education had increased from about £36,000 to £85,000, the fact remained that 85 out of 102 Indian schools in Natal were State-aided, which meant that the State bore one-third of the cost of running them and that the remaining two-thirds was met by the Indians themselves. Sir Rama Rau urged upon the immediate introduction of a definite scheme of compulsory and free education and the necessity for greater facilities for the education of girls. In regard to the former it should be noted that while Indians are subjected to the same taxation as Europeans, free primary education is provided for Europeans and free books are supplied while an Indian, however poorly circumstanced he may be, has to pay for the education of his children and to incur a heavy cost on school-books. With all that it should also be noted that Indians have not been wanting in their zeal for acquiring knowledge for, as the president pointed out in his address, the Indian community, especially the poorer section, had, by public subscriptions and a considerable amount of self-sacrifice, built most of the existing schools. And yet there were 19,000 Indian children of school-going age who were without any education facilities, a fact which does not speak well of a civilised Government.

Coming to the cost of Indian education, it has been pointed out that while European education is being subsidised by the Government at the rate of £15-15-0 per pupil and the Provincial Administration adds to it another £8-8-0 and while coloured education is subsidised by £5-5-0 to which the Provincial Administration adds another £8-8-0, Indian education which is subsidised by £5-5-0 per pupil by the Government, the Provincial Administration has been starving the Indian by not only not adding a brass farthing of its own towards the education of its Indian population but by robbing a substantial amount from the subsidy received in respect of Indian education. The credit for the progress said to have been made, in regard to Indian education, therefore, is not by any means due to the Provincial Administration which has not ceased robbing the Indian of what has been his due but has only lessened it to some degree.

In so far as giving the Indian any facili-

ties for education the Provincial Administration has done nothing. The Agent-General has, therefore, appealed to it to contribute towards Indian education out of its own Provincial funds. This appeal has been made year in and year out but it seems to be falling on deaf years.

Then there is the complaint of Indian teachers that they are very poorly paid. Every industry to-day is governed by In-

dustrial Wage Acts and the non-payment of a standard wage is dealt with as a criminal offence. The president of the Natal Indian Teachers Society states that a baker's van-man and a plumber is better paid than an Indian teacher. In the state-aided schools even a matriculated man holding a T8 certificate has to remain on a staff indefinitely at a salary of £5 per month. An unskilled labourer to-day earns more than that.

This is the sad state of affairs of Indian education in Natal. It ill-becomes any civilised Government or people who begrudge imparting knowledge to those who are eager to acquire it. It is a little encouragement or help to the Indians domiciled in this country to adopt the western standard of life which they are expected to do.

NATAL INDIAN TEACHERS' SOCIETY THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE thirteenth annual conference of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society was opened by Sir Rama Rau, at the Sastri College, on Tuesday, July 4. In the course of his speech, Sir Rama Rau said: "Education received considerable prominence in the discussions that preceded the Capetown agreement, which contains a specific reference to the inadequacy of facilities provided for the education of the Indian community in Natal."

"As you all know, the whole question was investigated in 1928 by a committee appointed by the Provincial Administration, whose findings confirmed that the existing facilities for education were inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population.

"Since then, as the Natal Education Commission appointed in 1936 has observed, there have been considerable developments of facilities for Indian education in Natal.

"Eighty-five out of 102 Indian schools in Natal were State-aided, which meant that the State bore one-third of the cost of running them.

"The remaining two-thirds is met by the Indians themselves. In some cases the Indian community has even had to pay the salaries of the teachers at certain schools until the schools were recognised by the Administration. Europeans, who pay no higher taxes than do Indians, have never had to face a position such as this.

"The number of State schools had increased from nine in 1927 to 17 in 1936, the State aided schools from 44 to 85.

"The number of pupils enrolled in these schools has gone up by nearly 130 per cent., while the expenditure on education has increased from about £36,000 to £85,000, which is an increase of 142 per cent."

Sir Rama Rau said that he would concentrate attention on two points, namely (1) the necessity for greater facilities for the education of girls and (2) the immediate introduction of a definite scheme of compulsory and free education to be given effect to for a period of seven or 10 years, for there

were still 19,000 Indian children of school-going age who were receiving no education.

Only 35 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were attending school, while the percentage in the case of boys was 74.

The whole texture and strength of the life of the community were largely dependent on the contribution which women made to it.

Concluding, Sir Rama Rau appealed to the Provincial Administration to contribute towards Indian education out of its own Provincial funds. In the past, he said, only the Government's subsidy had been used to develop education for Indians in Natal, and very often the full amount of the Government subsidy was not made available.

