

Indian Opinion

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ASIA IN THE THROES OF VAST REVOLUTION

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

THE whole of Asia has either passed or is still passing through the throes of a vast revolution. Nothing, perhaps, has happened like it, on such a universal scale, in all human history before. For this revolution has compassed more than one half the human race, and its repercussions are still being felt all over the rest of the world. The economic depression in Europe and America has had an intimate relation to these events which are happening in India and the far East. For the world has suddenly shrunk in size, owing to the rapidity of modern communication, and the economic crisis in one hemisphere is felt acutely in the other hemisphere in turn. The whole earth has become one in a physical and geographical sense. We are, everyday, conscious of it.

This revolt of Asia has sometimes been called the 'Rise of Nationalism.' That is only, however, a superficial aspect of it,—a symptom rather than a root cause. Two things go deeper still: (i) There has been an almost entire reaction in Asia against European domination; (ii) there has also been the uprising at last of the down-trodden peasantry of agricultural Asia against age-long tyranny and oppression.

Not merely in Russia and Siberia, in the North, has there been a peasants' revolt, including a forfeiture of land, but in China to-day it is estimated that at least one hundred million Chinese peasants have thrown off the yoke of centuries and organized themselves into incipient Soviet Republics. In India, also, while things have not gone so far as open violence, and though even to-day the misery of the peasant remains almost unrelieved, there has been a moral awakening and a fearless courage which both point forward to an epoch-making change of attitude among the poor in the future. The Indian peasant will no longer be beaten down into an abject surrender. He is learning to assert himself and to combine in doing so, as he has never had the chance of doing before.

In the Near East of Persia, Iraq and Turkey, as well as in the Far East of Japan, the revolt has not yet reached the peasants in such a mass form as elsewhere, but there are clear signs that there also the awakening has already begun and cannot be much longer delayed.

Before I go on to explain what is happening in India, let me speak for a moment about China. It is suffering as no nation has suffered or could suffer; for its numbers are incredibly great. It is estimated that two million people, in all, perished and sixty million lost everything they had in the world, save bare itself, owing to the floods of the Yangtse-Kiang and Yellow Rivers and their tributaries. Again, in the present year, it seemed almost impossible to build up anew the dykes before the next flood came down. Only by the barest margin of time was this accomplished. Owing to their untold miseries, whole provinces have cast off the central rule of the Nanking Government, and as, I have just related, they are now in revolt. They have joined the Soviet Republics in a mass revolution, born of despair and misery.

In India, there has happened an all important event, which has distinguished that country from all others. The revolt against Europe, on behalf of the peasants, has been carried on without bloodshed under the leadership of one saintliest figure known in human history, Mahatma Gandhi. He has been the one prophet and

inspirer, who has roused the Indian masses as they have never been stirred before. And in doing so, he has successfully tried to keep the revolutionary movement entirely peaceful at the very time that it is attempting to throw off the yoke and become free. Thus, India has stood before the world, in sheer moral strength, as no other country has ever done before seeking to win her freedom, not by the sword, but by suffering. Even though the ideal has been blurred and marred by internal conflict, its universal appeal to non-violence by means of tens of thousands, both men and women, suffering joyfully imprisonment, has had such a response throughout the whole India, that it may well be regarded as in the end invincible. It has also stirred the conscience of the whole world.

Among the peasant risings in India, one of the most remarkable has been that in the Bardoli district of Gujarat in Western India. Under the heroic leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel the excessive land tax was reached in the peasant's favour. This was resisted by corporate action and a settlement at last was probably the first time for many centuries that such a complete victory for the peasants had happened in village India; and the villagers in every other province took note of the fact and realized at last their power of collective action. Nearly a year ago, the peasants in the United Provinces were able to obtain a very large remission of the land tax in a similar manner. It is true, that the Congress leadership, which had been their main support hitherto both in organization and self-defence, has been taken from them for a time; but they have learnt the power of resistance by peaceful means, and they are not likely to follow China and Russia by resorting to violent methods. For in India, as I have said, this moral appeal of non-violence which we call *Ahimsa*, is remarkably strong. It goes back to Buddhist and even to pre-Buddhist times and it gives strength and beauty and light to troubled India to-day, as it stands out before all the world with its vast sorrows and tragic disappointments.

The responsibility, which Great Britain insists on taking for Indian affairs, against the will of the majority of the Indian people, is indeed tremendous. For India is thousands of miles away from Great Britain and her civilization is different. Great Britain is still holding to the appeal of conquest in a post-war age when such appeals have lost all their logical meaning among civilized men and women. Yet many in Great Britain are arrogant enough to say, that they alone can rule over India, though they have never seen it or known it.

Now at this moment, owing to this clash of forces and ideas, there has come a terrible deadlock. Emergency ordinances of such a drastic nature have been decreed by the Viceroy to have the force of law, that in every province, something equivalent to martial law prevails. In a free country, like Great Britain, it is impossible to conceive of such a state of things as this. Private houses can be entered without warrant and private persons can be arrested in the same manner. Trials can be conducted in secret and political offences of the lightest character which are matters of conscience, can receive sentences severer even than crimes of a violent and brutal nature. Young people, idealists and

patriots, men and women; are arrested and imprisoned in this manner.

