

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

IN the Union House of Assembly Mr. Marwick is reported to have asked the Minister of Justice the following questions:—

(1) How many insolvencies on the part of Asiatic traders occurred during the years 1922 and 1923 respectively (a) in Natal, (b) in the Transvaal:

(2) how many Asiatic traders resigned their estates, or entered into deeds of composition with their creditors in Natal and the Transvaal during the same period; and

(3) what are the corresponding figures in respect of European traders in Natal for the same period?

The reply by the Minister was as follows:—

(1) (a) Natal, 1922 71, 1923 47, (b) Transvaal, 1922 71, 1923 115; (2) Natal, 1922 38, 1923 14, Transvaal, 1922 24, 1923 6; (3) insolvencies, 1922 61, 1923 56, assignments and compositions, 1922 12, 1923 9.

Councillor Kemp wants the Durban Town Council to rescind its recent resolution in regard to the purchase of 281 acres of land at Cato Manor for the purpose of establishing an Indian village, and has given notice of his intention to move:—

"That as municipal interests of Durban and district are identical, and as it is imperative that no one local authority should endeavour to impede the progress of another in the manner indicated in the Council's resolution of July 4, 1924 (when it agreed, subject to the Administrator's approval, to purchase for the purposes of an Indian village, 281 acres of land from Messrs G. W. Graß and R. Monzal, situated within the areas of jurisdiction of the Mayville local authority, at a price of £52 10s per acre) this Council hereby rescinds its resolution of July 4, 1924, referred to, and recommends to the Administrator the advisability of appointing a committee, representative of Durban and Greater Durban, to consider the report upon the whole matter."

As has already been reported both the Mayville and Bellair District Committees have protested against the proposal to establish an Indian village at Cato Manor.

In the *Review of Economic Statistics*, issued by the Harvard Economic Service, of Cambridge, Mass., S. A. Mr. Joseph Kitchen estimates that the gold field of the Transvaal in 1924 will be £40,000,000, to £41,000,000 and that it will fall to £29,000,000 by 1930, mainly in the latter years. He estimates that the output of the rest of the world will be £36,000,000 or £37,000,000 for 1924 rising to 5,000,000 in 1930, so that his forecast is that the total will be about £77,000,000 in 1924 and of the succeeding years, and that it will then decrease to, say, £47,000,000 in 1930. The actual figures are, expected to vary from these estimates by anything up to 5 per cent., and the total production for the five years, 1921 to 1925, is estimated at £300,000,000.

According to a Reuter's message from Nairobi dated Aug. 12, the legislative Council was opened by the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, who, in the course of a speech, referred to the decision of the Imperial Government as regards the Indian problem. The Governor asked the Colony to recognise that a definite decision accorded with the country's wish for stability. He emphasised that the acceleration of development was now possible and he asked the Indians to take up their share of the public service.

From the following report by Reuter from Shanghai it would appear that the calamity that had not long ago befallen Japan has now befallen China:—

Devastating floods are submerging enormous tracts of China, and the loss of life is estimated at fifty thousand. Widespread damage has been done to many towns, and tens of thousands of villagers and thousands of victims are pouring into Peking. Four thousand have been drowned by bursting dykes at Kalagan, and two thousand villages have been inundated to the westward and northward of Tsin, which was saved by the operations of Chinese soldiers, who were kept at work unceasingly patching dykes. Communications have been dislocated, but reports from Chili, Honan, Hunan and Kwantung speak of devastation and the imminence of famine.

The London correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser* writes on Aug. 7:—

The standing room on the earth will be full up in another 10 centuries if the human race goes on increasing at its present rate. Our own grandchildren will starve on the earth which won't be able to feed them. The coloured race will oust the white. These startling statements were made by Professor J. W. Gregory, President of the Geography Section, at the meeting of the British Association at Toronto. At the present rate of growth of the population, he calculated that 6,000,000,000 people, which is the most the world could feed, would be in existence in 120 years. The struggle for expansion which was the ultimate motive of the World War of 1914-1918, might develop into a struggle for existence between the white and coloured races. The problem of the present century was the problem of the colour line. Prof. Gregory drew attention to the decadence of the Portuguese nation since the 16th century by dilution with negro blood, and asked: "Has Europe been led into the same disastrous error? Will the African troops in France have a demoralising effect like that which slaves carried into Italy during the decline of the Roman Empire?" When white enterprise had subdued the land, built railways and utilised the rivers, the coloured would oust the whites from all but a few posts requiring experts, but mankind might be expected to benefit from a fusion of all the races. If, however, absorption was rejected and segregation was impracticable, some solution to the problem might be reached by the process of drift.

London, August 7 (Reuter). Interviewed by Reuter prior to his departure for South Africa, Mr. Thomas sent a message to the people of South Africa as follows: "Notwithstanding difficulties and strenuous days, I have done my utmost not to disappoint my South African friends, and I sail to-morrow. I am sorry that political considerations necessitates the shortening of my visit, but I am sure of the welcome I shall receive. There is much for Ministers on both sides to discuss. I want to see the people of South Africa in their own homes. I am sincerely desirous of learning their difficulties, and while the trip will be a pleasure, I hope it will also be to the benefit of the Empire of which we are all so proud."

