

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

IN an article on "The Results Of The R.T.C." appearing in the *Indian Review*, referring to Indians outside India the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri writes:—"So long as India falls far short of Dominion Status, little substantial improvement may be looked for in the treatment accorded to overseas Indians by the Dominions and Colonies of the empire. This view has forced itself on all those who have made a special study of the question of Indians abroad. It is worthwhile quoting here the opinion of the late Mr. Gokhale:—

The root of our present trouble in the Colonies lies in the fact that our status is not what it should be in our own country. Men who have no satisfactory status in their own land, cannot expect to have a satisfactory status elsewhere. Our struggle for equal treatment with Englishmen in the empire must be mainly carried on in India itself.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, a leader of the South African Party and a Minister of the Interior during S.A.P. Government and who may quite possibly grace that position once again under the new Coalition Government in a letter addressed to the Editor, *Rand-Daily Mail* writes:—

Sir,—I observe in the *Rand Daily Mail* a letter from Mr. W. Gemmill asking me to explain a statement in a speech made by me that "we are South Africans now, not British."

It was a remark made hastily, in answer to an interruption, and without that clearness and precision to which Mr. Gemmill is accustomed. It meant that we should not speak of each other as "British" on the one side, or "Dutch" on the other, but as South Africans. No suggestion was intended that anyone should "sell his birthright."

LET Indians too remember that when it is said that they are or that they should be South Africans it is not meant that they should completely forget the duty which they owe to their motherland. In every action of theirs their first consideration should be the honour of the land that gave them birth. There are some responsible people amongst us who begrudge funds going to India even in her present hour of trial. Such an attitude we can only describe as highly unpatriotic. Of course it is due to the utter ignorance of the actual poverty in India. We in South Africa can always afford to spare some funds for India and yet have enough for our own requirements. This is, however, by the way. The thing to remember is, however South Africanised we may become we may not sell our birthright.

THE Maritzburg Town Council has passed by-laws empowering it to reserve seats and other accommodation in public places for various races. The following letter of protest was sent to the Council by the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch):—

"I have been directed to lodge objections to the proposed by-laws for the reservation of seats and other accommodation

in public parks, etc. I have also been directed to say that the proposed by-laws are of a far-reaching nature and will give the Council, if passed, powers to discriminate as between burghers and burghers.

"I have been asked to point out that in the opinion of this Congress there is no need, neither is there justification, for the introduction of the proposed by-laws. As the Council is aware, the Indian community is excluded from the benefits of certain amenities which are by custom regarded as the sole privilege of a section of the burghers. Indians have never, as long as they saw no compulsion enforceable by laws, ordinances or by-laws, encroached upon these preserves, or given cause for complaint, but if it is intended to set apart places on the grounds of race or colour, and to give this act the sanction of law the Indian community will never allow such a step to be taken without entering a protest."

THE Imperial Indian Citizenship Association 255 Hornby Rd. Fort, Bombay, has published an "Indians Abroad" Directory for the current year which will be available by the end of this month. The price of the Directory is 7s. 6d. packing and postage extra.

IN the case of the Town Council of Roodepoort vs. Eastern Properties, Limited, Mr. Justice Stratford in the Appellate Division, Bloemfontein, has given judgment in favour of the Council.

WE have received by this mail from India a copy of the first number of *Harijan*, a weekly journal in English, which owes its birth to the present movement for the abolition of untouchability. The journal is published in Poona under the auspices of the Servants of Untouchables Society and edited by Mr. R. V. Sastri nominally but practically edited by Mahatma Gandhi from Yeravda prison. The annual subscription is 8s. The journal contains not less than seven interesting and instructive articles by Mahatma Gandhi. Those who have had the privilege of reading Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India* and miss it after his incarceration will find in *Harijan Young India* revived, with the only difference, that while the latter dealt in politics the former is wholly devoted to what Mahatma Gandhi calls it "the campaign against the monster of untouchability. Some of the articles contained in the journal are of interest to the South African reader both European and Indian. We reproduce a few elsewhere in this issue.

AS a precaution against Malaria which is prevalent in many parts of Natal though, thank God, in a much milder form than last year, Dr. Anning, Medical Officer of Health in Maritzburg, states in his monthly report, that it is essential for all houses near water courses to be sprayed, and recommends mosquito nets for all beds. He offers the following suggestions in regard to mosquito nets. They should be:—

1. Of 25 mesh.
2. Long enough to reach the floor.
3. Kept on the floor at their lower edge by weights.
4. Not cluttered by unnecessary frills that will collect dirt.

5. Washed every week.
6. Examined every morning in a good light to make sure that there are no holes through which the mosquitos might enter.
7. Tied up over the bed every morning.
8. Examined on going to bed to make sure there are no mosquitos inside.

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING ?