Those who are then imprisoned, feel (just as you or I should feel in similar circumstances) that they are suffering for their country. Therefore, the movement of resistance has become far more deeply rooted than it was a year ago. The passion for nationalism has been driven inward and this has made its intensity far greater than it was before.

That is the situation in India to-day, as far as I have been able to outline it, in the few moments at my disposal. The National Congress, with all its failures and shortcomings, is still the heart and soul, the care and centre, of the whole national movement. The question of all questions for us in Great Britain is this: Have we, or have we not, the will to peace? Are we going to begin again the war mentality? Is the British Government determined to kill the national movement embodied in the Congress, or is it ready to make peace with it?

Personally, I have no question at all in the matter. As a Christian, I am to hold out for peace, where peace is offered.

Let me explain what things are certain to happen, if the ordinances are continued for another six months, beyond their original six months' period of emergency.

(1) Those, who are now called Moderates and Liberals, will be driven into opposition.

(2) The police, when used in this punitive way, will get out of control.

(3) Trade with Great Britain will suffer worse than ever. The people themselves will refuse to buy anything British.

(4) The extreme revolutionary forces, which believe in violence rather than non-violence, will get more and more in the ascendant.

(5) The British Government will be driven more and more to fall back upon the Muslim communal section and the landlords and the princes. This will mean cleaving India in twain from top to bottom.

There then is the picture, as far as I can see it in perspective and the times are very dark indeed. What makes it all the darker still is the fact that over here in Great Britain there has been (owing to many causes) an utter breakdown in the belief in Mahatma Gandhi's trustworthiness. There has been an extraordinary spread of that wrong idea throughout the world and I am afraid there has been Press propaganda to carry this out in practice. The influence of the Press in these days of panic in Europe is conceivably great, and there are large financial interests in the background ready to seize the occasion. Such an occasion came at Rome, and the false interview which was sent all over the world from that centre did incalculable harm. Anyone who knew Mahatma Gandhi could judge its falsity in a moment. But the harm had already been done. Mahatma Gandhi,—the one man who never told a lie—was made out by this Italian interview to be acting treacherously. It was a cruel stab in the back, because it was done after he had embarked; and so the false interview in this manner gained a whole two days' start. When it was contradicted by Mahatma Gandhi himself at last, it had already gained credence in every land. From that moment, things went from bad to worse, and to-day, while he is suffering in prison, there are thousands deriding and mocking him. That which always happens with a good man is happening to-day with him. For it is the fate of pure goodness to be tried in the furnace of affliction until the gold is seven times purified by fire.

Therefore, for him, we may hope and pray, that out of this evil, good may come. But for ourselves, we must be up and doing, here in Great Britain, lest the share in a cruel wrong that is being done, not only to Mahatma Gandhi and his followers but to the whole national movement of India, may through our negligence rest at last upon ourselves. We must see to it, that we do not share that guilt.

INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT AND REPATRIATION

THE question of Indian unemployment is day by day becoming very serious particularly in Natal and in some respect in other parts of the Union. The white labour policy of the Government is being pursued with all its vigour and the Indians working on the railways and Harbour are thrown out of employment to make room for white workers. Every avenue of employment is closed to the Indian. In Natal the distress amongst the unemployed Indians is very acute. A few weeks ago the officials of the Natal Indian Congress met the Town Council and made an appeal for help. The Agent General of the Government of India Kunwar Maharaj Singh also accompanied them and he supported the representations made by the officials of the Congress. They pointed out to the rapid increase of unemployment among Indians and stressed that so far no help had been forthcoming either from the Government or from the Municipality. As a result of this appeal the Town Council has appointed a sub-committee to investigate the prevalence of unemployment among Indians and recommend steps to be taken by the Town Council to provide relief. It was stated at a meeting of this sub-committee that the total number of Indians in Durban seeking employment has now increased to 4000. We understand that this sub-committee has called for a report from the Borough Engineer on the question of whether employment can be found for Indians on any relief scheme. It is stated that Councillors were emphatic that no expenditure in this connection could be sanctioned if it entailed an additional burden on the rates, while it was further held the Government should assist by the wage-subsidies. It was contended that in other parts of the country relief works for natives had been subsidised by the State. "The Committee," said a member, "while in full sympathy with the representations advanced by the spokesman of the Congress must face the fact that the Corporation cannot indefinitely extend its relief schemes and has, in fact, already shouldered a burden disproportionately heavy in comparison to relief measures adopted by other South African Municipalities." In this country we know that neither the Municipalities nor the Government is so anxious to help the Indians. The Indians are not in a position in this country to make their voice effectively heard. They are taxed equally with the white citizens both by the Municipalities and the Government but as they have no votes neither of them care to listen to their appeals. They are a charge to no one. If they can help among themselves it is well and good and if they can't do that the doors of this country are not shut against them to depart from here. This is the general attitude one can find adopted against the members of the Indian community. Time after time one may go on referring to the Uplift Clause of the so-called Gentleman's Agreement of Capetown. In this regard the expectations of the Indian community have fallen short of what it hoped. The clause in the Agreement stands merely for the show purpose. The Union Government wants to do nothing for the betterment of the Indian community. They want to get rid of them from this country