Good wishes are extended by *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* to the Empire Parliamentary Association delegates on the occasion of their departure for South Africa, (says a Reuter's message from London). The latter points out that each Dominion's delegation will view South African problems from a different angle, and believes the interchange of views will be most helpful to all concerned.

Interviewed by Reuter in regard to the statement on Kenya made by Mr. J. H. Thomas in the House of Commons on Aug. 7, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressed disappointment at Mr. Thomas's announcement, although he regarded the dropping of the Kenya Immigration Bill as a substantial gain. Sir Tej Sapru expressed the opinion that at least in the franchise question Indians should have been granted the same number of members as the whites. He strongly urged the Government of India to make further representations on the matter. He declared that the present decision proved once again that in any conflict between the Government of India and even a Crown Colony, the former must go under.

London, Aug. 7 (Reuter).—The Imperial Conference of Students has made a list of suggestions in connection with a sum of money, now stated to be £40,000, which the Fellowship of the British Empire proposes to allocate for scholarships to promote inter-Imperial relations. The Conference recommends that Travel Fellowships should be offered for University graduates in Britain, who wish to study the social sciences, and intend later to enter public life. The Conference recommends that these fellowships be the value of £300, plus travelling expenses. For Dominion graduates, the Conference recommends that the fellowships be given to those intending to enter public life, especially those wishing to study political geography, and history, in relation to the Empire. The Conference also urges that fellowships should be founded for English graduates wishing to study the applied sciences or preventive medicines, with a view to the development of the Empire's resources.

Toronto, Aug. 8.—Professor Gregory, (Professor of Geology at the University, Glasgow,) addressing the British Association, dwelt on the rapid increase in the population among the coloured races, particularly in South Africa, and expressed the opinion that maintenance of the white supremacy, and even of the white Afrikaner people, was doubtful. He said that there was the spectre in South Africa of the steady replacement of whites by negroes and half-castes in skilled occupations. Australia would throw away a golden opportunity if she failed to make a patient effort to secure the whole continent as a home for the white race.—Reuter.

The South African Soldiers' Association are inviting General Smuts to visit Australia, (says a

Reuter's message from Sydney). The invitation will be sent through Mr. Ryrie, a member of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation which is coming to South Africa.

Admiral Sir John de Robeck, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, says Reuter, is regarded as the probable successor to Lord Jellicoe as Governor-General of New Zealand.

BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY

HOPES were entertained by many Indians in India and outside India that the advent of the Labour Government in Britain will bring about a desirable change in the conditions of India. These hopes were, however, shattered to pieces when the following words of Mr. MacDonald were read, that, "no party in Britain will be cowed by threats of force, or policies designed to bring the Government to a standstill, and if any Indian sections imagine otherwise, events will sadly disappoint them." Hardly has the wound caused by these threatening words of the head of a proud Government had time to heal when Lord Chelmsford has only deepened the wound by repeating those words and stating that "that was the embodiment of the present British policy and that full discretion would be left to the Government of India to enforce the law." This statement of the British Government's policy with regard to India will be viewed with the greatest disappointment. The disappointment will not be so much from the fear that India will have to lose anything, but from the fact that every time such thoughtless utterance is made by the supreme head of the British Empire with regard to the subjects under him it is like the driving of a nail in the coffin of that great Empire. These threats will have but little effect over India because she has long given up the habit of begging and imploring and no longer does she depend upon, or expect, alms. She is striving for what is her birthright—the birthright of every human-being. She means to work for that freedom and to take it and not have it, or expect it to be, given her. India has mapped out her way to reach her desired goal and it is quite different to what was mapped out by Kaiser in 1914. Such a threat as given by the British Government may therefore be appropriate in the case of the latter but it is highly inappropriate in the case of the former. India's struggle is based on non-violence. Her opponent need therefore have no fear of being injured in any way. The threats coming from the opponents of enforcing the law proves nothing else but the weakness of the opponents. Thus we trust that India will be unmoved by the latest threat on the part of the British Government. While reading these threats we cannot help reflecting on the past history of the world which gives innumerable instances of the downfall of Empires having been caused by vanity and pride of those in power and we regret to see the fate of the British Empire also hanging in the balance.

BOROUGH'S DRAFT ORDINANCE MARITZBURG INDIANS PROTEST (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

An enthusiastic mass meeting was held under the aegis of the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch) on Sunday the 3rd August in the H.Y.M.A. Hall, Church Street, to protest against the Boroughs Draft Ordinance, and to consider other matters of vital interests affecting the Indian community. Mr. C. Nulliah, President of the N. I. Congress (Maritzburg Branch) presided and was supported on the platform by Mr. S. R. Naidoo, Secretary of the Congress, Messrs. Anod Bayat, Roshan Khan, R. N. Moodley, R. B. Maharaj, E. G. David, C. V. Moodley, B. M. Ally, and other prominent Indians.

