

INDIAN OPINION

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NOTES AND NEWS

S. A. Indians' Moral Claim For Equal Treatment

DR. EDGAR BROOKES, Principal Adams College, Natal, during his recent visit to India, delivered an address on "South Africa" at the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, Madras, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presiding. The chairman introduced Dr. Brookes as a distinguished educationist who had the courage to plead sincerely and effectively for the obliteration of race prejudices in South Africa. Dr. Brookes, in the course of his speech, said that the complexity of the situation in South Africa was increased by the coming of the Indians in 1860. Indian immigration to South Africa had in the main been of two kinds. The first was of the men of the merchant class mostly from Western India. The second stream of immigration was of the labourers recruited to the sugar plantations mostly from South India. The first Indians to arrive in South Africa came as indentured labourers. They were badly housed and badly paid. They were not called slaves, but it was significant that when their indenture ceased, they were referred to as "free" Indians. To day there was still a good number of Indian labourers, but they had been partly replaced by the Bantus. It was only fair to say, said Dr. Brookes, that the development of the country, and particularly that of the province of Natal, was due almost wholly to the labour of Indians. Mr. G. A. Natesan, in his concluding remarks, recalled with pride the moral support of many Christians like Bishop Whitehead and Lord Hardinge in the agitation for the removal of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. It was because Bishop Whitehead felt that the treatment of Indians in South Africa was un-Christian that he felt it his duty to enter a protest. Dr. Brookes had referred to the young South Africans who were imbued with a new spirit, who stood for the revival of the true Christian spirit and were in favour of the removal of prejudices and disabilities of Indians there. The speaker wished only to say that while the South African whites should try to do everything to better their own lot, the Indians who were domiciled there, who had been born there and to whom India

was a mere geographical expression, had a moral claim for equal treatment which could not be resisted.

Indian Situation In Kenya

Discussing the Indian situation in Kenya, the *Servant of India* writes as follows in its issue of Feb. 11:—

"In the course of a press statement, Mr. J. B. Pandya, member of the Kenya Legislative Council, gives the Indian public some idea of the direction in which there might be a possible worsening of the Indian situation. The Kenya whites have only suspended their agitation for their wider demand for effective control over the affairs of the Colony and are waiting for a favourable opportunity to press it. Meanwhile Mr. Pandya fears there is great danger of our countrymen suffering a set-back in another direction. The reorganisation of the Executive Council of Kenya, whose membership of four contains an Indian is at present under the consideration of the Colonial Office. And Mr. Pandya is greatly apprehensive that the occasion might be seized by the Europeans for insisting that the Council should be denuded of even this Indian representation. The Kenya Europeans harped upon the exclusion of Indians from the Executive Council. Will they remain quiet when the reorganisation of the Council is in the air? Whether the Colonial Office or the Kenya Government will give sympathetic consideration to their anti-Indian agitation is more than can be said. But that the Europeans will avidly catch at the opportunity goes without saying, and Mr. Pandya must be thanked for giving India a timely warning of this danger." The paper adds: "In the difficult situation which confronts our countrymen in Kenya they naturally expect the support of the Indian Government and people. We need not say they will have it in full measure. They will themselves leave no stone unturned to prevent any backsliding and Mr. Pandya says that they will soon take steps to acquaint the new Governor with their case for the maintenance of the *status quo*. There is no doubt that the situation is full of dangerous possibilities and needs to be carefully watched."

Mr. T. G. Patel's Departure For India

Mr. Tribhowan G. Patel, proprietor of the well-known firm of Messrs. I. C. Ashabhai & Co., Johannesburg, left for India per *s. s. Karanja* on the 15th instant. There was a large gathering of all sections of the Indian community at the station to bid him farewell. Mr. Tribhowan G. Patel was garlanded on behalf of the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj by Mr. Mooljeebhai N. Master the vice-chairman of the Samaj. We heartily join the Johannesburg Indian community in wishing Mr. Tribhowan G. Patel *bon voyage* and a safe return.

Dutch Reformed Church On Mixed Marriages

The Capetown correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser* writes:—A deputation from the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church will wait on the Acting Minister of the Interior (Mr. Hofmeyr) to request the introduction of legislation to prevent mixed marriages in terms of a resolution adopted on Monday last. Dr. J. H. Eybers (Schweizer-Repeke) moved that: "In accordance with the policy which the federated churches have always followed in maintaining the bar between white and black, this Council urges the Minister of the Interior to introduce legislation to prevent marriages between Europeans on the one hand and natives, Asiatics or coloured people on the other. The executive committee is instructed to take action." Senator F. S. Malan said they must be careful in dealing with this question. As far as Asiatics were concerned, they might involve themselves in international difficulties with India and other countries, while with regard to coloured people it was very difficult to determine when a man was coloured. The whole question had taken on a party political character and it would be better if the Church left it severely alone. The motion was adopted by a big majority.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1937

Is Unity Impossible?