Although the scheme of assisted emigration is abandoned in the Capetown Agreement the process of reducing the Indian population is going on as usual. The scheme though withdrawn from the Agreement has not been withdrawn from Act 37 of 1927. The result is that hundreds of our countrymen and women are still taking advantage of it and leave this country—the land of their birth for good. In this regard the Natal Indian Congress must do some active work. Meetings should be organised in all parts of Natal and our ignorant countrymen must be informed that they must not leave this country and go to India as the condition is extremely bad there for them.

ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

(By L. W. RITCH)

THE decision of the Transvaal Indian Congress to adopt passive resistance in respect of the Indian racial and colour disabilities which have culminated in the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, has attracted no little attention both here and abroad.

From among the host of well-meaning friends whose natural sense of justice and equity compels them to sympathise with our cause quite an appreciable number have—in all kindness, we recognise—deprecated the Congress decision and have furthermore taken pains to publish both their disapproval and the reasons for their adverse opinion.

The Congress is warned against adopting passive resistance, principally for the reason that passive resistance would in all the circumstances, "be unsuccessful."

We have to admit that these "warnings" emanate from sources that are far from uninfluential, and which ordinarily would compel the utmost respect and most careful reconsideration. We observe, even, that an aforetime passive resister, in the person of Mr. H. S. L. Polak (who, we also note, couples the name of friend Andrews with his own) joins in the chorus of discouragement.

What, however, impresses us most is the very evident ignorance in the minds of our dissenting friends of the very a. b. c. of passive resistance, and the obvious misconception that would appear to obtain concerning its motive and purpose.

Passive resistance has nothing to do with considerations of "success" or "failure." Nor is it of the nature of a strategic move or ingenious device to extract some advantage from an unwilling opposition. Passive resistance is nothing more or less than a conscientious refusal to obey a command the objector is convinced is morally indefensible.

The passive resister obeys the dictates of what is commonly called "conscience," that is, the inner urge to do or to refuse to do a particular thing, because, in the former case it seems right, and in the latter seems wrong. It is an attitude the passive resister feels obligated to adopt and maintain as a religious duty. It is purely a matter of conviction and obedience to that conviction; and disloyalty or obedience thereto is as unthinkable as to the truly religious would be the bowing of the knee to false gods, the eating of forbidden foods, or a denial of faith, out of fear of consequences.

Passive resistance is the soul's answer to "injustice," in the sense of "unrighteousness"; its stand against the duress of brute force. It counts among its votaries all whose loyalty to Truth has been maintained at the price of martyrdom, and whose self-sacrifice has contributed, however little, to the ultimate destruction of intolerance, persecution and all unbrotherliness in its various aspects.

The passive resister is in the truest sense a sacrificer, a doer of holy work. What he does or refuses to do is sacrificial action offered to Truth, to God; performed with detachment, and without regard to fruits. Success or failure, profit or loss do not for him enter into the matter at all. He acts moved only by the sense of duty, not for reward or consideration.

The calculating protagonists of expediency are on the other hand, concerned only with considerations of success or failure; with the results to themselves, with the advantages or disadvantages their actions may bring to the interests they represent. With them prudence is not infrequently but another name for fear. They are priests of "that sad righteousness that calculates," seekers of "reward for work." Nor do they perceive the truth beneath the seeming paradox that the Passive Resister has succeeded even when he appears to have failed.

The little light that is mankind's was born of the sacrifices that from time to time have been offered fearlessly on the altar of Truth by its devotees, to whom Principle meant all, self-profit nothing. The test of their success or failure has not been the gaining or missing of some material objective. They have succeeded as much as the fire of their self-sacrifice has contributed to an increase of the light that eventually shall dispel the darkness of man's ignorance and selfishness.

Gandhiji loved to quote "We shall know each other better, when the mists have rolled away." It is he and passive resisters like him who some day shall be recognised as the dispellers of the darkness; the true friends of all the world.

No Co-operation With The Commission

The South African Indian Congress will not make any representation, nor will it co-operate with the Indian Agent-General, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, on the question of the Transvaal Land Tenure Act, in which connection a commission is now sitting in Johannesburg under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Feetham, Judge-President of the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

This was the unanimous decision arrived at after two hours' deliberation by the executive, which met in Durban. It was affirmed that that the measure was inimical to the welfare of Indians, possessing not one redeeming feature and a negation of the recognition of Indians as Union nationals, as fore-shadowed in the Capetown Agreement. It was felt that the members could not be a party in accepting anything which would affect, as the Land Tenure Act affected, the rights of Indians, both present and unborn. They could not, as far as they were concerned, agree to Indians being relegated to segregated areas.