After prayers the chairman in the course of his speech said:—Early in May an Ordinance to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the constitution of the Municipal Boroughs elections and general authority of Town Councils, was introduced into the Provincial Council of Natal. The Congress representing the Indian community of Natal presented a petition to the Provincial Council objecting to the several clauses in the Draft Ordinance. Later evidence was tendered before a Select Committee pointing out how certain clauses in the Ordinance seriously interfered with or deprived the existing rights of the Indian Burgesses. From past experience of the line of policy launched out by the Provincial Council to do all that was possible by legislative enactments to cripple the Indians, and impose injustice upon them at the altar of expediency, it was a foregone conclusion that our protests and supplications before the Provincial Council would avail us naught. Our Provincial Council is becoming famous for the quality of output of legislative enactments designed to rob us of, and in some cases curtail, rights hitherto possessed and enjoyed by us.

Now coming to the main object of to-day's meeting, it will be unnecessary for me to read out the several provisions of the Ordinance, which run into 85 pages. I would usefully point out that even some members of the Provincial Council protested when the Ordinance was being debated against the undue haste with which the Bill was hurried through by the Provincial Council.

The Bill takes away the rights—I might almost say the last vestige of rights—of municipal franchise enjoyed by the Indians for the past 50 years. The section dealing with the franchise discloses ingenuity of thought, which relieved of its phraseology of words with which it is clothed, and viewed in its nakedness, shows how debasing, and how immoral the purport and intention with which it is sought to rob us of our franchise rights. The clause lays down that besides possessing the usual qualifications of owner or renter, a person must also be a registered Parliamentary voter to qualify for the Municipal franchise. In other words, no person, whether he be an owner, or renter can become a Municipal voter unless he is also a registered Parliamentary voter. Everyone knows that Indians can no longer become Parliamentary voters. They are disenfranchised in that respect. It requires no force of imagination to see that this clause cuts the Indians clean out of the Municipal franchise. Some of us are property owners. Our home is here. We have vested interests in the country. We pay rates. We are bound by the laws of the country. Yet because we are Indians we are to be deprived of our rights to Municipal franchise, and will have no part in defending our interests and in making our voice heard. Can any greater injustice be imagined?

Further dealing with the sale and lease of land the Ordinance gives extraordinary powers to the Town Council, which powers, it is feared, will be

unscrupulously used against our interest. After putting up land for sale or lease, the Town Council has the discretion to confirm or refuse a sale on any pretext. A form of segregation is to be applied in respect of sale or lease of land belonging to a Borough. Section 170 of the Ordinance is an attempt at class legislation, for it gives the powers of prohibiting and restricting ownership of land on the ground of colour.

The existing licensing laws are further tightened up, and the Town Council is given powers to refuse a licence on the plea that a person is not fit and proper to hold such licence or carry on a business, without laying down, in the interests of the general public, what the standard of a person's fitness is. There are several objectionable clauses, which it is feared might be applied to our detriment. I ask you in the name of the Indian community to make this last stand to fight the Bill, for if it becomes law it will reduce us completely, and for all times to the position of helots within the Empire.

A discussion ensued upon the Boroughs Draft Ordinance, after which the following resolution was moved by Mr. R. N. Moodley, seconded by Mr. Roshan Khan and supported by Mr. Anod Bayat:

"That the Indians of Maritzburg, in mass meeting assembled, protests against Boroughs Draft Ordinance recently passed by the Provincial Council of Natal, in that, among other things, it disenfranchises the Indians of their Municipal franchise, imposes restrictions and limitations upon their existing rights to land and license, and prays that the Governor-General-in-Council may be pleased to refuse his assent to the same."

A resolution was also passed protesting against an attack made in the *Times of Natal* against the Indian community upon their alleged immoral relationship with white women.

[We will deal with this in our next issue.—Ed.]

KENYA INDIAN QUESTION

STATEMENT BY MR. THOMAS

London, August 7 (Reuter).—In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. J. W. Wills (Labour, Dartford) asked whether the Secretary of State for the Colonies was in a position to make a statement with regard to representations recently made to him on certain matters affecting Indians in Kenya by the Indian Committee. Mr. Thomas in reply said: "I will take the subjects in the order raised by the Committee:—

(1) Immigration: My position is that if the danger ever arises of such an influx of emigrants of whatever class, race, nationality, or character, it is likely to be prejudicial to the economic interests of the Natives, I hold myself entirely free to take any action which may be necessary. Conflicting policies which have been laid before me have not enabled me to reach a definite conclusion as regards the extent of the net-Indian immigration; accordingly steps will be taken to create a Statistical Department to obtain accurate information as regards persons of all races arriving in or departing from Kenya. Meanwhile the Kenya Immigration Ordinance will not be enacted.