WE publish in this issue the concluding portion of the memorandum of the Transvaal Indian Commercial Association on the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. We have no modifications to make in the comments we have already made on it a few weeks ago when we published a short report of it. The first part of the memorandum is useful for its historical survey. The second part discusses the question from a purely materialistic point of view. That the principle of segregation is not good and has never proved to be good wherever it has been practised is not discussed. Segregation is to be the lot of our people is taken for granted and a better form of segregation is begged. Of course the right to make further representations and to protest against the legislation later has been reserved but in the meantime the Association has accepted the position under the law and has asked for liberal concessions. Those who have submitted to the law cannot do otherwise. The Association claims that its action will be more beneficial to the community than the line taken by the Congress. We have our doubts about it. A community that is prepared to accept any humiliations for the sake of material benefits, has no right to call itself civilised. The Indian community that boasts of its great ancient culture—Mr. Sastri and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu waxed eloquent on the subject when they visited this country—can be the least expected to sink to such a depth of degradation as to agree to suffer any humiliation in order to be allowed to live and earn here. Such a community would face death rather than suffer such humiliations or if it has not that courage would retire to its own country. The Indian community in the Transvaal is obviously not prepared to do either of the two. In that case it will deserve its fate, that is all that can be said about it.

The Agent of the Government of India has repeated over and over again in his public speeches that the Indian community represents only about, or a little more than, two per cent. of the Union's whole population and that the question is not as difficult as it is made out to be and that it can easily be solved if generosity was shown by the ruling race. And yet if segregation is to be the lot of our people in this country and the Government of India which has all along opposed it so strongly is to be a party to it, who is to blame—the community or the Government? We would unhesitatingly say it is the community to blame. For no Government can make a community that stands for righteousness above everything do a thing which it is not willing to do. Is there in our people that righteousness, that sense of self-respect, that patriotism, that strength of character which is expected of one which calls itself a civilised community? It pains us to admit very frankly that we are much lacking in those qualities. Unless we mend our ways we will soon find that there will be no status for us worth living for in this country nor will India be prepared to receive us with open arms. We are being made the untouchables of this country and there will be nothing to wonder at

if India considers us to be the real untouchables of that country. The present ones have at least the honour to be called *Harijans* but at the rate we are going we do not know if even He will own us.

The Agent And His Consort In Capetown

Popular Figures Among European Circles

(From Our Correspondent)

The Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India, and Lady Maharaj Singh, who are on their first visit to Capetown, have become quite popular figures among European circles. The Kunwarani with her rich oriental garb which is rarely seen in this city is more attractive even than the Kunwar Sahib.

The following account of the Kunwarani appears in the *Cape Times* :—

"I am afraid that I am extremely old-fashioned—I do not smoke, drink, dance, go to races, or play cards for money," said the Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh apologetically, when I asked her to tell me something of her interests.

But the wife of the Agent-General for the Government of India, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, need not have apologised for the lack of interest in any of these activities, for she has the wonderful gift of being a brilliant conversationalist, allied with an alert mind and a most vivacious manner that makes her attractive to young and old alike.

She is a home-lover, and her interests embrace her husband's problem, that of the improvement of the education and status of the Indian people. The Kunwarani was appalled to find that in Johannesburg and Capetown there are no schools for Indian children. It is her earnest wish now to establish schools in both these centres.

She has three charming children—Kunwar Ranbir Singh, aged thirteen, Mahindar Singh, aged twelve, and a little girl, Prem, five years old. The two boys are already at school at Bishop's where they are taking an active interest in cricket and tennis, the latter game at which their father excels.

The Kunwarani is very fond of music, the piano being her instrument, but she admits that she cannot play an Indian stringed instrument, for when she was a child it was only the women of ill-repute in India who played stringed instruments and danced. To-day, however, all that is changed. There has been a revival in art, literature and music, and the children of well-bred families are taught music and dancing from an early age.

The Kunwarani took her Bachelor of Arts degree in India, and later went to London where she took a post-graduate course at the London University.

She has a very clever sister, Dr. Mayada, who graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and went back to India to practise as a doctor. She was the first woman to be admitted to the Pathological Research Institute in Kasali, and for seven years she ran a medical hospital for women in the State of Baroda.

Apart from being an acquisition to social circles in the Peninsula, with her charm of manner, and her delightful flair for entertaining, the Kunwarani is a distinguished figure in her lovely hand-woven saris and dainty sandals. She wears simple, but beautiful jewellery, and there is about her an air of grace and dignity that is known only to women from the East.

Honoured By Cape Indian Congress

The Cape Indian Congress gave a reception in honour of the Agent at the City Hall presided over by the Mayor of Capetown, Mr. H. J. O. Stephan. The Agent paid a generous tribute to the traditional liberal policy of the Cape towards non-European races.

The Cape policy towards Asiatics, he said, had always been a liberal one compared with the other provinces of the Union, and it had been a pleasure to know that in the Cape the rights of the weaker races in the community were upheld.

They hoped that policy would continue to flourish in the Cape and in time would permeate the other parts of the Union.

Referring to the relations of Indians with municipalities, he said he understood that in Cape Town they had little to complain of, and he acknowledged the debt of gratitude which was due from them to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Cape Town.

Thanks To Col. Creswell

Having paid a tribute to the courtesy and kindness with which the Union Ministers had treated him, he said he was grateful to the Government in general and to the Minister of Labour, Colonel Creswell, in particular, for offering for the first time relief from Government funds to the Indian unemployed.