DAME RUMOUR has, for the past few weeks, been flitting about with the news that an endeavour is being made to bring together the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association. We have always taken Dame Rumour with a "pinch of salt," as it were, but she has been so persistent, that we are inclined to believe that there is something in the news. We are happy to learn of the news, for, nothing will give us more pleasure than to see in South Africa, a united Indian community. Since the serious split that had occurred in the community on the Colonisation issue, we have, more often than not, despaired of the ultimate position of our people in South Africa. We have often thought whether the split would have occurred if there were present, at the time, a Gandhi in South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi, in leaving these shores, left a heritage, which called from us a high sense of duty to our fellow-men. There is no doubt that the very few, on whose shoulders the mantle had fallen, have, by following the principles so often laid by Mahatma Gandhi, given of their best towards the welfare of our people. But, if the influence of the Mahatma had pervaded our leaders in their public work, how came the split? The Congress, since its resuscitation and right up to the time of the split, composed of a band of workers who were imbued with one ideal alone and that was to earn for the resident Indian population of South Africa a status greater than that that was earned by Mahatma Gandhi under the 1914 settlement. Service before self was one of the cardinal points in the public life of Mahatma Gandhi, and those that followed

him did, to a little extent, base their public career on that principle. Those that were at the helm of affairs in the Congress before the split certainly lived up to that standard, and amongst the band of workers, there existed a *esprit de corps* which, but for the split, would have contributed much to the moulding of the South African Indian community into a homogeneous nation.

The Colonisation issue smashed all hopes of a South African Indian Nation, and in its place we have now several communities each working for its own interest. The spirit of Gandhi was, for the first time, found absent. And this, no doubt, did much to accentuate the feeling between the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress.

Is unity, in the circumstances, impossible? We think not. But that depends upon our present-day leaders. If there still exists the spirit of Gandhi in South Africa then unity could easily be achieved. At each celebration of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, we have often heard our leaders extolling his virtues and claiming to follow in his footsteps. If that had been truly spoken, then unity is not impossible.

We learn that an hitch has arisen in the peace talks. We would submit, in all earnestness, that peace should be sought at all costs. If the Colonial-born Indians feel that the name of the Congress should be changed so that they could recognise the organisation as their own, the Congress officials would be well-advised to agree. For, after all, as the Congress claims in all its memoranda to the Government, eighty-five per cent. of the Indian population comprise Colonial-born Indians.

The changing of the name of the Congress should be no bar to bringing the two political organisations together. Unlike a business concern, the name of an organisation carries no goodwill with it. Our history in this country is full of instances where changes of name have wrought wonders for the community. We have the case of the Natal Indian Association which was named by Mahatma Gandhi himself. The Transvaal British Indian Association and the Cape Indian Council were changed into Transvaal Indian Congress and Cape Indian Congress respectively. The changes do not, in the least, affect the work of the community.

There is no diminishing in the laws that are being passed against us, and those anti-Asiatic laws alone demand that the Indian community should speak with one voice. The debate on the Marketing Bill has elicited the strength of our support in the Union Parliament. It is with a feeble voice that our community lodged a protest against the colour bar in the Bill. A united Indian community would have made a stronger protest.

The serious position in which we find ourselves demands unity. Let no person hinder that demand. The youth of the country is rising, and to them let us leave a heritage well worthy of India.

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Fountain of Wisdom

It is necessary not only to hold a belief but to consider how it can be applied. It is necessary not only to have an ideal but to consider what are the best measures for achieving it.—SIR SAMUEL HOARE.

—0—

Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

—0—

What a man really has, is what is in him. What is outside him should be a matter of no importance.—OBOAR WILDE.

—0—

Co-operation, not persuasion, is the aim and end of prayer.—F. S. M. BENNETT.

“THE USUAL PROCEDURE”

The *Star* (Johannesburg) editorially writes as follows under the above caption in its issue of March 5:—

IN regard to colour and colour bars South Africa is the most reactionary country in the world. A fresh proof of this was provided by a debate in the Assembly during the Committee stage of the Marketing Bill. On Clause 21, dealing with the publication of schemes, Mr. Alexander strongly protested against the exclusion of non-Europeans from voting provisions of the clause. His attitude was supported by Mr. Blackwell, who asked “what possible justice there could be in prohibiting non-Europeans from voting in a matter of purely business interest,” and by Colonel Stalard, who thought it “most unfair to seek to exclude Indians from having a share in a scheme of this nature.”

The Minister's reply, or rather two replies—for he made two speeches in the course of the discussion—amounted to an admission that, having regard to public opinion in this country, a colour bar is inseparable from the Marketing Bill as it was from tobacco, wheat and meat control measures. Here are some extracts from his speeches as reported:

“The natives are already deprived of the vote and, therefore, we are following the usual procedure... The provision in the Bill is merely an acknowledgment of the fact that discrimination is inherent in this country... Let me say that I do not justify anything that the white man has done towards the Indian and the native, but when the Indian deputation came to me, I said to them, ‘Gentlemen, you must realise that you Indians in South Africa will ever be a tragic community because of the temper and temperament of the people of South Africa. We have that temper and

temperament because we are determined to keep this a white man's country.’... We as a white community, trying to keep our country and our race pure, have deliberately adopted a policy which I admit in some of its results is tragic, but we have adopted it as a policy in this country.”

In considering these statements we confess we find it difficult to know what to say. Is Colonel Reitz, as a realist, merely emphasising an admitted fact in his reference to the “temper and temperament” of a large section of the European population of South Africa, with the implication that no Government can afford to disregard the fact? Or is he justifying the “usual procedure” in spite of its “tragic results,” as necessary and desirable? We should hesitate to answer the latter question in the affirmative, because Colonel Reitz has on many occasions shown himself to be a man of imaginative insight, of wide sympathies, and of liberal views. But when he says that “we are determined to keep this as a white man's country,” and “we are trying to keep our country and our race pure,” we are left with the impression that he approves of the policy “deliberately adopted” by the Union in nearly every sphere, political and economic. Whether this be the case or not, we would point out that the natives have not been excluded from all participation in public affairs unless the plan for giving the natives of the whole Union a measure of representation in Parliament is to be considered a sham. We would also ask in what respect Mr. Alexander's amendment to Clause 21 would endanger the purity of the white race? We could understand the argument that complete segregation of European and non-European races was necessary to safeguard the future purity

of both races, but we cannot follow the reasoning which assumes that such a safeguard would be provided by the exclusion of non-Europeans from a full participation in a scheme supposed to be in the economic interests of all producers. Colonel Reitz was on surer ground when he said that without the proposed colour bar the Marketing Bill would be as “dead as a dodo.” It is a pity that he did not leave it at that.