(2) Franchise: I have given careful consideration to representations in favour of a common roll, but I am not prepared to risk the conclusion arrived at in Command Paper, 1922, of July, 1923, that, in the special circumstances of Kenya, with four diverse communities, each of which ultimately require electoral representation, the communal system is the best way to secure the fair representation of each and all these communities.

(3) Highlands: I consider the Secretary of State for the Colonies has no alternative but to continue

the pledges expressed or implied, which have been given in the past, and I can hold out no hope of the policy in regard to agricultural land in the Highlands being reconsidered.

(4) Lowlands: It was proposed to reserve land in the Lowlands for agricultural immigrants from India. The Committee made it plain that it is averse from any reservation of land for any immigrant race. Subject to that it was suggested that before applications for land in the Lowlands are invited, the opportunity should be taken of sending an officer experienced in Indian settlement and agricultural methods to report on the areas. At present any consideration of the matter is in suspense, pending the receipt from the Colony of reports from the native and agricultural points of view on the areas in question.

ON THE ASIATIC PROBLEM

The *Natal Witness* has the following leading article in its issue of August 8:—

The Prime Minister's announcement that the Government do not intend to proceed with the Class Areas Bill will be received in Natal with mixed feelings. We wonder what Mr. George Hulett, one of the few British Natal Nationalists, will say at this decision. Mr. Hulett announced that he joined the Nationalist Party mainly because of the supineness of the Smuts Government in connection with the Asiatic question. Well that Government did, at any rate try to do something to check the evil so far as the towns were concerned, though whether the Class Areas Bill would have proved a really effective remedy, may be a matter of opinion. But General Hertzog, who is so ardent an advocate of segregation for the natives, apparently shies at segregation for the Asiatics. Possibly he has another remedy up his sleeve; seeing that the Nationalist accession to power was going to prove the salvation of the country on every other issue it must be assumed that this grave question will not be overlooked. But if the Government have a solution, the sooner they produce it the better. No doubt it was very convenient for the Pact to coquet with the Indian vote in the Cape Province by sneering at the Government's proposal, but after all, it is not the Cape at Natal where the problem is most acute, and which would be most concerned with the Bill.

Possibly Mr. Hulett will find compensation in the knowledge that the Government have also declared that they will not veto the Township Ordinance, which prevents the Indians in Natal in future from obtaining the municipal franchise, but necessary as that provision may be, it is not, in any sense, a solution, and scarcely an amelioration of the problem, in its permanent aspects. It is, therefore extremely desirable that the new Government should, with as little delay as possible, announce its policy. In a series of questions in the House Mr. Marwick endeavoured to elicit a statement on the general subject of Asiatic policy, segregation, and repatriation but all he could get out of the Prime Minister was that "these matters will receive the consideration of the Government after the present session." In view, however, of their grave importance and the length of time during which these matters have been under discussion it might have been expected that General Hertzog would be as well able to announce, broadly, his policy, as he was in connection with his native segregation policy. After all, the plea that the Government have "not had time" to consider their attitude towards the most important issues before the country is hardly consistent with the fierce and even virulent criticisms which they have persistently directed against the late Government in regard to these same issues. We venture to predict that the new Government

will, for the present, do little or nothing towards a permanent solution of this problem. Now that they are in office they will find out the enormous difficulties with which it is beset, and if they jib at the limited measure of segregation embodied in the Class Areas Bill, it is scarcely likely that they will propose anything more drastic. If they do they will raise complicated issues, with which they will find it extremely difficult to deal. The only direction in which any practicable result is likely to be attained is in widening the field of voluntary repatriation initiated by the Smuts Government. Mr. Marwick's question suggested a policy of compulsory repatriation, but apart from the inherent injustice of such a policy it would inevitably lead to developments which the Government would be very unwise to court. We believe that the whole country would support the Government in a policy of encouraging to the fullest extent voluntary repatriation with fairly liberal compensation. It might be expensive, but it would be better to incur that burden than to become involved in grave controversial issues which might, in the end, prove far more expensive than the encouragement of voluntary repatriation.

But so far as the trading aspect of the problem is concerned, the real remedy, as we have often pointed out, lies in the hands of the Europeans themselves, and so long as they refuse to apply it they have no right to blame the Government. Asiatic trading competition exists, and is maintained mainly by European support. If the public generally refused to support the Asiatic traders, the latter would fold up their tents and depart, at least the great majority of them. The very people who make the most fuss about the Asiatics, and the way in which they are depriving our own youth of the opportunity of making a living, are frequently the best customers of the Asiatic traders. We have no patience with those blatant grievance-mongers who are for ever blaming the Government for everything, and at the same time do their best to perpetuate the very grievances of which they complain. If the public are, as they profess, earnestly convinced that the existence of Asiatic traders is a menace to the interests of the white population, let them show the honesty of their convictions by confining their custom to European traders. Nobody can blame them for that, nor could any other Government take exception to it, and yet it would prove, both the speediest and the most efficacious way of removing the alleged menace. Unfortunately it is so difficult—if not impossible—to get united action on any question, however grave, that we have very little hope that this simple remedy will be adopted.