Alluding to his duty as mediator between the two Governments, he said his task was a difficult one, but it was enormously lessened by the support of the community whom he was here to represent. If he could count upon that he and his staff would do all in their power to promote good relations between the races.

Lady Singh, who was present with the Agent, appealed to the women to take their part in the solution of the difficult problem which lay before them.

Constitutional Reforms In India

At a University Club lunch Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh spoke on "Constitutional Reforms in India."

After briefly describing the present constitutional structure of India—government by a system of provincial councils with fairly extensive powers, under the control of a central government—the Kunwar went on to declare that India demanded constitutional reforms, and that they were bound to come within the next few years.

There were four great difficulties in the way of reform, he said. The first of these was the size of India. Her population, excluding that of Burma, was 330,000,000, and these people were scattered and spoke different languages. It was true that Hindustani would carry one through the greater part of India. It served as the lingua franca of the country. But there were many dialects and each of the Provinces had its own peculiar problems to solve.

The second difficulty in the way of reform arose from the differences between Hindus and Moslems. There were riots, though the extent of these was greatly exaggerated. Probably there were more riots in Europe, the whole of which had a smaller population than India. This difficulty was, however, being overcome by giving the Moslems greater representation than their numbers entitled them to.

The Indian States represented a third difficulty. Where British India had developed on democratic lines, the States, which were under the control of Indian princes, had remained autocracies.

The fourth difficulty was the Indian Army. Indians had occupied almost every position in civil life, and he had no doubt that if the British gave up India, Indians could be found to take the place even of the Viceroy. But Indians had hitherto found little place in the army.

The Indianisation of the army was proceeding. The future Government of India would be a federal one, including the Indian States, and the provincial councils would be given far greater powers, which would serve to overcome the difficulty of India's size.

"I have not the least doubt," he said, "that on the whole British rule has been beneficial to the people of India. For one thing it has welded them into a unity undreamt of since the days of the Mogul emperors. The British rulers have perhaps shown too much caution in some matters, and have been overtimid in matters of social reform, but I hope that India will always remain an integral part of the British Empire, both in her own interests and in those of Great Britain."

"I do wish that relations between India and South Africa were more cordial than they are," he said. "The longer I live here the more I am convinced that the problem is a very small, and therefore easily soluble, one. Indians form less than three per cent.—probably nearer two per cent.—of the total population. How, then, can they present an insoluble problem? It is well for both countries that there should be these better relations, and I feel sure that with good will on either side these relations will improve."

The Kenwar was introduced by Mr. Justice Gardiner, the Judge-President, who spoke gratefully of the excellent type of man India always sent to represent her in South Africa.

Tea Party To Mr. Venn

A tea party was arranged by the Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh at her residence at Rondebosch in honour of Mr. H. N. Venn who has retired from the position of Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs.

Tea was served in the shade of the large fir trees, and the Kunwarani's little daughter, Prem, garlanded the retiring Commissioner. An Indian juggler supplied the proper Oriental touch to a most successful party.

Among those present were Lady Bothera, Mr. and Mrs. Corbett, Mr. and Mrs. Loyerock, Mr. and Mrs. Bozman, Mrs. Dunlop, Mrs. Duthie, Mrs. Duncan, Mr. and Mrs. Conway, Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts and Mr. P. Kincaid who succeeds Mr. Venn as Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs.

An official dinner was given by the Agent of the Government of India to His Excellency the Governor-General Lord Clarendon and Lady Clarendon.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY

RECENT INTERESTING PUBLICATIONS

The following books can be had at this office. Remittance to be sent together with the order. C.O.D. orders will not receive attention.—Manager "INDIAN OPINION," Phoenix, Natal.

THE EPIC FAST (By PYARELAL)

An account of Mahatma Gandhi's Fast in September 1932, and events leading up to the Yeravda Pact, with all relevant documents. 320 Pages. 2s. 6d.

PLIGHTED WORD (By G. RAJAGOPALACHARI)

The case for the two Bills introduced by Mr. Rang. Iyer in the Assembly is explained in full detail with all relevant documents in this book. It is a complete exposition of the history and object of the legislation and meets all the objections raised. 24 Pages. 9d.

"MY SOUL'S AGONY" (By MAHATMA GANDHI)

A carefully revised, authoritative edition of what Mahatma Gandhi has recently said about the Anti-Untouchability Movement in his statements and interviews. The book has been compiled and edited under his immediate direction.

154 Pages. 1s. 5d.

Memorandum By Transvaal Indian Commercial Association

To The Asiatic Land Tenure Act
Commission

(Continued from last week)

Present Position

With the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1932, the position of the Indian community on the Rand in general as well as in Johannesburg has become critical. The legality or otherwise of all Indian occupation and residence is to be finally decided and we shall be exposed to the full battery of Anti-Asiatic opinion. In view of this fact, and in order to establish our second contention that other communities have nothing to fear from us, we wish to state briefly the actual facts to-day.