Mr. Eaton's contribution to the debate was worthy of the least creditable of the traditions of Natal. So far from uttering a word on behalf of Indian producers, who have played so large a part in providing Natal with cheap fruit and vegetables, he declared that the “Indians were gradually eating the Europeans out of house and home.” This, too, from the representative of a constituency and a Province which owes much of its wealth—proportionately to the European population its wealth is greater than that of any other Province in the Union—to the cheap labour of Indians on sugar plantations, farms, in municipalities and in almost every phase of industry. As regards Mr. Eaton's further statement that “it is a well-known fact that the Indian standard of living is much lower than that of Europeans,” who is responsible for this state of affairs? No human being prefers extreme poverty and often semi-starvation in buildings like dog kennels. The Indian's low standard of living, like that of many urbanised natives, is not a matter of choice but of necessity, and the necessity is forced upon him by the type of employer who exploits the labour market and whose “temper and temperament” prompt him to get the most he can for the least he can give, including the lowest wage.

ASIATIC QUESTION IN TRANSVAAL

A MEETING held at Bethal (Transvaal) on Monday, March 8, to discuss the marriage of Asiatics and Europeans and the employment of Europeans by Asiatics, passed a resolution moved by Mr. Nimrod Smit, that Mr. J. P. Jooste M.P., for Bethal, should support any measure that aimed at maintaining the purity of the white race by preventing association between Europeans and non-Europeans. It was also moved and adopted that the right to own property be withdrawn from any person married to an Asiatic.

Mr. Jooste explained the provisions of General J. J. Pienaar's and Mr. J. H. Grobler's Bills. He mentioned, incidentally, that six or seven years ago a committee, of which he was a mem-

ber, had endeavoured to achieve what was being aimed at now, but that Dr. Malan, who was Minister of the Interior at the time, had said that the matter was too contentious and that it was better to leave it alone.

Mr. Jooste also said that as Mr. Grobler's Bill was now before a select committee, it was not possible to tell in what form it would finally be proposed and that, therefore, the meeting could not very well discuss it.

Mr. Nimrod Smit said that he considered the maintenance of the white race, which was the concern of all, lay entirely with individual European men and women.

“There should be no need to impose restrictions on the non-European races

in this matter,” he said. “It is possible that they, also, want to keep their race pure. We have our churches, our schools, our cultural societies, our home environment. We should look to our racial purity rather than to legislation.”

It would be extremely difficult to apply legislation effectively, Mr. Smit continued, and it was now probable that no legislation on those lines would be passed.

Mr. Smit urged the meeting to consider those who were to-day entirely dependent upon their earnings from Asiatics for their livelihood. He felt very strongly that Asiatics should be permitted to establish businesses in specifically restricted areas. Under the

General Dealers' Ordinance of the Transvaal, any licensing body which refused an applicant a licence ran the risk of having its decision reversed in the law courts after expensive litigation. This was because the provisions of the Ordinance were not clear or specific.

Mr. P. L. du Toit urged that the appropriate bodies be given power to refuse licences to Asiatics. If the Legislature would not grant the power, he added, the people would demand it and secure such power for itself. He then communicated to the meeting information he had received regarding the associations of European women with Asiatics.

Mr. H. P. Hancke urged the meeting to support the provisions of Mr. Grobler's original Bill and declared that if the Asiatic danger were not faced now, it would later become difficult, if not impossible, to overcome it.

Mr. Jooste said that until the agreement between the Union Government and India was amended or cancelled, no licensing body could withhold licences from Asiatics. (A voice: Cancel it!) He agreed with Mr. Smit that provision should be made for those who would be thrown out of employment by any new legislation.

Mr. C. H. Heyneke criticised those who hired grounds for trading purposes to Asiatics and Mr. H. S. Steyn said that Asiatic shops should not be patronised, but considered that legislation would not help.

Mrs. M. van der Westhuizen, a young European woman, who stated she was employed by an Asiatic storekeeper asked: "Will those charitable people who wish to force us out of our employment give us work at the same salaries and accord us the same treatment as we are receiving from Asiatics. What about the attorneys, the garages,

the banks and all the others who are employed by Asiatics, and what about the European shop assistants who attend Asiatics in European shops? Do not these people also serve Asiatics?"

In addition to the resolutions mentioned, it was resolved on the proposal of Mr. P. J. Wolhuter that Mr. Jooste be authorised to appear before the select committee on Mr. Grobler's Bill and urge that there be an amendment to this Bill making it illegal to let ground to Asiatics.

On the proposal of Mr. Jooste it was unanimously agreed that any person thrown out of employment in consequence of any legislation on Asiatics should be assisted by the Government.

A committee, composed of Messrs. H. P. Hancke, Nimrod Smit, C. H. Heyneke, P. G. Wolhuter and W. Clarke was chosen to decide upon the best means of opposing the Asiatic menace in the Transvaal.