President's Speech

The president, Mr. A. Rai, in the course of his speech said, during the last few years, great strides had been made in the expansion of primary education for Indians in the Province. In fact, the Indian community, especially the poorer section, had done far more for the education of its children than any other community. They had by public subscriptions and a considerable amount of sacrifice, built most of the existing schools.

They had seventeen Government schools including one Training College for teachers and Norman High School for boys and two Intermediate schools, one of which was exclusively for girls. The Aided-schools numbered ninety-one. Most of them were mixed schools, and under the charge of various managers. The total attendance in all the schools was approximately 24,000 of which 7,000 are girls.

The incidence of expenditure on education per Indian child in the Province was so low, said the speaker, that the cry for free education seemed farcical unless the five-guinea Union subsidy now given was substantially increased, or some assistance was given by the Provincial Administration.

Speaking about the conditions of the teachers, Mr. Rai said, "the Indian

teacher in this Province is the most poorly paid of all people engaged in skilled work. In the State-aided schools even a matriculated man holding a T3 certificate has to remain on a staff indefinitely at a salary of £5 per month.

"In the Government schools, graduates with sound teaching qualifications draw salaries much smaller than those paid to a baker's van-man or a plumber whose salaries, of course, are governed by Industrial Wage Acts. One is at a loss to know how the Government can justify its insistence on the rigid observance of wage regulations when its employees are so unsatisfactorily paid. Yet the Indian teacher has to pay the same price for foodstuffs and clothes as others who receive very much more than he does.

Lady Rama Rau

Lady Rama Rau said that there were three main activities which she recommended teachers should consider: Firstly, they should follow the latest educational experiments that were taking place in countries more progressive than their own, making special reference to the present education scheme inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in India; secondly, they should care for the physical and spiritual development of children, as well as for their mental development; and, thirdly, they should assist in the social progress of the community as a whole, apart from their school work.

Lady Rama Rau said that while she did not think schools should meddle in politics the teachers should give the pupils every information about the movements from an academic point of view.

The Mayor

The Mayor, Mr. Fleming Johnston, in extending a cordial welcome to the delegates, said that Durban took a lead and had no need to hide its head in giving facilities of land for schools and sports ground for the Indian community.

Other speakers included Mr. J. Delvin (inspector of schools, Coast), Mr. A. I. Kajee, Mr. A. Christopher, and the Rev. W. M. Satchell.

July 7th, 1939

THE CHOICE BEFORE US

[Continued from front page]

Naziism has for its major thesis the doctrine of the superior race with its right to dominion over all other races. Christianity denies all theories of superior races and confidently proclaims the doctrine of brotherhood with its concomitant of the equal rights of all people to the possession of the earth. Naziism builds its whole psychology upon the love of power. Christianity condemns in theory the love of power and offers as its great alternative the power of love. Naziism exalts the State and its service as the highest of all ideals. Christianity sees in the State simply an instrument subject under God for the service of man. Naziism sees in the individual merely a means to an end—namely the glorification of the nation. Christianity sees in the individual an end in himself and insists that nations exist in order that the individual may attain greater fulness of life. Naziism worships force and glorifies military power as its supreme expression, hence it believes in war as a method of achieving its desires. Christianity despises force as unworthy of the human spirit, hence it cannot glorify military power and regards all war as a degradation of man. Naziism ruthlessly insists that the conscience of the individual must be the will of the State. Christianity uncompromisingly asserts that conscience in the last analysis may surrender to no earthly power—it is subject only to spiritual power—the Will of God.

Here, then, in sharp antithesis are the alternatives.

Race and nation, versus humanity and brotherhood. Power and dominion, versus mutual service and goodwill. The supremacy of the State, versus the liberty of the individual. The authority of the State, versus the rights of conscience. The glorification of force, versus the exaltation of moral and spiritual power. War as an instrument of national policy, versus confidence in the ideal and methods of peace. The right of might, versus the might of right. Supremacy regardless of justice, versus equality and justice. The love of power, versus the power of love. The doctrine that the end justifies any means, no matter how treacherous and vile, versus the conviction that no purpose is justified unless truth is served, for truth will prevail.

I am perfectly well aware that to a greater or lesser extent these alternatives have always been before the world. Naziism, Facism, and Hitlerism are merely new names for tendencies as old as society itself. In one form or another, as Bertrand Russell points out in a recent volume, the struggle for power has ever been present. So also have the ideals that we now identify with Christianity. The sword of Hitler versus the Cross of Christ represents and symbol-

ises an eternal conflict in the heart of man.

What Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* has done, is simply to give them focus and to call our attention to the fact that the issues now are sharply defined.

As I face the entire situation, however, I find myself in a curious frame of mind. For instance, I find myself wanting to do the easiest thing possible in the present juncture, and to follow the path of least resistance. That is, I find myself wanting to join in the universal condemnation of Mr. Hitler and all his works, and to unite in the universal clamour—"Hitler must be destroyed! Hitlerism must be overthrown! Nazism and Fascism must be stopped!" Well, I do join in this universal condemnation and in this clamour I hear on every hand. I do so, I imagine, because I sense an emergency and share the psychology of crisis. The emergency must be met. The crisis must be resolved. But we have before us a far more difficult task, namely to repent of our own sins and shortcomings and to begin with an examination of our own hearts.

Germany, under Hitler, repudiates equality and brotherhood, but what nation under heaven is guiltless of this sin? Germany, under Hitler, is merely being consistent, it is practising what it has preached. The Great Powers have preached equality and brotherhood but in practice—without exception—every one of them has denied it. Not one of the so-called Christian nations, for example, when opportunity presented itself has refrained from exploiting the so-called backward races. And while on the one hand they have sent missionaries on errands of mercy and healing, on the other they have adopted the policy "Trade follows the flag" and behind the flag there have been the battle-ships and the big guns.

Brotherhood and equality? Condemnation of the doctrine of a chosen people and a superior race? Yet a negro singer with an international reputation was recently denied the right to sing in a public hall in the Nation's capital and there are hotels and resorts all over the nation from which Jews and Negroes are alike debarred. Again, under the Kellogg pact—now, it is to be feared, merely a scrap of paper—we have joined with other powers in the repudiation of war as an instrument of national policy. Yet in the name of trade and profits, Christian nations have trafficked in death and by various devices have supplied credit and munitions for the slaughter of the innocent in China and Spain.

So it is with regard to every so-called Christian virtue. Go through the list of everything for which the name of Christ stands, and it will be dis-

covered, to quote ancient scripture, that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." The Sword of Hitler versus the Cross of Christ? Yes, this is the issue right enough, but that sword has been forged on the anvil of the hypocrisy and the iniquitous inconsistency of the Christian world, and the issue will never be decided on fields of battle, it can only be decided in our hearts.

All this brings me to the thought I wish to leave with you. Earlier I spoke of the absolutism both of Hitler and of Christ. Both I said demanded all. Hitler's absolute demand, I am persuaded, is the secret of his power—particularly over German youth. Without reservation and without compromise he demands all. "Give me everything you have," he declares, "and see where I will lead you!" Before German youth he portrays a dream of glory. With glowing eloquence, he appeals to the great virtues—courage, industry, thrift; devotion, sacrifice, self-denial; self-discipline, personal purity, consecration; a willingness to endure hardship and a willingness to die if needs be—that the nation may be glorified. Make no mistake about it, he makes heroic appeal.

The fact of the matter is that Naziism, like Fascism, is a religion. It takes hold of the imagination with all the power of a religious appeal. In contrast, our Christianity, in all too many instances, has ceased to be a religion! It has become only a formal profession clothed in garments of respectability. Therefore, while we see the dangers of Mr. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, I submit that we shall combat them only by accepting his challenge to become really Christian. What, in effect, Hitler really says to our modern world is this: "If you meet me only with the sword, I am still victorious even if you defeat me, for I have compelled you to take up the sword and admit its power; therefore my thesis is justified!" For this is the curious paradox running throughout the unexpurgated translation of the book—in fact it has surprised me again and again—Mr. Hitler concedes that in the long run the spirit decides. And I am convinced that his contempt for Christianity rests on the fact that the Christian world has not yet dared to be Christian!

Therefore, as I finished the perusal of *Mein Kampf*, these were the words I heard:

"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life shall find it."

And I saw, as never before, that between what Mr. Hitler and all that the name of Christ stands for, there can be no final compromise.

Whatever may be the practical steps necessary in the field of international relations in order to meet the immediate crisis, they will prove ultimately futile unless there is a fundamental inward change. The world will be deceived if

it permits itself to be led into believing that the situation is simply a military crisis to be decided by an overwhelming balance of military power. Likewise, if it deems, it can be settled by bargaining for territory and material resources. The issue will never be met finally apart from the acceptance of a different philosophy of life.