There are in the Transvaal about 700,000 Europeans and about 1,000,000 Natives. Indians in 1921 numbered 13,500 and the estimates to-day vary from 15,000 to 18,000. Even if the Chinese are included the total number of Asiatics in the Transvaal to-day is probably not more than 20,000. There is in this Province one Indian to about forty Europeans and one Indian to about 100 non-Indians. We believe that since 1921 the percentage of Indians has decreased, but owing to the fact that Indians were not included in the 1931 census, we have no accurate figures. The total number of Europeans in Johannesburg in 1931 was 203,298, an increase of over 50,000 from 1921. In 1921 Asiatics in Johannesburg numbered 6,229, a figure which included the Chinese community. In 1928, of General Dealers in the magisterial area of Johannesburg, Indians constituted approximately 13% or one in eight. Once again we believe that this percentage has subsequently decreased, but owing to the fact that since 1928 the Municipality has from time to time held up a large number of Asiatic licences, any figures which we might be able to obtain from the Receiver of Revenue would be misleading. The percentage of all branches of wholesale trade in Johannesburg in the hands of Indians is probably not more than 2%.

We believe that the above figures alone constitute a sufficient answer to the contention that the Indians are a menace to European trade. Immigration of Indians has for all practical purposes terminated and the number of new entrants that need be expected is infinitesimal while the European population suffers from few restrictions in this respect and thus must be expected to increase more quickly than the Indian. Of the Indians in the Transvaal it is estimated that about 50% were born in South Africa. This percentage will rapidly increase. Western standards and Western ideas will spread. To-day we have no political representation. On Municipalities also and on Local Boards in general we are not represented, an omission which makes it all the more necessary that our claims should be examined with particular care. Our employment is restricted not only by colour prejudice but also by the Liquor Act and to some extent by various Wage Board determinations. We cannot own property even in such areas as may be exempted under Section 131 (a) of the Gold Law nor in Locations have we any security of tenure. In view of what we have already said it is scarcely surprising that technically illegal occupation has occurred and we should like to put forward the following additional considerations:—

1. The Indian protected by Act 37 of 1919 was protected only for his particular Township.

In many cases a subsequent move across a street or of a few hundred yards only was sufficient to cause him to lose that protection, often without his knowledge.

2. An Indian evicted by his landlord for any reason might easily find it impossible to obtain premises in the same Township.
3. The trader, particularly in Johannesburg, has to study a shifting population with its consequent alteration of spending power in any one area. He must follow the market he has cultivated and to do so cannot be confined by Township boundaries.
4. India-born Indians have been compelled to re-visit India at times and on their return same have lost their previous protection.
5. In view of the fact that in practice Indians are generally confined to certain areas, the Township boundaries have not given room for the natural expansion due to the normal excess of births over deaths.

When it is considered that our residence and occupation are now to be definitely restricted, we cannot but feel that the apprehension regarding Indian penetration and extension in various fields are, to say the least, ill founded and that the opposition to our freedom of action must spring from motives other than a desire to protect the European communities from an overshadowing Asiatic menace. We feel the official announcement of policy which we have quoted on page 4, a statement which we regarded as among the most important made by the Union Government in recent years regarding Indians and which we respectfully urge should not be over-looked by the Commission in dealing with our present claims.

The Opposition To Asiatics

In view of what we have stated in the foregoing paragraph, we feel it necessary to refer to the opposition we had to face. The charges levelled against us as a community have been so frequently published in the course of the various investigations that have been made, that there is no need to detail them here, but we do desire to point out that in our view trade rivalry will be found to be at the bottom of all the opposition. We venture even to express the view that the restrictive sections of the Gold Law were designed to prevent illicit buying and selling of gold and we would point out in this connection that convictions under the Gold Law are few and that this in itself may well supply one reason for the failure of Government to enforce these sections. That is to say they were not enforced because the necessity never arose.

It would be out of place for us in this Memorandum to advance arguments and evidence to refute the various charges against us but we wish to refer to one recent development. One of the most common complaints against the Indian trader is that he retails at unfairly low prices. We believe that the substance of this charge is demolished by the undeniable fact that there are now a number of large European bazaars and retail shops which sell at prices with which we cannot possibly compete.

Our object, however, in referring to these charges at all, is to suggest to the Commission that our trade rivals have a voice in public and Municipal affairs that is denied to us and that whatever the charges against us the result of them has always been attempts to hamper our freedom of movement. Trade is virtually the only livelihood open to us in the Transvaal and trade without freedom of movement is wellnigh impossible. We may urge therefore that the deductions we draw, namely, that the opposition to us in whatever guise it may appear, is fundamentally trade opposition, is not unreasonable and we submit that this point is one which the Commission should constantly bear in mind.

Hardships Likely To Be Caused

We wish now to refer in general terms to the hardships which are likely to ensue upon a harsh and ungenerous administration of the Land Tenure Act. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out the disastrous results which would be involved by a total exclusion of Indians from proclaimed areas. Their means of livelihood would be gone—surrounding areas would be flooded with distressed Indians seeking some outlet and the consequence to themselves and to other communities can easily be imagined. This danger is more serious in the light of the Licences (Control) Ordinance of 1931 which for the first time gave Local Authorities unrestricted power to refuse licences.