Vain Request

Such was the general tenor of the discussion to which the Agent-General of the Government of India, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, was an attentive listener. The Agent-General's request for co-operation in giving evidence before the commission was turned down, while it was pointed out to him that whilst they had the highest regard for him personally, for these reasons they could not see their way clear in meeting his request.

Soon after the meeting the secretaries, Messrs. A. I. Kajee and P. R. Pather, communicated in writing the decision of the executive in the following words: "We have been directed by the executive to inform you that the Congress stands by the resolution passed at the recent conference on the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, and to say that it will not submit memoranda nor give evidence before the commission appointed in regard to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act."

It was submitted that the Congress had always been regarded as the mouthpiece of the Indian community, both by the Government of India and the South African Government. The Congress had championed causes which sometimes did not commend themselves to the popular view, but they had done their duty with due regard to their public responsibilities. It was the same feeling that actuated them to-day in refusing to co-operate with the representative of the Government of India on the Land Tenure Act, as they had co-operated in the past.

Those present were Messrs. O. H. A. Jhavery (presiding), A. Christopher, S. R. Naidoo, E. M. Ally, A. I. Kajee, P. R. Pather (Natal), P. K. Desai, O. K. T. Naidu, E. M. Mall, Abed, Z. V. Paruk (Transvaal).

Kunwar Maharaj Singh Went To Transvaal

The Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent-General for India, left for Johannesburg on last Sunday with his staff. The Kunwarani, his wife, will remain in Durban for the time being, but will later leave with her family and reside for a time on the Rand, prior to a stay in Capetown. The Kunwar himself will return to Durban in 10 days' time and will make arrangements for his family to travel to Johannesburg.

Indian Licences In Added Areas

Building Complaint

Indian storekeepers in the Greater Durban areas consider that a period of five years should be given in order to meet the demands of the licensing officer in having brick shop premises. This was stated to the Indian Agent-General, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, when a deputation, representing the Indian shopkeepers of Clairwood, waited on him.

The deputation pointed out that the licensing officer required the immediate replacement of wood and iron premises by brick buildings before licences were renewed. It was stated that owing to the severity of the depression, it was found impossible for Indian traders to build new brick stores.

It was submitted that the licensing officer should insist that brick buildings be erected in respect of new application, but the existing ones should remain. If this could not be done, then it was only fair that the existing buildings should be replaced by brick ones within a period of five years.

South African Indians

The Daily Express of Madras writes editorially:—

The student of the South African Indian problem is more likely to complain of the avalanche of literature on the subject than lament the absence of data for judgment. And to us so deeply interested in the question, it is somewhat painful to see how it is a sordid and squalid story of squeezing the Indian out of that sub-continent by a process of attrition. Years ago, as those will remember who have followed the senior Chamberlain's speeches in Parliament on the Boer War, one of the operative causes was the treatment extended to the Indians as well as the Uitlanders. Since then, the inevitable effects of the colour prejudice, the conflict of interests in the economic field and the policy of a White Africa from almost Cairo to the Cape have found in the Indians a barrier to be removed by fair means or foul. The reader will not thank us if we take him through all that unrolled stretch of macadam commencing from the Gandhi-Smuts Pact and comprising the various pieces of legislation like the Gold Mines Act, the Licensing Acts, the Glass Areas Bill and the Land Act. Nor is it believable that our position under the so-called Gentleman's Agreement which was later improved on (so they say) by the January Conference has any way improved. Dante wrote for us what he saw on the gates of hell. These words are written everywhere in South Africa for the Indian community. The tragic part of the whole squalid story is that the Indians concerned are all South Africans by birth and domicile. Gen. Smuts sought to run a way from the implications of this at one notable session of the Imperial Conference, and was sharply pulled up by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who remarked on the General's novel and dangerous doctrine.

The position to-day is that a further embittering and energetic attack is contemplated on Indian existence there. Members of the Transvaal Indian Congress deputation have been in this country for some time. We ourselves published a succinct statement on the position from Mr. S. B. Mehd. The South African Indian Congress has decided, so we were told a few days ago, on passive resistance against the proposed legislation. In that case they will be following no novel method in their unfortunate position. There is a tendency in this country to counsel them against recourse to any such extremity. But with all respect to these, and their number comprises Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, we really think that all advice from public men in this country is a trifle presumptuous, where it does not constitute a positive piece of imprudence as likely to strengthen the anti-Indian view in South Africa. In spite of the number of conferences and agreements and the endeavours of able men, the Indian appeal in South Africa has always been from Philip drunk to Philip sober. We in this country are still outcasts, so far as the direction of governmental policy is concerned. Consequently we are heavily handicapped in fighting the battle of our countrymen overseas. It is therefore we condemn the tendency in some quarters to judge in advance the needs of the South African Indians. We leave it to our countrymen out there to settle on the best methods of fight their battles. It is only natural to suppose they will weigh well both their weaknesses and their strengths, and judge between competing methods for compassing the ends we along with them desire. Once their course of action is decided on, their claim on the moral and material support of India to the fullest extent is irrefragable.