Which way humanity? The way of

the struggle for supremacy and power? The way of the sword? This is the answer of *Mein Kampf* and it means the destruction of humanity. The way which seeks fulfilment for the whole of mankind? The way which says, "I will give without counting the cost. I am among you as one that serveth"? This is the way of the Cross and, strange as it may seem, it is the way of life.

ASIATIC LAND LAWS COMMISSION

THIS Commission, the report of which has recently been published, was appointed to enquire into and report whether, and if so to what extent, the letter and spirit of any law restricting or prohibiting the ownership, use or occupation by Asiatics of land was being evaded, and to make recommendations.

In view of the words "use or occupation" some doubt arose as to whether it was intended to include within the scope of the work of the Commission the question of segregation. The matter was referred to the Minister of the Interior and a reply received that "the question of segregation of Asiatics who are not infringing the letter or spirit of any law had not been referred to the Commission, and that it was not the intention of the Government that the Commission should enquire into the use and occupation by Asiatics of land where such was not prohibited or restricted by an existing law in the Union, or in which the spirit of existing laws was not infringed." In view of these considerations the scope of the Commission's functions was restricted to the Transvaal Province, the Orange Free State and the Northern districts of Natal. The Commission was not concerned with questions of contractual restrictions of Asiatic occupation of fixed property. Questions in respect of occupation of land proclaimed under the Gold Law were expressly excluded, these having been dealt with by the Feetham Commission.

Law 3 of 1885 may be regarded as the earliest legislation imposing restrictions in respect of ownership and occupation of land in the Transvaal, although there had been Volksraad resolutions on the matter even as far back as 1855. It was laid down in Law 3 of 1885 that Asiatics, as defined, should not be owners of landed property in the Republic and that the Government shall have the right to assign them to special Streets, Wards and Locations for habitation. The Clause in respect of occupation was declared ineffective in the case of *Habib Motan v. Transvaal Government* in 1904 owing to the absence of sanctions, i.e. that although the Government may assign a location, no special machinery is

provided for forcing Asiatics to live therein, nor is it stated how those who refuse to go there are to be punished.

In dealing with occupation it is concluded that the law recognises, and has for some time past recognized that, in general, Asiatic occupation of fixed property outside prescribed locations, but not on proclaimed ground, does not constitute an evasion of the letter or spirit of the law.

BHULABHAI DESAI

HIS SPEECHES

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On the subject of the ownership of land the Commission emphasizes the fact, to which attention was drawn by the Lange Commission, that the effectiveness of the prohibition in the Law of 1885 against such ownership was seriously impaired at an early stage by the adoption of a system of nominee holding through Europeans, including the Government. Two instances of such holding during the Republican period are given. This expedient of transfer to a European nominee or trustee for the Asiatic purchaser was resorted to on a relatively large scale until it was terminated by Act 37 of 1919, as amended by Act 35 of 1932.

A summary of the existing law is provided in Chapter III of the Report and the nature and result of the Commission's investigations are fully set out in Chapter IV and V. These in-

vestigations include *inter alia* the holding of land by Non-Asiatics as nominees for Asiatics or Asiatic Companies; the existence of land held by Asiatics under long lease by Companies, the nominal control of which is in the hands of Europeans, but the actual control of which is with the Asiatic purchaser; the ownership of land and of shares in land-owning Companies by the non-Asiatic wives of Asiatics, Europeans or Malay, and their issue.

The Commission considers that on the subject of "controlling interest" the validity of certain types of Company should be tested; that no steps are necessary to restrict the land-owning rights of European women civilly married to Asiatics; that while, no steps are necessary at present to deprive Cape Malay women of their right to possess property, the position must be watched; the restoration of the validity of nominee holding is not recommended although certain minor ameliorations are suggested and amendments due to *casus omissi* proposed. No suggestion is offered as to the desirability or otherwise of abolishing the statutory disabilities to which Asiatics are at present subjected. The Commission, however, suggests that, if the statutory disabilities are to remain, their enforcement should be the responsibility of some special sub-department of State.

One of the members of the Commission, while, agreeing to the recommendations made, submits reservations on certain points. He expresses the opinion that a European woman marrying an Asiatic should forfeit her status as a European and assume that of her Asiatic husband. She would not then be able to hold fixed property. He also claims that a Cape Malay woman marrying an Asiatic, should suffer a similar disability. In conclusion he further expresses the opinion that legislation is necessary to restrict the right of occupation of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal.—*Race Relations*.

WHAT IS PASSIVE RESISTANCE ?