But it may not be so easily recognised that a policy of strict confinement may well have similar consequences. If the majority of Indians now on proclaimed land are compelled to send their children born in South Africa to places off proclaimed land to seek their living, it will only mean that the distress and the exodus to the surrounding areas will be deferred but not avoided. Further it must in the immediate future inevitably entail overcrowding in poor areas with all the danger to public health that such overcrowding involves and will act as an incitement to obtain by illegal means the living that is denied by legal means. There is also the consideration that sudden and forced sales by Indians to European successors will mean the sacrifice of stock at bankrupt prices and the loss to the Indian of his market and his goodwill.

But apart from these rather obvious hardships there are others which must follow. The Indian whose business must be closed will no doubt be unable to pay the European wholesaler who has supplied him with goods. In addition, the wholesaler has lost a market for such goods, a loss which will be severely felt in the course of time. The poor white, the native and the farmer will also in turn suffer a loss. By the removal of healthy Asiatic competition their goods will cost them more, their terms of credit will be restricted, and they themselves will suffer undue hardship. It is significant that so far as we are aware in no Commission have any Wholesale Merchants appeared as witnesses against Indians. The whole ale house realises what a valuable and reliable market they have for their goods in the Indian trader. Furthermore, there will be a loss to the banker, and in addition the loss to the European landlords would be difficult to estimate. Let us take for example a suburb such as Jeppestown. In the block between Betty, Maddison, Main and Marshall Streets, there are visible to-day no fewer than eight empty shops. In addition, there are six Indian shops which if the Act were stringently enforced would be unprotected. If the Asiatics are evicted the immediate effect will be a considerable loss to the European and indirectly to the Municipality due to the depreciation of the property. It must also be remembered that most of the landlords have bonds over their premises and it may cause ruination of the landlords and a financial loss to the Bondholder.

General Lines Of The Proposals

We come finally to general principles which have guided us in our proposals. As we have already stated in paragraph 1, these will be made in detail with reference to particular areas, but we have thought it desirable and indeed it is one of the main objects of this general Memorandum to show how these proposals come to be made. We have endeavoured to show that the position in which we

find ourselves is one for which we ourselves are not principally responsible—that severe administration of the Land Tenure Act would entail disaster upon our community and immediate disturbance and hardship to other communities and that whatever the opposition may be to our obtaining freedom of movement and action, it is without real foundation and essentially one to trade rivalry.

The first point then upon which we wish to lay special stress is that there can be no escape from our present difficulties unless sufficient provision is made in the recommendations of the Commission for the natural expansion of our community. We have, we hope, made it clear that this expansion will be nothing more than the normal increase in any population. Furthermore, the increase will be represented by Indians born in South Africa whose interests will be mainly South African. If no provision is made for the coming generations, we can only assert that whatever action the Government may now take will be no more than a palliative at best and that within a few years' time the whole trouble of illegal occupation and residence will recur.

We feel that we cannot urge this point too strongly since in our view the whole future of our community depends upon the attitude to be adopted in this respect. We are a small community, no more Indians can come either from India or from other provinces in the Union; trade is practically our only possible means of subsistence. Is it too much to ask that we should be given room in which to pursue that calling, in which to hand our businesses to our children and in which those of them who cannot enter the business can make an independent living? It should not be forgotten that a policy of segregation of any race, European or non-European, is and always has been entirely repugnant to us. It will therefore be open to landlords in the exempted areas to let their premises to tenants of any race and in defining areas to be exempted an allowance must be made for the possibility of the displacement of coloured occupants by Europeans, or demolition of the premises, and the consequent necessity for provision of other premises in the same locality for those displaced.

We may be, and expect to be, told that ample room is or can be available for us in locations. Leaving aside the principle of locations against which the Indian community and the Government of India have consistently protested and which militates against the acquisition by Indians of those Western standards of life to which the Capetown Agreement of 1927 attached importance, let us refer only to facts. Even in a location we cannot own our homes. We have no security of tenure and no encouragement to improve our buildings. The very site of the location itself is insecure. In Germiston it has been moved once and may in the near future be moved again. The locations are situated away from the towns and trading centres. In Springs, for instance, it is over two miles away. We need only quote the remarks of the Chief Justice in Habib Motan's case. "If the commercial dealings of the Indian trader are to be restricted to the locations in which he lives situate outside the town proper and peopled by men of his own race only, he may for all practical purposes as well not trade." In any case it must be obvious that if our community is isolated and confined whether in locations or elsewhere without sufficient scope being afforded, it cannot be expected that Ebrahim will trade with Moses and Moses with Ebrahim and thus enable both to make a living. We cannot

live by taking in each other's washing. We believe that without further elaboration from us the Commission will agree that locations offer no solution of the problem.