Indo-European Joint Council

The important thing confronting any citizen of this country was the right adjustment of racial divisions along the lines of equity and goodwill. This was the attitude discussed at the fourth annual general meeting of the Indo-European Joint Council held at the Tamil Institute, Durban. Mr. Maurice Webb presided, and among those present were the Indian Agent-General (Kunwar Maharaj Singh), Dr. Clark, Mr. B. M. Narbeth, Mr. P. R. Pather, Mr. P. Morel, and Mrs. V. Lawrence, Mr. and Mrs. E. Thomas, Mr. T. M. Naicker, Mr. and Mrs. R. O. Jithoo, Bishop Ferguson Davie and Mrs. Davie, Mr. O. H. M. Javery and Mr. Rooknoodeen.

In initiating the discussion on the lines of the future work of the council, Mr. Webb said that the social side offered members of the European and the Indian peoples an opportunity to establish bonds, of understanding and friendship, which was so essential in this country. There were, however, other organisations, like the Orient Club, which enabled members to meet one another, and the Agent-General and his wife were doing work of inestimable value in making their home a meeting place for the members of two races. Therefore, so far as the council was concerned, this side of the work should be less stressed:

Social Investigation

Another sphere of activities, Mr. Webb suggested, was social investigation and the presentation of ideas like the material that was embodied in the report on Indian unemployment. This he felt was more valuable than drawing attention to the maladjustments in the social sphere. Sometimes their work overlapped with the proper functions of the Indian Congress, and it would be the last thing that the council would like to do. In both social activities and investigations they had in the past been fortunate in getting excellent speakers, as might be seen in the annual report.

Proceeding, Mr. Webb said that Mr. Lewis Byron asked him to say on his behalf that he (Mr. Byron) considered their monthly meetings should be the principal ones, and therefore they should secure the best speakers, and anything that the council should undertake should arise from this monthly address.

"We cannot confine the work of the council in making it a social function. There are other bodies, like the Orient Club, which is carrying out the social side," declared Kunwar Maharaj Singh. They should therefore see in what other direction their work lay. The Agent-General suggested that they should use the Press in answering anti-Indian articles which appeared in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. He commended this to the European members as the way to counteract the influence of the attacks made on Indians.

"The Press in this country," he said, "as in other countries, is extremely useful, and during the three months I have been here I have had nothing except friendliness."

The Kunwar also suggested that they might go outside the council to address other societies. They themselves (the Agent-General and his wife) had spoken at over a dozen meetings.

Co-operation With Congress

Another point made by the Agent-General was that the council should co-operate with the Indian Congress. It might have usefully added a few members on the deputation that interviewed the Town Council recently.

Supporting speeches were made by Mr. T. M. Naicker, Mr. Rooknoodeen, Bishop Ferguson Davie, Mrs. Ferguson Davie and Mr. Narbeth.

The officials elected were: President, Kunwar Maharaj Singh; chairman, Mr. Maurice Webb; vice-chairman, Mr. J. W. Godfrey; joint secretaries, Mr. P. R. Pather

and Mrs. P. Morel; treasurer, Mr. I. A. H. Moosa; Executive Committee, Messrs. Lewis Byron, Mrs. Mabel Palmer, Bishop Ferguson Davie, Mr. A. I. Kajea, Mr. V. Lawrence, Mr. T. M. Naicker, Mr. E. P. Reim, Mrs. V. R. R. Moodley, Mr. E. Thomas and Dr. Mildred Clark.

In presenting their annual report, the secretaries (Mr. P. R. Pather and Mrs. P. Morel) stated that although the year under review had not to its credit a record of regular monthly meetings, nevertheless there was to its credit a record of good work. The report referred to work of investigation of Indian unemployment and its communication, through Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, to the Unemployment Commission. Other matters touched on were the personal tax and the combined meeting with the Native and European Joint Council.

Bachelor Girls At Lunch

Kunwarani Gives An Address

There was an excellent attendance of Bachelor Girls at the club luncheon held at the Royal Hotel. The lounge was filled with small round tables adorned with flowers and the gay summer frocks of the 54 Bachelor Girls who foregathered.

Miss Thelma Whitcutt, the club president, was in the chair and welcomed the Kunwarani Maharaj Singh, the guest of honour, and who came in a beautiful sari of gypsy green bordered with gold. Miss Whitcutt presented the Rani with a bouquet of lilac and fern, tied with mauve tulle. Miss J. Middlebrook, the treasurer, was busy at the door. Miss Plowman, Miss D. Lennox and Miss Edna Burford (the latter the chairman of the hostel) sat at the centre table with the Kunwarani and Miss Whitcutt. Miss Plowman, Miss Burford and Miss Lennox are vice-presidents of the club.