AN UNWANTED ENQUIRY IN ZANZIBAR

MR. B. N. ANANTANI, Editor of the *Zanzibar Voice* and Secretary of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar, and its representative in London, who recently arrived in Bombay, in the course of a statement to the Associated Press said:—"The Colonial Office has appointed Sir Ernest Dowson, formerly Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, as commissioner to visit Zanzibar and investigate the question of agricultural indebtedness, with particular reference to the new enactment of controversial land legislation in Zanzibar. The Indian community in Zanzibar has received the news with painful surprise as it was believed that after the careful and impartial enquiry into the subject by the representative commission, appointed by the Zanzibar Government and presided over by the Chief Justice of the Zanzibar High Court, and the unanimous report of the Commission suggesting immediate amendment of the law to meet the Indian grievances, at least partially and after Mr. Binder's unqualified recommendation to eliminate the racial aspect from the decrees, the matter was regarded as closed. It was on the specific assurance given by the British Resident in Zanzibar to introduce amending legislation that the Indian community in Zanzibar agreed to allow the extension of the moratorium indefinitely much to their detriment.

The new move will throw the Indian community into a state of suspense and is bound to aggravate its helplessness. What I cannot understand is the necessity for such an enquiry, as there is absolutely no new development in the situation which requires to be investigated. It is, therefore, my earnest appeal to the Government of India to take immediate steps to see that no such enquiry is held, but, if it is found that an enquiry of the kind cannot be resisted, then the Government of India should insist that Sir Ernest Dowson begins it only after the present British Resident in Zanzibar vacates his office. Another important thing is that the Government of India should immediately send out its own representative to Zanzibar to help the Indian community and insist that on this occasion this representative should have the status of an associate and not merely an observer in an enquiry.

This is an hour of trial for the Indian community in Zanzibar and it is my fervent hope that our countrymen in India and the Government of India will stand solidly behind us in our fight. We in East Africa have a painful experience of such enquiries, for instance when, through the efforts of the Kenya Indian Delegation led by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri we obtained the Wood-Winterton Agreement, it was nullified by a subsequent enquiry and the Hilton-Young Commission report

partly conceding the Indian demands in East Africa with regard to franchise and other minor matters was shelved by a similar enquiry under the Presidency of Sir Samuel Wilson. We are, therefore, afraid of such enquiries. Therefore, India and the Government in India should see that in the interests of her nationals abroad and in her own national honour as such, an unwanted enquiry is not foisted on the Indian community in Zanzibar."

German Plea For Colonies

AN impassioned plea for Colonies was made in Berlin by Herr Von Ribbentrop on his return from London. In a speech at the Leipzig Fair, Herr Von Ribbentrop referred to the intolerable position of milk and honey flowing in some countries while others were fighting for a mere minimum existence. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty constituted a guarantee that Germany did not want to use Colonies for strategic purposes. Modern Germany, he said, would be able to develop colonies more thoroughly than was possible with the former economic system. Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal, he pointed out, had Colonial Empires larger than the mother countries, whereas Germany was squeezed into a narrow space and needed colonies more than any one. Germany hoped that commonsense and reason would prevail and would speedily result in a just solution.

MR. M. N. ROY ON "INDIAN RENAISSANCE"

BACKGROUND BEHIND POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Mr. M. N. Roy's first considered thoughts on the deeper aspects of the upheaval in India were expressed in the course of an enlightened lecture on "The Indian Renaissance" at Poona the other day. The lecture, which we reproduce from the *Searchlight* (Patna), brings out Mr. Roy's approach to the Indian problem:

"WE are here to-day not to have the usual political meeting, for the speech to be delivered at this meeting is not on a subject of the usual agitational and propagandistic character. We meet here to-day with the object of discussing certain fundamental problems which stand before the intellectual classes of India to-day. It is needless for me to point out that the discussion of such an intricate problem cannot take place in an atmosphere of political agitation and in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Therefore you will excuse me if I cannot do full justice to-day to the subject which I propose to deal with at this meeting. As there are many more people in Poona who are interested in participating in the discussion of this problem, and as our local friends have promised me that they will make proper arrangements when I turn up again in Poona under a most suitable atmosphere, so that we will be able to discuss this problem thoroughly, I propose to deal with this subject in a rather general way leaving a thorough discussion of the problem to a future occasion. I hope that this slight change in the scheme of my speech will not be disappointing, because you will realise why I have been compelled to do so.

Process Of Re-birth

"The subject of my speech to-day is "Indian Renaissance," i.e., the re-birth of the Indian nation. In the history of every people there are moments in which old traditions are subjected to criticism, when established institutions can no longer serve the purpose of social welfare. And when the necessity for reconstructing the social order is felt, when in short, it becomes necessary to revalue all the traditional values, there comes a moment when we can call that "a particular nation is going through the process of re-birth."

How Europe Out-Distanced India

"The cultural contributions of any particular people are determined by the conditions preceding and obtaining in the period in which a certain type of cultural values are evolved. Our nation is a very old nation. We have a very long history from thousands of years ago. Our country has been evolving different forms of thought. India has produced different kinds of culture.