WE publish below a paper read by Mr. Manilal Gandhi on Sunday night July 2, at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, before the Liberal Study Group—a Group in which Bantus, Europeans and Indians are members. In view of the misapprehension existing among some people about the true meaning of Passive Resistance the paper serves a useful purpose at the present juncture:

"I have been asked to speak on the ethics and practice of passive resistance. Though we claim to be cultured and civilised there is no gainsaying that we all conform to the jungle law in our daily life, whether social or political, and we have in consequence little time to think of the existence of such a thing as the Divine Law.

"Whether as Christians, Muslims, or Hindus we have our respective religious scriptures. Are they really worth anything? We carry them with us when we go to church or the mosque or the temple and mechanically mutter something from them. It does not reach our heart and we still go on adhering to the jungle law. If this were not so passive resistance would not be a novelty to us. It would be a natural thing in our life as a means of remedying wrongs instead of adopting violent methods such as strife and warfare.

"Is not Christ an eloquent example of passive resistance? His is the highest and the noblest example of how the physical body is surrendered to be mutilated so that the soul may live.

"Through the life of Christ passive resistance obtained Divine sanction as being the only effective weapon against tyranny, injustice and oppression. A martyrdom was a penalty of self-consciousness born of the deepest convictions in religious life; so in civil life those whose minds and whose consciences revolt against oppressive laws, against laws which seek to take away the best of manhood and to degrade humanity, adopt passive resistance as the most effectual salve to their outraged conscience.

"To take an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth is, of course, the common law followed by us and that is the jungle law. But we learn from the Sermon on the Mount that 'if one smites you on one cheek you should turn to him the other.' It is not so difficult to return a blow for a blow but the result of it is that the devil within us is roused and the exchange of blows proceeds with greater vigour until eventually the stronger gets the better of the weaker. But the matter does not rest there. The victor is not at all repentant for what he has achieved. In fact he glories in it, while the vanquished harbours vengeance and when he is once again on his feet he seeks to crush

his adversary. Don't we witness this in the world to-day?

"The way of passive resistance, however, is different. If a person deals a blow you refuse to retaliate and submit to his blows. Your submission disarms your assailant. You don't awaken the devil in him but you awaken the divine spirit in him. His conscience pricks him. You become the victor this time. But there is no bitterness left after it. There is sweet friendliness instead. Supposing, however, your adversary has the brute in him to such an extent that he deals a death blow to you and you become a martyr, well the passive resister has gained even then because he becomes the hero of the world and that in itself is the worst punishment to his adversary than he could have received by retaliation.

"If in the 1930 struggle in India when the mass civil disobedience took place we had resorted to violence in the slightest degree as a retaliatory measure against the oppression of the Government we would have lost all. The British Government had sufficient machine guns and bombs and would have surely mown us down. In fact they were looking for an opportunity to do so. But we remained passive under the strongest provocation. The struggle went on for a whole year and at last the Government had to yield, and Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, openly declared that their arms and ammunition were of no avail and that their machine guns were muzzled.

"But, of course, it will be asked what would you do against a tyrant who is unbending. The reply is that a passive resister though he is a robust optimist, he never works with the expectation of reaping the fruits of his labour. If there is a God above, truth and righteousness must prevail. It is with that faith in him that he surrenders his physical self to the tyrant expecting nothing less than death. His satisfaction is in the sacrifice he has made for a righteous cause and in the fact that he has been able to save his soul. It is truly said: 'What doth it profit a man who gains the whole world but loseth his own soul.'

"Nothing is gained without suffering. People war against one another for territorial gains. Millions are put to death, rivers of blood flow before the object is achieved. Passive resistance is a humane weapon. It causes the least injury, in fact no physical injury to the person against whom it is applied and one who applies it gets his reward to the extent to which he has suffered.

"I will give you an instance here of a personal experience we had in the Durban gaol during the last stages of the passive resistance struggle in 1913. We were against a dead wall as it were,

The warders insulted us, terrorised us, assaulted us. We were given dirty utensils, dirty food. Our complaints were unheeded. The only weapon we could resort to was to go on a hunger strike. We refused to take food but we abided by all the rest of the gaol regulations. We quietly did our daily task but refused to take food. Tempting dishes were placed before us during our hunger strike but we were not going to eat until the general treatment was changed. We went on for seven days at the end of which the warders' hearts were changed. Those who were hostile became soft hearted. The gaol superintendent who would not look at us did not mind greeting us when he met us. The atmosphere had entirely changed. Now, had we been violent our position would have become worse.

"Passive resistance does not allow of lawlessness. It demands the strictest obedience to law. But a passive resister considers Divine law to be higher than man-made law and where his conscience revolts against a certain law he respectfully refuses to submit to it and quietly accepts the penalty.