TWO CENTENARIANS' PRECEPTS

RULES FOR LONG LIFE

1. Eat hardly any meat.
2. Drink lots of milk; if it disagrees with you, drink more.
3. Take a ten or fifteen minutes' nap after luncheon and dinner.
4. Sleep ten hours.
5. Sleep outdoors when the weather permits.
6. Don't smoke.
7. Don't eat sweets.
8. Take no alcoholic or other stimulants.
9. Avoid the easy chair; absence of work is the first step to the grave.
10. Finally, just be natural; quit all foolishness. *—Women's Weekly.*

THE PUNJAB CASE

We take the following interesting article from the *Nation and the Antheneum* dated June 14 :—

It is hardly possible that the chronicles of Empire should contain a tragedy of policy and circumstance more deeply ironic than that provided by the great Punjab libel case, which came to an inconclusive end in the King's Bench on June 5th. The facts of this tremendous affair are bewildering in number and variety, but the more significant of them can be brought within very small compass. During the fateful spring of 1919, when M. K. Gandhi put himself at the head of the agitation against the Government of India's repressive policy as embodied in the Rowlatt Bills, the Punjab was profoundly disturbed. That great province had felt the war more seriously than any other. For reasons perfectly well known and understood, the Punjab was regarded as crucial. A tranquil Punjab after the war would have implied an India at peace. Hence the civil Government under Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the military conduct of Brigadier-General Dyer came to be indissolubly linked together in the public mind. For the past four years the Imperial reputation of British has been debated in the light of General Dyer's carrying out of what he conceived to be his "horrible duty" at Amritsar, the combined official repudiation of his action, and the general public judgement, together with the newspaper testimonial by means of which the believers in frightfulness as a necessary principle in the governance of subject peoples gave disturbing expressions to their faith. Ever since the bitter conflicts of 1920 it has been an article of faith with the believers in Dyerism that the Punjab civil administration, which abdicated in favour of General Dyer (this is a central point) before the proclamation of martial law in Amritsar, must somehow achieve a formal vindication. And this has not been achieved, by means of O'Dwyer v. Nair, in circumstances which will, seem, to many people in England and India, almost incredibly paradoxical.

Sir Sankaran Nair is an eminent jurist and citizen of Southern India. He has been a judge of the Madras High Court and a member of the Viceroy's Cabinet. In politics he is a conservative constitutionalist; a stern opponent of all nationalist extremes; in particular an anti-Gandhist, convinced that Non-Co-operation is for India the road to ruin. After giving up his portfolio in the Government of India, Sir Sankaran Nair acted upon a suggestion that he should write a pamphlet attacking the Gandhi policy and exhibiting its perils. The Government of India placed materials at his disposal. His little book, "Gandhi and anarchy," was published in India two years ago, but not circulated in England. It was a thoroughgoing attack on the Gandhi ideas and method, but it contained certain passages strongly condemnatory of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, as lieutenant-governor, accusing him of terrorism in recruiting and of being responsible for atrocities committed by the civil Government before the imposition of martial law. These passages gave the opportunity for the libel suit, notwithstanding that the book was approved and circulated by the Indian Governments, several of which asked the author for permission to have it translated into the vernacular tongues. The case occupied the court for five weeks; it went to the jury after a remarkable charge by Mr. Justice McCardie, who summed up for the plaintiff without qualifications; and it resulted in an acceptance by council of a majority verdict of eleven to one in favour of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with damages of £500 and costs. The events that serve great empires, or mar them, have often enough been trivial or perverse; but we may well wonder whether at any epoch a more reckless proceeding than this has been permitted to a public servant freed from

the responsibilities of office. It must remain a mystery why a Conservative Secretary of State was unable to restrain a retired lieutenant-governor from instituting and going on with a suit which, whatever the result, could not fail to be an imperial calamity.

Nothing, when once the hearing had begun, could prevent the O'Dwyer case from becoming a first-class political trial. If "terrorism" and "atrocities" become matters of evidence and argument in courts the effects cannot be arrested. The ruler may be personally vindicated; but what of the broadcasting of the authoritative accounts of the method employed in the Punjab during two years of wartime rule, with and without the assistance of martial law? British officers of standing, civil and military, described the system of "compulsory voluntarism" in recruiting, the enforced salaaming by Indians, the public floggings, the crawling order, the wholesale jailing of Indian intelligentsia, the extraordinary expedient of keeping students on the march in the heat of a Punjab April for sixteen miles a day. The court heard, again, the frank admissions of British officers as to the need of teaching the people a lesson; they could not forget, by means of wholesale shooting and of bombs from the air; it heard General Beynon's opinion that flogging is an appropriate penalty for Indians; and it heard from Colonel Frank Johnson, who was a military command at Lahore, a terrible affirmation upon the lengths to which he was prepared to go for the maintenance of the British Raj. The Punjab officers, in a word, stated a theory of the British imperial power from which, in the year of Amritsar, the British Government and Parliament emphatically dissociated themselves.