These have not only changed the history of India but to a great extent influenced the cultural development of other people also. Now, the question is whether we can still remain satisfied with those ancient thoughts and with those traditional values. The question is whether those thoughts of intellectual equipment would serve the purpose of making further progress and for taking our place in the comity of nations and for making further contribution to the development of human culture. For the last two or three decades, for the last 20 or 25 years, intellectual India has been agitated by political problems. The question of national independence has been the main question before the thinking section of the Indian population. Of late even the large masses of people of India have been drawn into the orbit of this gigantic political agitation. But this political movement takes place as the consequence of a more profound movement. Political freedom of our country is not an end in itself. The people of India require to be politically independent so that they can go ahead on the road of human progress, a process which has been obstructed by the intervention of foreign factors. You know that in the 18th century the European nations went through a process of philosophical revolution, intellectual re-adjustment, and revaluation of human values which is known in history as the great renaissance movement. We, in India, had reached a high stage of intellectual development at an earlier period, several hundred of years ago than the 18th century. Nevertheless when the European nations, appearing on the scene of cultural progress, attained a stage in which they felt the necessity for the creation of a new type of culture we were not able to participate in that great revolutionary movement. The result was that while in ancient times Indian culture and Indian thought radiated out of the country and influenced the developments in Europe, while Europe stood at the vanguard of human advancement, while new forms of thought, new cultural values were created in Europe, we, in India, were not benefitted by the contribution of that thought and cultural advancement.

The Reason Why

"Now, it is necessary for us to ask the question "what is the cause of that unfortunate happening in the history of our nation which hindered us thus?" The answer to that question is to be sought in the previous history of our country. Our country has been governed by a European nation only for the last nearly 200 years, but even before

that our country was not a free country. Even before that our country was a conquered nation and was ruled by an alien people and that intervention of a foreign element disturbed and obstructed the normal process of social evolution and as a result of that there did not appear on the surface of Indian social life forces which could realise that our old forms of thought and old cultural values and old social institutions had become antiquated and, therefore, to forge our way ahead it was necessary to recast our mode of thought, to reconstruct our social organisations and to re-create definite and new cultural values.

Stagnation Accentuated

"The great renaissance movement in Europe took place after India had been in this regrettable state of social stagnation for several hundred years. India had not herself been able to develop a similar movement. Later on, when such a movement did take place in other parts of the world, India unfortunately was not capable of welcoming these new thoughts from outside, and we were not able to develop the new forces and reconstruct our social organisation and thereby acquire new strength and develop as a modern nation. When later on, another foreign power came and sought to establish its domination on our country, Indian people were not in a position to put up a sufficiently strong resistance and we went down again into political slavery. The intervention of a second factor accentuated the social stagnation which had been already our misfortune in the previous era. During the 150 years of British rule Indian people were brought into contact with the superficial aspect of what is called the western civilisation. We have heard all about the proud record of the British rule in India and that it has introduced civilisation in India, that it has introduced motor cars, telegraphs and telephones and railways and what not. But the people who come and narrate to us all these records forget one thing, i.e., is there any reason to believe that had India been left alone to develop in a normal way, she could not have achieved all these great successes of modern civilisation? There was a time when England herself did not have any railways and England did not need any other more civilised foreign people to build civilisation in that country. Why should it at all be necessary for the English to come to India? We could have built our own railways without the English, as others have done. But we were not allowed to do that. However, for their own purpose our foreign rulers introduced in our country certain superficial aspects of modern civilisa-

tion. As a nation we are kept isolated from the currents of modern thought. Thus the outcome of what is called modern civilisation was that we were not benefitted by the great cultural contribution of the modern nations of Europe.

Ideologised Version Of Imperialistic Philosophy

"Having been kept, in the first place, by historical reasons and, in the second place, by the forceful intervention of a foreign factor, away from the great currents of modern human developments, we in India sought consolation and a wistful look-back to our past. Having been faced with the miserable and uninspiring present, we sought inspiration in the past. While we deny the possibility of development along the new line of a differing modern culture, we fall back on the comforting theories that in the past, India had reached such a high level of civilisation, that we had attained a high level of intellectual pre-eminence and that, therefore, now we can rest on our oars and be content with our past glory. From this mentality, developed a habit of putting the so-called modern western culture as at antithesis to what is called the Eastern culture. We have heard repeatedly from all quarters the well-known and rather superficial dictum that India has a special culture of her own and that our culture is spiritualistic and that of the West materialistic. In passing, I can point out this fact that this sickly attitude on our part is nothing but a proof that we have abjectly fallen victims to the imperialistic propaganda carried on by Kipling, whose famous dictum is that 'East is East and West is West and the twain shall never meet.' This idea of a spiritualistic West is nothing but an ideologised version of the Imperialistic philosophy of Kipling. Why is it so?

Mistake Of Cultural Patriotism

"Why should we look on the East as spiritualistic and the West as materialistic? It may be that by historical incidents and by other reasons we are kept away from the current of modern human development, and that we have not been able to acquire the intellectual equipment that enable a people to forge ahead and take their place in the vanguard of human development. This was owing to the backwardness of the people due to political subjection, our intellectual stagnation and our economic exploitation. If we want to get out of this unfortunate position, we must catch up with the progressive institutions by which we have been left behind. This can be done in two ways, either by beginning from the very beginning and going through the whole process of evolution, to have our own experience of such a renaissance movement that took place in Europe three hundred years ago, or we can be more

sensible and learn from the experience of other nations and skip the centuries. There is no shame in learning from others. When others learnt from India, why should India not learn from them when something is to be learnt? The cultural patriotism, which maintains that we have nothing to learn from anybody else, is all wrong. It does not lead us anywhere; it only hinders our development.