During the luncheon the president thanked the girls for their attendance and spoke of the newly-formed entertainment committee, which had given a concert at the Seamen's Mission last week. She also solicited help for the forthcoming street collection for "Our Children's Day," as she had been requested to do so by the Child Welfare Society. The president also spoke of "friendly" tennis next month at the Country Club and asked for volunteers to drive cars in connection with the elections shortly taking place.

The Kunwarani gave an interesting talk on the lot of the Indian in Natal and put a few facts before them which she opined they might not have realised before. She prefaced her remarks by saying how pleased she was to have the opportunity of meeting the club members, and how much she had been looking forward to it. She considered that the club was unique—at least, she had never come across anything quite like it—and she admired the members' enterprise and the fact that they worked hard and appeared to enjoy themselves, too.

The Kunwarani proceeded to enlist their sympathies as members of the younger generation for the work which she and her husband had at heart and which they had come to South Africa to accomplish. She said she hoped she would be forgiven if she said anything they did not like. The Rani then told her audience that repatriation for the Indians had caused suffering, and that after four generations of living in South Africa they naturally regarded this country as more theirs than India. She begged them to look at it from the Indian's point of view, and try to alleviate their lot. She stressed the disabilities under which the Indians lived, in the way of the denial of the vote (either municipal or political) and free primary education.

Miss Edna Burford, on behalf of the Bachelor Girls, thanked the Rani sincerely for her address, and opined that it had given them a new outlook on the Indian question:

British Empire Lost In India

Rev. Magnus C. Ratter's Views

"A frank statement of opinion regarding British rule in India was made recently at the closing session, in the Central Hall, Birmingham, of the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, by the Rev. Magnus C. Ratter, who has recently spent eighteen months in that country, says the 'Birmingham Post.'"

He believed that in India our Empire was lost. As English people we had rendered to India a very great and estimable service which in modern India was somewhat belittled and minimised because of the present political passion, but he had assured himself that judicial history would give to England the highest praise for her nineteenth century work. We had taken from India a very large reward—sometimes as much as 500 per cent.—so that it was not altogether altruistic. To-day we did not serve India.

We lived upon India, and the Indians realise that we did so. We rendered a little service but no service worthy of the charge we had imposed upon her people. He had travelled many miles over the continent of India and had been the guest in the length and breadth of the land. He had been their friend, and it is saddening to realise that he could travel for eighteen months in India and only come upon one person who defended the British regime.

It might be our failure to appreciate it, but it was very sad that this England which we loved should have lost so completely, almost inalienably the affections of the Indian people. We would not say we had the affections of the people, they were lost, he did not say for ever, but he feared it some of the Indians would bitterly tell us that it was not the affection of the Indian people that supported English rule, but the bayonets on which our flag flew blood-fed.

British Nationality To Go

Capetown, Thursday.

An important announcement affecting South Africa double nationality has been made by Dr. D. F. Malan, Minister of the Interior, in an interview with *Die Burger*. The question had first been raised at the Nationalist Party Congress of the Transvaal and was subsequently discussed at the Cape and Free State congresses of the party.

"If we attach any importance to our independence," said Dr. Malan, "then the abolition of what has usually been described as our joint British nationality is just as necessary as was the Statute of Westminster and the acquiring of our own Flag; or perhaps, it is juridically more correct to say that if we have to maintain our dual nationality, the Statute as well as the Flag will be robbed of their actual significance. A nation with two political nationalities is an absurdity. It supposes a divided fidelity which Nationalists, at least, have always regarded as the root of all our racial difficulties."

In Event Of War

Pointing out the dangers of this dual nationality the Minister said that it meant that we had not the right of secession nor the right of neutrality in case England or any other member of the Empire was involved in war. Nationalists had always stood for that right without which there could be no independence. Indeed, that question of divisibility or indivisibility of the Crown, with all its implications had been the most radical point of difference between the Nationalists and the S.A.P. In that connection

there could be no possibility of compromise.

The Minister added that the decision of the Imperial Conference of 1930 on the matter left much to be desired in the way of clarity. The only interpretation of that decision was that we had to retain our dual nationality and that we could not alter without the consent of the Governments of the Empire.

"It must be emphatically stated," declared the Minister, "that we cannot accept it and in this connection all Nationalists will heartily support us. Our freedom is our own, and it is for us and for us alone to determine the nature and extent of that freedom."

Legislation

Referring to the proposed legislative alteration in the nationality laws, Dr. Malan said that such alterations had been under consideration for more than a year. Naturally it was the privilege of the Prime Minister finally to decide when and how legislation should actually be introduced.

In conclusion the Minister referred the attitude of the South African Party Press in connection with statements made by him and the Prime Minister on the nationality question. There was bitter disappointment in store for them, he said, if they thought they could make use of him to disturb the unity of the Nationalist Party.—Router.

Indian Trading In Nyasaland

Balantyre, Saturday.