We refrain here from discussing the conduct of the case by Mr. Justice McCardie, though that aspect, we may be sure, will be seriously canvassed in India. The central passage of a summing-up which will almost certainly stand as a landmark in judicial procedure was, needless to say, the one in which Mr. Justice McCardie, speaking with full deliberation, gave it as his opinion that General Dyer "was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India"—an opinion which, we may point out, runs counter to the considered judgment, not only of the India Office, but also of the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Army Council.

In respect of the broader aspects of this unhappy affair there can, we think, be only one conclusion. The evil has now been trebly done: by the events themselves in 1919, by the Dyer testimonial in 1920, and by the libel action. The Anglo-Indian and English die-hard rejoicings over the result will extend and intensify the evil. The dead cannot bury their dead. They have not been allowed to do it. We must face the fact that nothing now can arrest the full effects upon the Indian people of the Punjab Administration during a year that should have been a year not for terror but of healing. We must face the fact that the obstinacy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer completes the disaster initiated by General Dyer at Amritsar. We must face the fact that the verdict of special jury will, in the minds of millions in India, tend to establish the truth of Gandhi's repeated assertion that justice for India cannot be obtained from an alien Government or law court. Is the conclusion, then, that the day is lost in India; that the task of re-establishing the belief of the Indian people in the essential justice of British rule is a task beyond our power to fulfil? We refuse to believe it; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the task is made infinitely harder by the hearing and the result of O'Dwyer v. Nair.

THE WRECK OF INDIA

Mr. H. F. Wyatt, writing in *The English Review* fears that India, when she has attained full Dominion status, will not continue to be a part of the British Empire. He would like the late Reform Act scrapped and thrown on the dust-heap as an inevitable measure of safety and honour.

"What the average Englishman will want to know is whether all these consequences of the Act of 1919 can be prevented. Not, if the Act continues in force. Yes, if it be rescinded. The absolute rescission of that Act is the step which every consideration of honour, of duty, and of humanity imposes upon us, and to secure such rescission should be the desire of every God-fearing man and woman in this country. The politicians will tell you with one voice that to repeal that Act is an impossibility: but it is impossible only because they make it so. If we could suppose that a Cromwell had arisen in England and had taken charge of the helm of the State, does anyone imagine that he would hesitate for a moment to adopt the measures necessary to restore British authority in Hindustan and to maintain order while that restoration was being effected? He would recall Lord Reading. He would replace him by an English soldier or administrator in whom still lived the spirit of Nicholson's words. Thank God, it would not be difficult to find such a man. And he would inform India that the Act of 1919 has been proved to be a dire mistake, that it was repealed, and that the leaders of any agitation for its continuance would be shot. He would proclaim martial law for a short period, and during that period would shut down the vernacular Press. What would follow? The "politically minded" class would be bitterly offended, but that class numbers about one hundred and eighty thousand out of the three hundred and fifty millions. Some few riots there might be, and some attempts at assassination; but a resolute English Government of the old stamp would know well how to deal with those. The loss of life incidental to this course would be as a fleabite compared with the Black Death of the fourteenth century, when set against that inevitably following the policy which we are actually carrying out."—*The Indian Review*.

Sporting News

The following lined up for the Intertown Match played on the 14th instant between the Durban D. I. F. A. and Klip River D. I. F. A., Mr. M. John acting as referee.

The Durban team (Seniors): Goal—Bhudan, (Stamfordhill). Backs—Punchani (N.C.D.I.F.A.), M. K. Naidoo (Capt.) (Sydenham). Halves—Bharos (Mayville), G. K. Singh (Greyville), R. Ramith (Greyville). Forwards—C. K. Ismail (Greyville), Thungavale (Royals), Chinsamy (Blue Bells), A. I. Bhaba (N.C.D.I.F.A.), Moodly Sydenham).

The Klip River team: Goalie—Adam; Backs—Chupty, Mungal. Halves—Thumbrān (Capt.), A. N. Other, Goga. Forwards—S. A. Rasool, Asmal, S. A. Yusuf, P. Frank, P. Naraindas.

The game opened very fast with Durban on the aggressive. The first fifteen minutes saw most of

the play in the Northerners' half. The Durban were having the better of the deal, and were within acres of scoring, time and again, but the defence of Goga and Thumbrān was sound.

The Northerners burst away with a fine run but Ramith and Kitty Naidoo saved the situation. A fine run by Moodley and Bhaba saw the former sending in a glorious centre which Chinsamy netted.

The Northerners then attacked the Durban territory. P. Naraindas centred and Yusuf headed the ball which about 3 was inside the nett but to the disappointment of the spectators, the referee who was far from the ball, disallowed the goal and thus robbed the Northerners of the equaliser. Half-time arrived with Durban leading by one goal.