Essence Of Renaissance In Europe

"Now, what was the essence of the renaissance movement which liquidated the medieval thought in Europe and created the conditions under which the modern scientific thought evolved and developed as the stimulus for new social movements and the stimulus for the creation of a new political vision which granted greater liberty to larger and larger masses of people? The essence of the renaissance movement was a critical outlook on history. The essence of the renaissance movement was to subject all our traditional ideas, all our past forms of thought, all the established human institutions, to strict criticism with the object of finding out if anything good in them will serve our purpose or

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of human development and find out if all of them—the whole equipment—was no longer useful, how much should be thrown aside as useless and thrown-out as ballast and how much could be accepted, and would help us to go further ahead.

The Past Must Go

"Now, if we in India, are to advance as a modern people, if we are to clear away the accumulation of misery, backwardness, ignorance, superstition and prejudice, that vitiate the social atmosphere of India to-day, we must have to do the same thing as they did in Europe. We cannot leave on the memory of the past. We must escape from it. The past is dead and we must bury it. We must let the past bury its dead. If we stand with our face turned backward and try to go forward, it is but natural that we will not be able to move, let alone go forward. But before we turn our back on the past, we must see what is there in the past that can help us in our progress to the future. This can be done not by preserving the past, not by the method of idealised Indian history but through a critical approach to Indian history and this critical approach to Indian history means the

creation of an intellectual movement. It is a great historical necessity because, unless this movement is sufficiently developed, the weakness from which our movement for national freedom suffers, will never be moved. To day I do not propose to enter into a criticism, a critical analysis of the ideology of the nationalist movement. I shall only confine myself to the following remark.

Ideology Of Nationalist Movement

"For fifteen or twenty years our struggle for freedom has been assuming larger and larger mass dimensions. The movement appears to be very powerful. Larger and larger masses of people are getting inspired with the ideal of Swaraj. They have shown their readiness to fight for that ideal. But still we must be realistic and we must have courage to admit that after all, after these 15 years of struggle, the ideal does not seem any the nearer now than it was before. Why is it so? To say that we are surpressed and that our enemies are very strong will be a very cheap answer. That answer cannot be satisfactory. If we want to find an answer to this question and find a solution, we will have to probe deep into our history and our traditions. We can never go ahead because of this weakness inherent in us. This is a difficulty that can be found also in the ideology of our national movement. Our national movement is a forward-looking movement. We want to acquire political freedom. We want to throw off the shackles of political subjection in order that we may be in a position to rebuild Indian society in such a way that India will be a free and prosperous country and the home of a happy people. We want political freedom so that we may not stagnate under the established conditions of a foreign power. We want political freedom because we want to march ahead into the future. But we need only have a glance at the ideology of this national movement to see that this ideology runs counter to the whole spirit of our national movement of Renaissance. The ideology is a glorification of our past. We want to revive old traditions and old ideas. We want to re-establish old ideals. We want to do this not only for our own country, but we want to carry it to others as the message of India. A people who cannot save themselves, how can they save others? We do not seem to realise that. Let us first learn to save ourselves as then alone we can attempt to save others.

(To be continued)

South African News In Brief

Mr. R. Talwantsingh Returns

MR. R. TALWANTSINGH, a prominent member of the Indian community of Verulam, who recently paid a visit to India, together with other friends, including Mr. S. R. Maharaj had the privilege of going to Wardha where they met Mahatma Gandhi, who was very pleased to see them. Among the many places of interest they visited were Calcutta, Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, Threebanee, Sulthanpur, Fyzabad, Ajodhia, Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Bombay. Mr. Talwantsingh is expected to arrive in Durban on Wednesday, March 24, by the *s. s. Takiwa*.

M. E. Lakhi Ward Equipment Fund

The following letter has been addressed by the officials of the Organising Committee of the M. E. Lakhi Ward Equipment Fund, to the Acting Provincial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg:—

"Sir,—In September, 1936, the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Charter, was interviewed in regard to the staging of an Indian dramatical play in aid of providing funds for equipping the M. E. Lakhi Ward with essential hospital necessities such as beds, furnitures, utensils etc. Dr. Scaife, the Medical Superintendent of the Grey's Hospital, was also interviewed, and was advised of the proposal to raise funds for this purpose. The City Indian Musical Club, assisted by an organising committee of prominent Indians, staged an Indian play in the City Hall, and as a result the sum of £74 18s. was received from the proceeds of the play, and a sum of £54 14s. 2d, less expenses, was received by way of donations from Indians to the cause. We send you a cheque for £129 2s. 2d on behalf of the president and officials of the City Indian Musical Club, and the Organising Committee of the M. E. Lakhi Ward Equipment Fund, to be used for the purposes mentioned in this letter, and for any other purposes which may be deemed necessary providing for the comfort and welfare of Indian patients at the Lakhi Ward. We desire to thank both Mr. Charter and Dr. Scaife for the interest they have shown in the matter and for their advice and guidance."

Indian Woman's Marriage

To Uncle Upheld

Judgment was given by the Appeal Court, Bloemfontein, on Friday last in *Papa v. Perumal* and the Protector of Indian Immigrants, an appeal from the Durban and Coast Local Division. The plaintiff Papa, now the appellant, had sued in the Court below for an order declaring the registration of her marriage to the first defendant, Perumal on May 29, 1925, null and void. Papa and Perumal were Indian immigrants within the meaning of Section 118 of Law 25 of 1891 (Natal), Perumal is the uncle of

Papa, being the brother of her mother. It was on the ground of this consanguinity that Papa claimed a decree of nullity of the marriage. The Appeal Court came to the conclusion that both parties were Tamils from Madras, and that sect, so far as they practised their religion in Natal, seem to have permitted the marriage of a niece with her mother's brother. The appeal was dismissed with costs.