The far-reaching question of Indian trading in the Nyasaland Protectorate will shortly be discussed by a deputation of the Chamber of Commerce and the Acting Governor (Mr. K. L. Hall), if the Government accedes to the request of the Chamber that His Excellency should receive the deputation appointed.

A short time ago three Indian traders absconded, leaving debts behind them to the amount of several thousand pounds, and it was contended by a speaker at the Chamber of Commerce meeting that the Indians might have been apprehended if the local police had been more expeditious in their methods. As it was the defaulting trio made their way to India and there is no hope of bringing them to account. Exemplary punishment, the speaker held, is wanted in such cases and it was entirely wrong that the cost of proceedings should be borne by the creditors, as was officially suggested.

Several prominent Indian traders are said to favour the establishment of a licensing board, but when this method of control was advanced by the Chamber some time ago the Government would not agree to it.

Another aspect of this question was brought to light when it was resolved to draw the attention of the Government to the practice of certain Indian traders treating their employees' wages as book entries, with the result that when the traders get into financial difficulties a great part of their assets is absorbed in paying off wages in default. The practice might be used to defraud ordinary creditors. It was agreed to ask Government to introduce legislation providing for the payment of wages in cash at the end of each month and making non-compliance a criminal offence, the notifying of non-payment to be made by the employee and failure in this to render any claim void.

Immigration

After some discussion regarding the recruitment of employees from other territories the Chamber

unanimously agreed to adopt the following resolution: "That it is of the opinion that the immigration restrictions should be tightened up at an early date and that the new restrictions be applied to all nationalities, whether European, Asiatic, African, American or Australian."—*Natal Advertiser*.

News From India

Restrictions On Mahatma

Bombay, Oct. 9.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in the course of a speech in connection with the celebrations in Bombay of the "Swadesamitran Golden Jubilee," said:—

It is unfortunate that the Government did not co-operate in the process of reconciliation and had stopped all facilities for meeting and conversing with Mahatma Gandhi. In my opinion, they bungled, as they often do, on a critical occasion.

A wise Government would have taken advantage of the friendliness and goodwill which the Prime Minister's prompt acceptance of the Poona Pact had generated and they would have gone on to explore further methods whereby such friendliness and goodwill could be made the basis of a lasting relief of the present impasse. But, unfortunately, want of imagination is characteristic of bureaucratic rule.

I feel certain that if our talks had not been banned, good results would have come about. Many of us left Poona with a feeling that the Government was blundering and had suddenly checked the process which, if sympathetically explored and steadfastly pursued, would have established honourable peace in the land.—*A.P.*

An Undelivered Letter

Bombay, Oct. 9.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, in the course of a statement, said that his message to Gandhiji had not yet been delivered, but the latter, learning of it from the newspapers, had sent a reply which had not yet been officially received by him.

The Maulana understands, through a friend, that the following is the purport of Mahatma Gandhi's message:

"I am very glad that you have postponed your departure for America. I am sure you will be able to do something now. It will be a glorious day when we have real Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity. Please accept my love and if you make a diligent search, you will still find me in your pocket."

Parliament To Be Picketed

The special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* wires from London under date Oct. 8:—

Certain British peace-lovers will soon hold a meeting to concert measures for picketing Parliament in order to direct Government's attention to the necessity of negotiating with Gandhiji. They emphasise that such "direct action" alone can impress the Tory hosts at Westminster.

—*A.P.*

The Most Patriotic Activity

Lucknow, Oct. 20.

Arrangements for All Parties Moslem Conference were completed inspite of active efforts by reactionaries to sabotage it.

Bombay, Oct. 20.

Maulana Shaukat Ali had publicly declared his determination to arrive at a communal settlement

on the line of the formula drafted by him and Pandit Malaviya and to get it through the Lucknow Conference. He openly defied the reactionary Moslems leaders in their movement to oppose this most patriotic duty.

Muslim Conference At Lucknow

Lucknow, Oct. 21.

All Parties Muslim Conference has been a wonderful success. Joint Electorates with Hindus with reservation of seats for Moslems is the basic principle of agreement. Maulana Shaukat Ali has emerged through this trial as a nationalist Moslem leader. In his concluding address he fore shadowed a united India as visualized by his brother Mahomed Ali who characterised separate electorates for Moslems from the day of Morley-Minto reforms as an evil and command performance cutting India into two parts.

A New Slogan

All Parties Muslim Conference at Lucknow finished its work and delegates departed for their respective places jubilant and thoroughly enjoying the slogan of "Long live the United India." A strong deputation was appointed at the Conference to meet Hindu leaders for the ratification of agreement at an early date.

Hindu-Muslim Conference

Bombay, Oct. 21.

Consequent upon the meeting between Hindu leaders and the deputation of the Lucknow Muslim Conference is decided to be held early in November for the final ratification of the pact for submission to the Prime Minister in order to enable him to cancel his award based on separate electorates.—*Kenya Daily Mail*.

Indian Round Table Conference

British Delegates Nominated

London, Nov. 4.