The second principle upon which we have based our proposals is that there should be the minimum disturbance caused to existing rights and interests. We have already very briefly noted what the effects of such disturbance will be and we are of opinion that in the main the intention of the Act and its framers is that there should be as little upheaval as possible; equity also demands it. It is for these reasons that we venture to suggest that a liberal interpretation should be placed upon the term 'area.' Cases will be found where a single Indian shop exists in an otherwise European area. These cases may call for individual investigation but we wish to submit the view that where it is found that such a shop has been in existence with a regular licence or where no reasonable objection in the past has been raised, it is sufficient to prove that the presence of that shop gives no offence and that such an isolated shop is not precluded from exemption by the use of the term 'area.' In a number of instances we believe it will be found that the particular trader is catering for a poor section of the community, European and native, and serving an essential need by selling the necessaries of life in small quantities at small profits and allowing liberal facilities for payment. In fact to the best of our knowledge and belief little or no opposition will be found to have arisen in the past among these whether European or not who mainly constitute our clientele.

In considering the protection of existing Indian occupants, we wish to urge that in cases where it is found impossible to leave an Indian trader in his present premises, it will be not only inequitable, but also injudicious to leave the matter simply at that. If a man has to move he must have some area to which he can go and we especially ask the Commission to take into consideration not only the number of these cases but also the nature of their occupation or residence when making their recommendations for the exemption of areas. It should be remembered that under the terms of Section 9 newly added to Act 27 of 1919, Indians living and trading in townships which fall outside the scope of the Commission's enquiry are liable to disturbance. Sufficient allowance must therefore be made for a possible influx from such townships and due consideration given to the consequent competition among Asiatics themselves in a restricted area.

There is a further factor that the Tenure Act deals not only with our community but with all coloured persons. Although the number of coloured traders other than Asiatics is small, they vitally affect the question of residence and there is liable to be an influx of these people also into exempted areas owing to the restrictive sections of the Act, the overcrowding which may ensue is an important point which must not be overlooked. Furthermore, as Johannesburg expands, an increasing number of coloured persons other than Asiatics will be attracted to the town and their immigration into the Transvaal from other provinces is unrestricted.

Another point to which we wish to draw the attention of the Commission is that in all probability such areas as will be set aside for exemption will be areas where ground is of comparatively small value at present. In the event, there will be a great incentive to the Europeans to purchase such ground for the erection of various types of factories, for example, furniture works, clothing factories, store houses, etc. The areas available for Asiatics and coloured people will thereby be greatly restricted.

An examination by the Commission of the area bounded by Pritchard Street, Troye Street, President Street and End Street, will furnish an idea of the growth of these buildings. We can safely say that in that area 80% of these factory buildings have been erected in the last twelve years.

We also wish to impress upon the Commission that the mere fact of excluding Indians from any given area creates an imperative necessity for some provision against excessive rents. There will be areas where Indians may trade and reside and as we have already pointed out a trader cannot choose freely where he will trade. He must follow his market. If, therefore, a trader is compelled both by law and by the nature of his trade to occupy a certain area, and that area is too restricted, the effect must be to deliver him bound hand and foot into the grasp of unscrupulous property owners.

Another point which we wish the Commission to note is that cases will be found where an Indian has gone to India before the appointment of the Commission and before the issue of the notification calling for the submission of forms. Such an Indian on his return may well find that through no fault of his own he has lost his chance of making a representation either individually or through the Association. We ask the Commission to remember such possibility and to make such recommendations as it thinks fit to cover cases of this nature.

Finally we would refer once again to the local investigations that we have made. We wish to urge with the utmost emphasis that the Commission should in company with representatives of the parties concerned personally inspect all the areas dealt with. The general character of a locality cannot be satisfactorily appreciated by an examination of the plans, even though those plans purport to show the occupation by different communities. We make a special point of this because at our own inspections we have repeatedly been struck by the inadequacy of the plans to represent the true nature of the localities.

We pass on now to the detailed notes regarding each locality and the specific proposals regarding it. Once again as a last word we stress the vital necessity of making adequate provision for future generations and, for such as may now be dispossessed, without a liberal policy in this respect, there is nothing for the Indian community to look forward to but misery and unrest.

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From 'Harijan'

The following articles by Mahatma Gandhi are reproduced from the first number of *Harijan* dated February 11:—

"Why Harijan"

Several correspondents have asked me why I have adopted the name 'Harijan' for 'untouchable.' Some English friends have asked me for its meaning. It is not a name of my coining. Some years ago, several 'untouchable' correspondents complained that I used the word 'asprisyā' in the pages of *Navivan*. 'Asprisyā' means literally untouchable. I then invited them to suggest a better name, and one of the 'untouchable' correspondents suggested the adoption of the name 'Harijan,' on the strength of its having been used by the first known poet-saint of Gujarat. Though the quotation he sent me did not exactly fit the case he wanted to make out for the adoption, I thought that it was a good word. 'Harijan' means 'a man of God.' All the religions of the world describe God preeminently as the Friend of the friendless, Help of the helpless and Protector of the weak. The rest of the world apart, in India who can be more friendless, helpless or weaker than the forty million or more Hindus of India who are classified as untouchables? If, therefore, any body of people can be fitly described as men of God, they are surely these helpless, friendless and despised people. Hence, in the pages of *Navivan*, since the correspondence, I have always adopted Harijan as the name signifying untouchables. And, when God chose to entrust me with their service even whilst undergoing imprisonment, I could not use any other word for describing them. I recoil with horror from that word and all it implies. Not that the change of name brings about any change of status, but one may at least be spared the use of a term which is itself one of reproach. When caste Hindus have of their own inner conviction and, therefore, voluntarily, got rid of the present day untouchability, we shall all be called Harijans, for, according to my humble opinion, caste-Hindus will then have found favour with God and may, therefore, be fitly described as His men.