'Leita Danger To Indians

Maritzburg Indians have laid a complaint before the Police Commission about the danger to their lives and property from 'leita ganga. According to the memorandum submitted by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, the closing of Retief Street police station has made way for a lot of crime in the lower part of the City. It is, says the memorandum, unsafe for anyone to walk the streets of Maritzburg below Retief Street at night, and the Indians submit that the station should be reopened.

Social Service Of South Africa

At a meeting of the Social Service of South Africa (Maritzburg Branch) held recently, it was resolved that 2 members of the Indian community be appointed on the Committee, one to be drawn from the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Maritzburg Branch.) Mr. K. Soobramoney, the joint hon. secretary of the Association was appointed to represent it as a consultative member on the committee.

Improvements At Mountain Rise Indian Cemetery

A letter was forwarded by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Maritzburg Branch), to the Town Clerk, Maritzburg, recently, drawing his attention to the deplorable state of the Indian section of the above cemetery, in that it is being neglected, and grass and shrubs have grown to a considerable height covering all the graves, which cause great inconvenience to the mourners to discover the correct graves of their late relatives, and urging the City Council to consider the necessity of cleaning up this portion immediately. In reply thereto, the Association received a letter from the Town Clerk dated March 2, stating that the City Treasurer informed him that arrangements have been made for a gang to be sent out to the cemetery for the purpose of cleaning up the Indian portion of the cemetery.

Request For Paintsmen

A lengthy letter was also forwarded by the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Maritzburg Branch), to the Town Clerk, Maritzburg, bringing to his notice the heavy traffic plying in Retief Street, and in the lower part of

Church Street, and that 4 schools are in the vicinity, and requesting the City Council to immediately consider the advisability of stationing pointsmen at the corner of Church and Retief Streets, and at Berg and Retief Streets, for the purposes of controlling the congested traffic. In reply thereto, the Town Clerk in a letter to the Association, dated March 12, informs them that the City Council has decided that a speed limit of 10 miles per hour be prescribed for Retief Street, between Berg Street and Church Street, and that suitable notice boards will be erected at an early date.

Muslim Orphanage Society

The annual general meeting of the Muslim Darul Yatama Wal Masakin (Muslim Orphanage) was held at the Star Restaurant, Grey Street, on Sunday, March 14. The president, Moulana Hajee Mukhtar Siddiqui presided. There was a good attendance of members and well-wishers. The secretary's report, which dealt fully with the working of the Society for the year was read and adopted. After speeches by the president and members of the committee, the following officials were elected for the ensuing year, viz:—President: Moulana Hajee Ahmed Siddiqui; vice-president: Mr. A. I. Kaje; joint hon. secretaries: Messrs. A. K. E. Bux and Mahomed Mecci; hon. treasurer: Mr. Sayed Fakroodeen; assistant hon. treasurer: Mr. S. M. Mayet; committee members: Messrs. V. S. Mahmood, Maulana Bashir, Ismail Osman, A. W. Sharnager, I. S. Vahed, A. Ajmally, Shaik Ahmed and Ismail Gora. The meeting then terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair.

Stanger Hindu Youth Club

Under the auspices of the above Club an interesting lecture on "Play-acting and its Significance" was delivered by Mr. T. Vadivalu, one of the Vice-Presidents, to the members on Sunday February 28, at the Sabha Hall. The lecture was a very interesting one. Mr. U. V. Naidu presided. Mr. S. A. Pather, the hon. secretary, has been elected the club's Orchestra leader.

Nizamia Muslim Society

The committee meeting of the above Society was held at the secretary's office, 456, Greyling Street, Maritzburg, on Monday last, when the minutes of the last council meeting were read and confirmed. Eighteen correspondences were read and noted; eleven new members were enrolled; nine accounts passed for payment; monthly relief was given to one Muslim with nine children. The secretary, at the conclusion of the meeting thanked all the councillors for the services rendered, and stated that the committee had done useful work during the past years. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the chair,

India Letter

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Sardar Patel On Voters' Duty

"STARVATION is prevailing in the country and a remedy is impossible unless our dear motherland is freed from her fetters. Remember your nation, remember the cause of freedom and remember your Congress when you go to the polls." Thus declared Sardar Vallabhai Patel, President, All-India Congress Parliamentary Board, addressing a riammoth meeting of peasants of Mandvi Taluka in Surat district. Continuing, Sardar Patel said that he did not want to tour Gujerat as he was convinced of Gujerat's verdict at the polls. But, he said, as the interested parties were trying to misrepresent Congress wherever there was an opportunity, he felt it his duty to explain things away. Election, he continued, was not an occasion for personal gain but for national service. Congress was the only body fighting for complete freedom and there would be no end of the starvation that now stalked the land unless freedom was obtained. "Look at the face of a European," proceeded the Sardar, "and compare it with that of the average Indian. A slap on the former's face will draw out healthy blood, while on that of the latter, will only hurt your fingers as they will strike mere skin and bone. If a man, earning a salary of a hundred rupees a month, has to spend sixty rupees on his personal safety, what will he have for his own food and to feed and clothe his family with? But such to-day is the case with our country, where the bulk of the Central Government's income is spent directly or indirectly on defence. The Congress has resolved to try to put a check on such policy and it demands your vote for that cause. The Congress has decided to put its sentinels in the legislatures so that self-seekers and reactionaries would not get into it and damage the national cause as they did in the past. When the country was in the throes of a political struggle and thousands of our brethren were behind the prison bars, these self-seekers had an easy entry into the legislatures. And what have they done? And now they are again approaching you with a request for your vote. We should bar the doors of the legislatures to such people. They say that they are going to the legislatures for your service. But you ask them the question, where were they when you were in the midst of trouble? Where were these service slogans, which are now on their lips to-day, when the motherland was facing the formidable tide of political struggle?" Addressing another vast assembly of men and women at Sarbhon, Sardar Patel said that he was sure of the suc-

cess of the Congress at Gujerat. Gujerat had the unique honour of holding the next session, but they must prove their worth at the polls first. They should show that Gujerat and the Congress could not be separated from each other.