The British delegates to the forthcoming Indian Round Table Conference comprises Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (President), Lord Sankey, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Hailsham, Sir John Simon, Lord Irwin, Mr. J. O. Davidson and Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., as Government delegates, and Lord Winterton, Lord Reading and Lord Lothian as non-Government delegates.

The Labour Party declined the invitation to nominate representatives.—*Reuter*.

India And Ottawa Agreements

Legislative Assembly Debate

New Delhi, Monday.

A resolution urging the acceptance of the Ottawa agreements by the Legislative Assembly was moved to-day by Sir Joseph Bore, member of the Governor-General's Executive Council with the portfolio of Industries and Labour. He declared that without the preference secured at Ottawa the tea industry might have met with irretrievable disaster. He added that 55 per cent. of Indian imports would still be outside the preferences granted Britain, while in return India received valuable help, opening out great possibilities for the expansion of export of articles like vegetable oils, seeds and rice. Moreover, preferences exchanged between India and the Colonial Empire held out promise of considerable

development of India's manufactures, such as cotton piece goods, yarn, and iron and steel. Sir Joseph claimed that nothing could be fairer than the provision allowing India to terminate the agreement at six months' notice.—Reuter.

Original Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

Sir,—Allow me to congratulate you on the leader you wrote on "Why are there restrictions?" These words were uttered by our Agent Kunwar Maharaj Singh. He must have felt the pinch of "Colour Bar" already in spite of being a Prince and an Agent of the Government of India known for its weakness in protecting her sons and daughters abroad. My object in writing is to show how the Church and the State in this country breathe of this Colour Bar and because the Kunwar and the Kunwarani are Christians it is hoped that they will do their best to eradicate this although I know they will not succeed. I blame the White Christian Churches of this country perpetuating this racial feeling. If all the Churches in this land were to declare their strong opposition to this Colour Bar but not only that but put it into practice, then it will disappear. Christ did and showed how to treat his brother but the White Preachers only preach but they never do it. They pretend to love his black brother which they do not. Let us look at those European missionaries who are working among Natives, Indians and Coloureds in this land. With the exception of a very few whom you can count on your finger tips, how many of these men and women who want to translate Christ do translate Christ to the "heathen" as they call the average non-Christian.

How many white missionaries working amongst Indians do invite Indians to dine with them? How many will greet them in the streets if they are met in localities where Europeans meet? I know certain white missionaries working in Durban would not look at Indians in West Street.

If the same missionaries were invited to Indian homes they will accept the invitation but they will never reciprocate. You call on them you are kept on the doorstep, and worse still if the male missionary were to meet an Indian lady he will not raise his hat as he would do to a white lady. Great publicity is given to the fact that a united service is held once a year for all races but that is nothing to what really should be done by the Churches in South Africa. The white missionaries who are working among the non-European races must discard themselves of racial prejudice first and then they can become missionaries to the other white people.

Restrictions will exist in this country so long as there are two policies in the Christian Church one for the White and one for the Black. I wonder how these White Christians will treat Christ!

TRUTH.

To Be Banished From Rand

Johannesburg, Saturday.

Three Communist leaders on the Witwatersrand were served with notices from the Minister of Justice, Mr. O. Pirow, that they must leave the Witwatersrand area within seven days.

The Communists concerned are Eddy Roux (who caused a sensation by attempting to nominate a native for the Germiston by-election), E. S. Sachs (secretary of the Garment Workers' Union) and Issy Diamond. The three men are so banished for 12 months as from November 12, 1932.

Notices to the same effect will be served on two other Communist leaders who are not at present in Johannesburg—H. Wolton, who is at Capetown and is expected to return to Johannesburg next week, and a man named Kalk, who is in George, Cape Province.

Issy Diamond says he will not leave Johannesburg unless the Minister makes provision for his maintenance. A protest meeting is to be held on the steps of the City Hall, when it is stated that J. B. Marks, the native whom Roux tried to nominate for the by-election at Germiston, will be a speaker.—Reuter.

Fund For Hospital

The Pretoria Tamil Vedic Young Men's Association had a "Rag" on the Deepavali Festival day and collected £17 from the public in aid of the Indian Hospital Building Fund. About 50 men and youngsters disguised in Indian and European costumes and went in procession in carts, lorries, cars, rickshaws headed by a band.

The Association heartily thanks all the Indians, Coloureds and Europeans for their kind support, and also the Indian ladies who helped to collect the money.

The collection amounted to	£17	0	0	
Received of advertisement		17	6	
Total	£17	17	6	
Expenditure		3	14	6
	£14	3	3	

This amount was given on behalf of the Pretoria Indian community to the Superintendent of the Pretoria General Hospital for the Pretoria Indian Ward on Nov. 2nd 1932.

Notice

INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Will employers of Indian labour kindly notify the undersigned of any vacancies in their establishment.

WRITE: Hon. Secretary, Sir Kurma Reddi Unemployment Relief Committee, 175 Grey Street, Durban, or Phone Central 3506.