Its Implications

Rev. Stanley Jones paid me a visit the other day before sailing for America. He said that in America he would be asked many questions about the campaign against untouchability and had, therefore, some questions which he wanted me to answer. I was glad of the visit and I readily answered his questions. I do not propose to reproduce the whole of our conversation and all his questions and cross-questions, but I propose to give to the readers the main-questions and the substance of my answers.

His first question, then, was:—Why do you restrict the movement to the removal of untouchability only? Why not do away with the caste system altogether? If there is a difference between caste and caste, and caste and untouchability, is it not one only of degree?

Answer:—Untouchability as it is practised in Hinduism to-day is, in my opinion, a sin against God and man and is, therefore, like a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism. In my opinion, it has no sanction whatsoever in the Hindu Shastras taken as a whole. Untouchability of a healthy kind is undoubtedly to be found in the Shastras and it is universal in all religions. It is a rule of sanitation. That will exist to the end of

time; but untouchability as we are observing to-day in India is a hideous thing and wears various forms in various provinces, even in districts. It has degraded both the untouchables and the touchables. It has stunted the growth of nearly 40 million human beings. They are denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The sooner, therefore, it is ended, the better for Hinduism, the better for India and, perhaps, better for mankind in general.

Not so the caste system. There are innumerable castes in India. They are a social institution. They are so many trade guilds, as was well said by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter. And at one time they served a very useful purpose, as, perhaps, they are even now doing to a certain extent. This institution has superadded to it restrictions which, in my opinion, are undesirable and are bound to go in course of time. There is nothing sinful about them. They retard the material progress of those who are labouring under them. They are no bar to the spiritual progress. The difference, therefore, between caste system and untouchability is not one of degree, but of kind. An untouchable is outside the pale of respectable society. He is hardly treated as a human being. He is an out-caste hurled into an abyss by his fellow-beings occupying the same platform. The difference, therefore, is somewhat analogous to the difference between heaven and hell.

There is one thing more to be remembered about the caste system. For me, it is not the same as Varnashram Dharma. Whilst the caste system is an answer to the social need, Varnashram is based upon the social scriptures. Not so the caste system. While there are innumerable castes (some dying out and new ones coming into being), the Varnas are, and have always been, four. I am a firm believer in Varnashram. I have not hesitated before now to consider it as a gift of Hinduism to mankind. Acceptance of that Dharma is, so far as I have been able to see it, a condition of spiritual growth. But I may not here elaborate my view of these four famous divisions in Hinduism. Their consideration is relevant to the present purpose. But I may make this admission that to-day this Varnashram Dharma is not being observed in its purity. There is an utter confusion of Varna and, if Hinduism is to become a living force in the world, we have to understand its real purpose and revive it; but we cannot do so unless the canker of untouchability is destroyed. The idea of inferiority and superiority has to be demolished. The four divisions are not a vertical section, but a horizontal plane on which all stand on a footing of equality, doing the services respectively assigned to them. A life of religion is not a life of privileges but of duty. Privilege may come, as they do come to all, from a due fulfilment of duty. In the book of God, the same number of marks are assigned to the brahmin that has done his task well as to the bhangi who has done likewise. The second question was:—Why do you want temple entry for Harijans? Are not temples the lowest thing in Hinduism?

Answer:—I do not think so for one moment. Temples are to Hindus what Churches are to Christians. In my opinion, we are all idolaters; that in Hinduism we have images of stone or metal inside temples makes to me no difference. Thousands of Hindus who visit temples in simple faith derive precisely the same spiritual benefit that Christians visiting churches in simple faith do. Deprive a Hindu of his temple, and you deprive him of the thing he prizes most in life. That superstition and even evil have grown round many Hindu temples is but too true. That, however, is an argument for temple re-

form, not for lowering their value for Harijans or any Hindu. It is my certain conviction that temples are an integral part of Hinduism.

His third question was:—Was not your fast pure coercion?

Answer:—If it is agreed that my fast sprang from love, then it was coercion, only if love of parents for their children or of the latter for the former, or love of husband for wife and wife for husband, or to take a sweeping illustration, love of Jesus for those who own Him as their all, is coercion. It is the implicit and sacred belief of millions of Christians that love of Jesus keeps them from falling and that it does against themselves. His love bends the reason and the emotion of thousands of His votaries to His love. I know that, in my childhood, love of my parents kept me from sinning, and, even after fifty years of age, love of my children and friends kept me positively going to perdition, which I would have done most assuredly but for the definite and overwhelming influence of that love. And, if all this love could be regarded as coercion, then the love that prompted my fast and, therefore, my fast, was coercion, but it was that in no other sense. Fasting is a great institution in Hinduism, as perhaps in no other religion, and, though it has been abused by people not entitled to fast, it has, on the whole, done the greatest good to Hinduism. I believe that there is no prayer without fasting and there is no real fast without prayer. My prayer was the prayer of a soul in agony.