From the re-start of the second half the Northerners were all out to equalise or win but the defence of Durban could not be broken. C. K. Ismail and Thungavale next had a try at their opponents' goal but Adam in the goal was very safe. Next C. K. Ismail electrified everyone with one of his great first turners but Adam brought a brilliant save amidst applause.

Attack after attack the Northerners failed to equalise. Ramith, Bharos and Singh at this period were playing a great game for Durban, especially the first named. Next a fine run by Asmal was well cleared by the N.C.D.I.F.A. man. Then Ramith of Durban after passing several of the opponents tapped the ball to Chinsamy who shot it very wide. Chupty and Mungal saved Klip River from time to time against the nippy forwards of Durban. Now all hopes for the Northerners to equalise were over and the final whistle sounded with Durban's lucky winners by an odd goal.

For the winners Bhudan did not have much to do owing to the soundness of the defence. Mr. K. Naidoo was very safe, the halves were all sound and in the forward line all were good except Chinsamy at the centre who was a failure and was always ruled offside.

For the losers Adam in the goal saved brilliantly, the backs and halves were good, and in the forward line also all were good. P. Naraindas especially, because of his fine judgment and crossings with the ball.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS AT A GLANCE

SENIOR—TANDRIES CUP

Stamford Hill 1. ... Greyville 1.
Royals 0. ... Blue Bells 2.

JUNIORS MOONLIGHTERS' CUP

Y. Aryan 2. ... College 0.
Y. Colonials 0. ... Pirates 0.

JUNIOR NATAL CUP

Stars 3. ... Greyville 1.

This match was won by the Stars after extra half was played.—Contributed.

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ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન.

પુસ્તક ૨૨ મું.

ફ્રીનીક્સ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૫ ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૨૪

અંક ૩૨

નોંધ અને સમાચાર

મી. મારનીકે મીનીસ્ટર ઓફ હોસ્ટીસને હિન્દી વેપારીઓને લગતા નીચે જણાવેલા પ્રશ્નો પુછ્યા હતા તે પ્રશ્નો અને તેના જવાબ અમે નીચે મુજબ આપીએ છીએ:—

સવારે (૧) સન ૧૯૨૨ અને સન ૧૯૨૩ ના પ્રત્યેક વરસમાં કેટલા એશીયાટીક વેપારીઓએ નાદારીમાં નામ નોંધાવ્યાં.

(અ) નાટાલમાં કેટલાં

(બ) ટ્રાંસવાલમાં કેટલાં

(૨) ઉપરનાં વરસોમાં નાટાલમાં અને ટ્રાંસવાલમાં કેટલા એશીયાટીક વેપારીઓએ પોતાની માલ મીલકત માગ-નારાઓને આપી દીધી છુટકારો મેળવ્યો અથવા ટકા ચુકવ્યા.

(૩) નાટાલમાં વેપાર કરતા ગૌરાઓના તેજ વરસોના કેટલા આંકડા છે?

જવાબ (૧) (અ) નાટાલ ૧૯૨૨, ૭૧, ૧૯૨૩, ૪૭.

(બ) ટ્રાંસવાલ ૧૯૨૨, ૧૭૧, ૧૯૨૩, ૧૧૫.

(૨) નાટાલ ૧૯૨૨, ૩૮, ૧૯૨૩, ૧૪, ટ્રાંસવાલ ૧૯૨૨, ૨૪, ૧૯૨૩, ૬.

(૩) ૧૯૨૨ નાદારી ૬૪, ૧૯૨૩, ૫૬ મીલકત સોંપી દીધી અગર ટકા ચુકવ્યા ૧૯૨૨, ૧૨, ૧૯૨૩, ૬.

ઑગસ્ટ ૧૯૨૩ ને રવિવારને રોજ નાટાલ પ્રિન્સિપલ કોમેસના આશ્રિત હિન્દીઓની એક માસ મીટીંગ રાવત હોલમાં નંબર ૧૮, ૧૯૨૪ ના બેરો ઓર્ડીનન્સ સામે વિરોધ દર્શાવવા મળી હતી જેમાં સર્વાનુમતે નીચે મુજબ ઠરાવ પાસ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે.

“જનમાં મળેલી હિન્દીઓની આ મીટીંગ નંબર ૧૮, ૧૯૨૪ ના બેરો ઓર્ડીનન્સના પાસ થવા સામે પોતાનો સખત વિરોધ જાહેર કરે છે. કારણ કે આ કાયદાથી નાટાલ મેન્યુનીસીપાલિટીની પહેલી સ્થાપના થઈ ત્યારથી નાટાલની તમામ મેન્યુનીસીપાલિટીઓમાં હમેશાં ભોગવાતો મિતાધિકાર હોતો લેવાય છે, જમીનના વેચાણ ઉપર અંકુશ મુકાય છે, અને હિન્દીઓને વેપાર કરવાના પરવાના મેળવવા અટકાવે છે. તેથી નામદાર ગવર્નર જનરલને આ કાયદાને બદલી નહિ આપવા વિનંતી કરે છે.”