"This is what we understand about passive resistance. There are people who believe passive resistance to be a weapon of the weak. Even so it is a harmless and most efficacious weapon for all humanity. It does no harm to the person against whom it is applied. It inflicts suffering on the person who applies it. That physical suffering ennoble his soul while it awakens the conscience of the person against whom it is applied. A true passive resister has to observe the strictest non-violence. There are many in India to-day who are followers of the principle of passive resistance as a means of acquiring national independence, who have refused to accept the principle of non-violence as a creed but they have accepted it as a policy, implying thereby, that they reserve the right to resort to violence when there is an opportunity. That is, however, not Mahatma Gandhi's conception of passive resistance. He is a great spiritual force in India to-day. It is owing to that great force that India is no longer the slave of Britain. Had it not been for that force the people of India would have been living under the terror of the White Sahibs and their position would have been

much worse than that of the Natives of South Africa.

"The European conception of passive resistance is different to ours. Mahatma Gandhi therefore draws a distinction between passive resistance and Satyagraha, the only appropriate term for it in English being soul-force. I cannot do better than to quote Mahatma Gandhi's own words here. This is what he says in his book 'Satyagraha in South Africa': 'There is a great and fundamental difference between the two—i.e. passive resistance and Satyagraha. If without understanding this those who call themselves either passive resisters or Satyagrahis believe both to be one and the same thing, there would be injustice to both leading to untoward consequences. The result of our using the phrase 'passive resistance' in South Africa was, not that people admired us by ascribing to us the bravery and the self-sacrifice of the suffragists but we were mistaken to be a danger to person and property which the suffragists were.

"...While there is no scope for love in passive resistance, on the other hand, not only has hatred no place in Satyagraha but it is positive breach of its ruling principle. While in passive re-

sistance there is no scope for the use of arms when a suitable occasion arrives, in Satyagraha physical force is forbidden even in the most favourable circumstances. Passive resistance is often looked upon as a preparation for the use of force while Satyagraha can never be utilised as such. Passive resistance may be offered side by side with the use of arms. Satyagraha and brute force, being each a negation of the other, can never go together. Satyagraha may be offered to one's nearest and dearest; passive resistance can never be thus offered unless of course they have ceased to be dear and become an object of hatred to us. In passive resistance there is always present an idea of harassing the other party and there is a simultaneous readiness to undergo any hardships entailed upon us by such activity; while in Satyagraha there is not the remotest idea of injuring the opponent. Satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person.

"These are the distinctions between the two forces. But I do not wish to suggest that the merits, or if you like, the defects of passive resistance thus enumerated are to be seen in every movement which passes by that name.

But it can be shown that these defects have been noticed in many cases of passive resistance. Jesus Christ indeed has been acclaimed as the prince of passive resisters but I submit in that case passive resistance must mean Satyagraha and Satyagraha alone. There are not many cases in history of passive resistance in that sense. One of these is that of the Doukhobors of Russia cited by Tolstoy. The phrase "passive resistance" was not employed to denote the patient suffering of oppression by thousands of devout Christians in the early days of Christianity. I would therefore class them as Satyagrahis. And if their conduct be described as passive resistance, passive resistance becomes synonymous with Satyagraha."

"Well, friends, I think I have given you a fair idea about passive resistance as we understand it and it should dispel any fear in the minds of those who may be under the misapprehension that those of us who have resolved to launch passive resistance in the near future against the new measure enacted against the Transvaal Indians, are going to be a danger to person and property."

Things In General

A Correction

WE are informed by Mr. S. B. Mehd, from Johannesburg, that the names of Messrs. S. B. Mehd and A. A. Mirza, appearing as secretaries in the notices of meeting to be held on July 9, under the auspices of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress as well as in the bulletin published by the Nationalist Group, was an error and that the name of Mr. P. S. Joshi should have appeared as secretary. The error, which was unconsciously made, is deeply regretted.

Report On Indian Housing

The "spill-out" system of Indian housing, with half an acre of ground to a house, is not a practical proposition in many Durban areas because of the condition of the soil. This opinion was expressed by the City Engineer, Mr. W. M. Campbell, in a report submitted to the Housing Committee of the City Council, last Wednesday. Consideration of the report was held over until details of a proposed large scheme of Indian housing in a new area have been worked out. Mr. Campbell pointed out that the areas of suitable building land within the city boundary were small. At its best the "spill-out" system was one which should be adopted with great caution, owing to the scarcity of large areas, which were essential under that

Congress President REPUDIATES SECRETARY'S ACTION

IN an interview, Mr. V. S. G. Pather, President of the South African Indian Congress and Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress, referred to the interview that Mr. A. I. Kajeo had given in the local Press in which he, purporting to speak on behalf of the South African and the Natal Indian Congresses, has denounced the Passive Resistance movement that is about to be launched by the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress against the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Act.