News In Brief

"The members of the Indian Bearer Corps and the rest of us present are here to welcome back among us a friend, whom many of us have known for long, and over whose career we have watched with interest. We have kept within our hearts the memory of those who were associated with us in the hardships and trials of the East African campaign," said Colonel Molyneux, who presided over a crowded meeting last Sunday, held under the aegis of Indian ex-servicemen to welcome Dr. A. W. R. Gabriel, who has returned home after qualifying as a doctor. "We all of us," Colonel Molyneux added, "welcome him with a cordiality which knows no stint, and no limit, for his own sake and for that of the Indian Bearer Corps."

A historic White Paper, containing the Government's plans for the new constitution of India, will be published simultaneously in London and Delhi to-day (March 17). After an interval to permit the study of the proposals, both Houses of Parliament will debate on them and on the resolution for establishing a joint select committee which will advise on the policy set out. The committee will meet for preliminary meeting before Easter.

Barand Cornelius Benade (27), farmer, of Kafferskraal, Klerksdorp district, says Renter, was committed for trial on a charge of murdering a Hottentot male employe, aged 21. A Native witness described how Benade beat the deceased with the buckle end of a six foot trace after tying his hands and feet. The assault was alleged to have taken place in the wagon house, to which witness was attracted by the screams of the Hottentot. The district surgeon, Dr. Radloff, said death was due to shock and loss of blood following multiple bruises. An application for the charge to be reduced to one of culpable homicide was refused.

The opening of the new Aryan Benevolent Home at 500 Pietermaritz Street, Maritzburg, will take place on Saturday, March 18, at 2-30 p.m. His Worship the Mayor (Or P. H. Taylor) will formally declare the Home open.

Sporting News

The forthcoming tour of South Africa by a soccer team from India is to be discussed in Johannesburg on Sunday. The executive committee of the South African Indian Football Association will travel to Johannesburg and will confer with officials of the Transvaal Indian Football Association. One of the matters to be discussed is that of the guarantees.

At the annual general meeting of the Greyville Star United Football Club held on February 24, at the Star Tea Room, Grey Street, Durban, the following officials were elected for the present year. The Captain and Vice-Captain have been left out of the list owing to the fact that the same has been left entirely to the players to select:—

Patrons: Mess. A. H. Kazi, M. Thajmoon, G. H. Maiter, Dr. K. M. Seedat and A. S. Kajee; President: Mr. A. I. Kajee; Chairman: Mr. C. N. M. Khan; Vice-Presidents: Messrs. C. N. M. Khan, A. Haffajee, M. S. Badat, P. Allybuckus, D. Akbarally; C. M. Anglia, E. H. Amra, G. H. Mayat, G. H. Paruk, A. G. Kazee, E. M. Ally, F. M. Ally, Ismail Nanawattee, E. I. Haffajee, S. I. Ansari, A. M. Badat, Kathwaroo, I. S. Vahed, S. M. Emmamally, S. H. Fakroodeen, H. E. Asmal, A. H. Seedat, P. Keshev, S. M. Saib, S. Debba, E. E. Paruk, A. C. Rahim, Shaikh Abdoola, Shaik Hassan, A. H. Amra, Moola, Cassim Mahomed, Hon. Secretary: S. M. Emmamally, Assistant Hon. Secretary: A. I. Timol, Hon. Treasurer: Ismail Nanawattee, Committee: Messrs. C. N. M. Khan, I. Nanawattee, R. Singh, Captain, Vice-Captain, and the Secretary; Selection Committee: Messrs. I. Nanawattee, S. M. Emmamally, A. I. Timol, Captain, Vice-Captain; Trainer: Mr. I. Nanawatt; Delegates to the D.D.I.F.A.: Messrs. C. N. M. Khan and I. Ansary. Colours of the Club will be all blue with cuffs and collar white; subscriptions £1 1s.

A farewell function in honour of Mr. Kadir Carrim of Randel took place in the Ermelo Indian School Hall. The gathering was well represented by the members of the Ermelo Sporting Club and leading merchants. The secretary of the club, Master Ismail Moola, representing the school, read the addresses. The chairman spoke at length of the good work Mr. Kadir performed during his long stay in Ermelo. He was a keen promoter of sports and a public benefactor. Mr. Moosa I. Jassat in a neat speech, endorsed the chairman's remarks and said that Mr. Kadir's departure to India would be a great loss to the local club and the public. In reply Mr. Kadir thanked the members and the school for the addresses. He was deeply touched by the kind affection shown to him. He would never forget it. He sincerely pleaded to all to keep sports lively in Ermelo and to take keen interest in public matters affecting the Indian community. At the termination of the function light refreshments were partaken of. Mr. Kadir on his departure was garlanded in the oriental style.