મેરીટાઈમમાં હિન્દુ યંગ મેન એસોસીએશનના મેજનમાં ના. ૨ આમન્ટને રવિવારે હિન્દીઓની મ.સ. મીટીંગ મળી હતી. નાટાલ ઇન્ડિયન કોમેસની મેરીટાઈમર્મ શાખાના પ્રમુખ મી. ચાર્લી નલમ્બા પ્રમુખપદે હતા અને મી. એસ. આર. નામકુ સેક્રેટરી નથા મેસરસ આર. એન. મુડલી, આમોદ પાત, રોશન ખાન, આર. બી. મહારાજ વીગેરે હાજર. નીચે મુજબ ઠરાવ સર્વાનુમતે પાસ કરવામાં આવ્યો હતો.

ટ્રાંસવાલના હિન્દીઓની આ માસ મીટીંગ, નાટાલની પ્રાંતીક ધારા સભા તરફથી હમણાં પાસ કરવામાં આવેલા બેરો ઓર્ડીનન્સ નંબર ૧૮, ૧૯૨૪ સામે પોતાનો સખત

વિરોધ જાહેર કરે છે કે જે કાયદાથી ખીજી બાબતો સાથે હિન્દીઓનો વરસો થયાં ભોગવવામાં આવતો મતાધિકારનો ચાલુ હક છીનવી લેવાય છે તથા જમીન ખરીદવાના ચાલુ હક ઉપર અંકુશ મુકવામાં આવે છે. અને નામદાર ગવર્નર જનરલ ઇન કાઉન્સિલને આ કાયદાને મંજૂરી નહિ આપવાની મહેરબાની કરવા વિનંતી કરે છે.

સાઉથ આફ્રિકા આવવા નીકળતા પહેલાં જી. ટોમ્સ્ટરના પ્રતિનિધિ સાથેની વાતચિતમાં સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના લોકોને નીચે મુજબ સંદેશો આપ્યો છે:

“ધર્મીય કામકાજ અને રાબત્તદારી મુસ્લીમો છતાં મારો સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના મિત્રોને નારાજ નહિ કરવા મેં બનતું કર્યું છે. અને હું સવારે નીકળનાર છું.

રાબત્તદારી કારણોને લઈને મને મુસફરી દુકી કરવાની જરૂર પડી છે જેને માટે હું દિલ્લિશીર છું. પણ મારે ત્યાં સાઈ સન્માન થવાની મને ખાતરી છે.

પ્રધાનોને બન્ને બાબતો બહુજ વિવાદ કરાવતો છે.

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની પ્રબળતા તેઓમાં લોકો મને એ હું જોવા માગું છું.

તેઓની મુસ્લીમોનો નિખાલસપણે અભ્યાસ કરવા હું આતુર છું અને મારી મુસાફરી મને આનંદદાયક નીવડશે તેની સાથે આપણે તથા જે સામરોચ્યને માટે મહેરૂર ગીયે તેની પણ સેવા થઈ શકશે.”

જેમ્પાયર પારલામેન્ટરી એસોસીએશનના સભાસદોનો સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની મુસાફરીએ નીકળવાના પ્રસંગે “ધી ટાઈમ્સ” “ડેલી ટેલીગ્રાફ” નામના આખાઓ તરફથી સફળ સફર પ્રશ્નિકામાં આવી હતી.

“ડેલી ટેલીગ્રાફ” વધારામાં જણાવ્યું છે કે દરેક સંસ્થાનાં જુદાં જુદાં સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના સર્વાલોને જુદી દક્ષાથી જોશે અને એક બીજાના વિચારોની આપ લે કરશે કે જે તેઓને બહુજ મદદરૂપ થઈ પડશે એમ તેનું માનું છે.

ડરમન ટાઉન કાઉન્સિલની મીટીંગમાં, વોર્ડ સાતના કાઉન્સિલર ટી. એમ. વાલ્લીને સર્વાનુમતે ચાલુ વરસના મેયરમાં પદ માટે ચુંટી કાઢવામાં આવ્યા છે. અને વોર્ડ આઠના કાઉન્સિલર હેટને ડેપુટી મેયરના પદ માટે ચુંટી કાઢ્યા છે.

મેરીટાઈમર્મ ટાઉન કાઉન્સિલમાંથી કાર્ટમ થતા ત્રણ કાઉન્સિલરોના બદલામાં યંગ સાઉથ આફ્રિકા નામની સોસાયટી તરફથી ત્રણ ઉમેદવારો જાણર પાંડરામાં આવેલા તેમાંના મી. પ્રોફે વોર્ડ બેમાં મી. હીલની જગ્યાએ સર્વાનુમતે ચુંટાયા છે. મી. હીલે પોતાની ઉમેદવારી દાખલ કરીને જ નહોતી વોર્ડ સાતમાં જુના કાઉન્સિલર મી. હારવીનની સામે મ