Mr. Kajeo, in expressing an opinion as he did in the interview, did so in his personal capacity and his views do not in any way represent the views of the Congresses. The South African Indian Congress as well as the Natal Indian Congress has not taken a decision either for or against Passive Resistance and until that decision is taken it is not competent for any official of either of the Congresses to speak as Mr. Kajeo has spoken.

system. In the low-lying section of the Cato Manor sub-economic Indian housing scheme, he said, sanitary arrangements under the pit system were unsatisfactory and experiments with septic tanks had failed. It had been decided that the best course in this area was to introduce water-borne sanitation at once, using collection tanks and vacuum tank wagons. "Having regard to the capacity of the vacuum tank wagons available," the report continued, "it would be possible to bring into use less extensive areas subject to smaller sub-divisions—say one-eighth of an acre lots—which would materially relieve the present programme of housing development. At Cato Manor I find that, by utilising only the less steeply sloping land, approximately 60 houses could be accommodated on plots of not less than 6,000 square feet. It is understood that 50 families will require early accommodation as the result of the activities of the Electricity Committee in extending the city's garaging facilities. It is probable that these families could be dealt with at Cato Manor and that the authorised loan granted by the Central Housing Board could, subject to the Board's sanction, be utilised for the purpose. It is hoped that between 55 and 60 houses could be provided with the amount available."

Indian Women's Association

Councillor Mrs. Benson, president of the Indian Women's Association, extended a very cordial welcome to Lady Rama Rau, at the sixth annual meeting of the association held at the Royal Hotel on Saturday June 24, at 3 p.m. The secretary, Mrs. Lawrence, read the year's report. The question of medical inspection for Indian schools was chiefly discussed. An application was made by the association to the Provincial Administration for medical inspection for Indian schools. "We regret to say," the secretary read, "that the reply was, 'It will cost too large a sum'." The financial statement followed after which Mrs. Godfrey moved the adoption of the above. The president appealed to the members to help carry out the work of the Association which has endeavoured during the past six years to relieve the detrimental conditions of women and children. Lady Rama Rau, in her address, congratulated the Association on its untiring efforts in trying to bring about a better understanding between Indians and Europeans. "I think," said Lady Rama Rau, "that Durban is the only spot which has maintained a women's association and no matter how small the accomplishments they are sufficient to deserve my congratulations. It is right that you should work in co-operation with Europeans who, we must not fail to recognize, have had a longer traditional experience in welfare work. My only disappointment is that, out of 80,000 Indians in this city, only 45 are members of your Association. However, if you do propaganda work in your group, you will in time arouse the interest of others, and I earnestly hope that the organisation will not shirk its responsibilities in working for the community." A short tea interval followed, during which guests were entertained by the St. Anthony's Percussion Band, conducted by Ayshoo Jhaveri, the Lawrence Trio and Miss Shanti Permasen, who gave a vocal item in Hindi. About hundred guests were present. Amongst them were Miss Strout, renowned worker of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Deputy Mayoress, Mrs. E. Whitcutt and Miss Whitcutt, who gave two vocal items by special request, Mrs. A. B. Moosa, Mrs. Karodia, Mrs. Chetty, Mrs. Maghraj, Mrs. Thomas and many others.—Contributed.

The Cape Indian Congress

At a general meeting of the Cape Indian Congress, the following were elected officials and executive committee members—President: Mr. Ahmed Ismail; senior vice-president: Hajee Khan Gool; vice-presidents: Messrs. Yusuf Hava, A. Malik, E. Parker, B. Singh, S. J. Mahomed, D. Manoharjee and H. I. Patel; hon. general secretaries: Messrs. C. C. Palsania and M. M. Safeda; hon. joint treasurers: Messrs. Essa Allie and Hajee M. Patel; hon. organising secretaries: Messrs. H. K. Gajjar and M. I.

Khan; committee chairman: Mr. J. Lal-khan; executive committee members: Messrs. M. D. Barmania, Hajee E. Ebrahim, Hajee Hassan Mis, L. C. Ghiwala, Hajee Meer Hafzal, I. Pansary, Sundra Pillay, Adam Ebrahim, Allie Ebrahim, Mahomed Moosa Ismail, J. Mustafa, Hajee Sheik Adam, D. P. Lessow, S. R. Palsania, Kalan Dewa, O. B. Patel, Bagus Allie, A. U. Booley, Hajee Hamdulay, A. G. Dalvie, A. E. Baksumia, A. A. Kariel, Moosa Omar, V. A. Pillay, Hajee Sheik Ebrahim, A. A. Khan and Sayed Ahmed.

Mr. Nagrani Returns To Rhodesia

Mr. Nagrani, a leading Indian merchant of Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia and one of the leaders of the Indian community of Rhodesia, who visited Durban last week, left for Transvaal on Wednesday whence he will leave after a few days for Rhodesia. Whilst in Durban he was the guest of many friends and societies. Last Sunday he paid a visit to the Phoenix Settlement, was accompanied by his host Mr. Gulab Rai, of the Bombay Bazaar (Pty.) Ltd.

Indian Scholar Feted

The Indian Carnegie scholar of last year, Mr. A. D. Lazarus, whose thesis for the Master of Arts degree at Yale University was accepted, was congratulated at a reception held in his honour under the auspices of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, at the Sastri College on Wednesday night. A tribute was paid to his services to Indian education and his scholarship by Mr. A. Rai, retiring president of the Society, the Rev. W. M. Satchell, the Rev. J. M. Sundrum, W. M. Bass, J. W. Godfrey and A. Christopher. Mr. Lazarus is a member of the teaching staff of the Sastri College. In acknowledging the good wishes extended by the Teachers' Society, Mr. Lazarus briefly referred to his research work on race relations in America, West Indies, England and France as well as having secured an insight into the educational systems of these countries.

Wedding

A grand wedding of the only son of Mr. and Mrs. Sachhepersadh of Umlaas, with the only daughter of Pundit S. D. Sharma (Priest-in-charge of Kalichuran Memorial Temple, Johannesburg), took place at the residence of Mr. Poonwaste Ohondrie of Umlaas, on Friday, June 23. Many prominent persons including Mr. D. Kalichuran (junior), Mr. and Mrs. Kalichuran, Radha Devi, Messrs. Madhaw Singh, R. Bhairow and family, Sookraj (all of Johannesburg), Mr. Bhaga Vallabh of Pretoria and many well known friends and relatives were present to grace the occasion. The wedding was performed according to Puranic rites by Pundit B. N. Sharma of Westville. The bride and the bridegroom were the recipients of many valuable gifts.—Contributed.

New Governor Of Bengal

Lieut.-Colonel John Arthur Herbert, M.P., (Conservative) for Monmouth since 1934, and aide-de-camp to the Viceroy of India from 1926 to 1928, has been appointed Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir John Woodhead. He will assume office in November.

School Sports At Dannhauser

The eighth annual sports of the Dannhauser Government-Aided Indian School was held at the Cambrian Hotel grounds, recently. There was a large attendance of parents who displayed keen interest. Mr. Sheik Abdool, the school manager, distributed the prizes to the respective winners. Spectators and children were provided with a packet of sweets each. The headmaster, Mr. Loganathan, thanked the school manager and the members of the School Board for their kind support, and hoped that a spirit of goodwill will long remain amongst the parents, children and teachers.

MASS MEETING

A mass meeting of the Transvaal Indians will be held on Sunday, July 9, at the Indian Sports Ground, Natalapruit, City & Suburban, Johannesburg, to decide the line of action to be taken against the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act. Gates will open at 12 (noon); meeting will commence at 2 p.m. All supporters of the Nationalist Group are requested to attend. The public is assured of a peaceful meeting.

Y. M. DADOO,

Leader, Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

P. S. JOSHI.

Hon. Secretary.

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Last Sunday's Johannesburg Mass Meeting

A General View
Of The Concourse
Of People.



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નીસબર્ગમાં મળેલી
માસ મીટીંગ
માનવ મેદનીનું સામાન્ય દ્રશ્ય.



A VIEW OF THE PLATFORM.



Mr. E. I. Aswat presiding.

એટકેમનું પ્રશ્ન. મી. ઈ. આઇ. અસવાત પ્રમુખસ્થાને બીરાજેલા છે.



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, leader of the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress addressing the huge assembly of 6,000 people.

ટ્રાન્સવાલ ઇન્ડિયન કોંગ્રેસના નેશનલીસ્ટ ગ્રુપના લીડર ડૉ. યુ. મ. દાદુ ૬૦૦૦ ની માનવમેદની સમક્ષ બાવજી કરી રહ્યા છે.