Hindu-Muslim Unity Hopes

Largely attended meetings of the Muslims of Moradabad were held recently and were addressed by Maulanas Hussain Ahmad, Ahmad Sayeed, Shaukat Ali, M.L.A., Bashir Ahmad and Hifzur-Rahman. Interviewed by the correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, Maulana Shaukat Ali said: "The progressive elements in the country are going to sweep the polls, and I pity the reactionaries. The results in Bihar, Orissa and Bengal are affecting the whole country and I am sure that U. P. will give a very fine account of itself. As for Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and the North-Western Frontier Province, I expect no difficulties. Poor Punjab has been torn by the plethora of organisations and parties. The progressives are fighting amongst themselves, while the reactionaries had their task made easy. Still I have no doubt that office-hunters will fall out amongst themselves for loaves and fishes, and the opposition will gradually go strong. During my four months' wanderings in cities and villages, I have noticed a very cheering sign that the Hindus and Muslims desire to come together on honourable terms, and I would not be surprised if, immediately, there may be energetic, and I think, successful efforts for a common understanding as both are beginning to realise that, divided we fall and united we go forward. I am a confirmed optimist and believe in the greatness of God, who cannot allow 350 millions of his people to remain divided and down-trodden."

Mr. Nariman's Appeal To Parsi Voters

Mr. K. F. Nariman has issued the following appeal through the *United Press* to all Parsi voters to support Mr. R. G. Soman, the only Congress candidate from the Poona-cum-Satara Constituency, for the Bombay Legislative Council: "I have always appealed to my co-religionists all over India to follow the policy laid down by their great leaders, Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, not to isolate themselves as a separate community but to join whole-heartedly and give their due share in the great National struggle and awakening. Every Parsi feels proud to-day that the historic word

'Swaraj' was first used by the greatest of their National heroes, the Dada of Hind, Dadabhai Naoroji and the National Flag that has to-day become an object of universal worship and devotion was unfurled by him as the President of the historic Congress at Calcutta. The coming election is a God-sent opportunity to give a practical effect to this broadminded policy laid down by their renowned ancestors. I would earnestly appeal to my Zoroastrian brethren and sisters all over India to seize this opportunity to demonstrate our goodwill and feeling of fellowship and comradeship to our sister communities by extending our generous support to Congress candidates who are selected on merits and who are contesting seats on a definite programme and policy. I appeal to all Parsis to display a broadminded and Nationalist spirit and not be guided by narrow, communal or selfish consideration. Mr. R. G. Soman is the only Congress candidate for the Bombay Legislative Council (Upper House) from the Poona-cum-Satara Constituency. From my personal association with Mr. Soman, I can assure you that he is a staunch follower of the Congress. Moreover, Mr. Soman's deep legal knowledge, long experience of Parliamentary work, and above all, his unchallenged personal character are an asset for any political party within the Councils. His thirty years' record of public service is indeed a "sermon on sacrifice." I earnestly appeal to every Parsi voter within this Constituency to vote solidly for the Congress and see that the Congress nominee secures the first place of honour."

Mrs. Naidu's Tour In Andhra

That the Zamindars of Andhra were putting forth all efforts to crush the Congress at the coming elections and that the Congress workers there were doing remarkable work in spite of the innumerable handicaps and lack of money at their disposal, was the view expressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, member of the Congress Working Committee, in the course of an interview with a representative of the *Chronicle* on her return to Bombay after an election tour in Andhra. Mrs. Naidu said that she was very much impressed with the enthusiasm shown by the people of Andhra, who had assembled in their thousands to hear the message of the Congress. Their loyalty towards the Congress was very great indeed in spite of the objectionable methods of the Zamindars. In spite of several handicaps, in spite of attempts at intimidation by those who opposed the Congress, she was confident that the Congress would come out triumphant in Andhra.

Things In General

Indian Traders In Rhodesia

The secretary of the Rhodesian British Indian Association has addressed the following letter to the secretary to the Department of Internal Affairs, Salisbury:—

SIR,—I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly convey the following to the Hon. the Minister of Internal Affairs: "At a largely attended meeting of my Association held on Feb. 28, the following resolution was passed unanimously: "We, the British Indians of this Colony strongly protest against the attitude shown by the Annual Congress of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held recently at Gwelo, by passing resolutions asking the Government, firstly, to transfer the powers of granting licences to local authorities and, secondly, to place control over the licences granted to Asiatic traders with a view to stopping them from trading in European zones, on the following grounds:

(1) It will be seen from the statistics given below that the Indian population is not increasing at a greater rate than that of the Europeans:

Year.	Indian pop.	Increase per cent.	European pop.	Increase per cent.
1921	857	—	33620	—
1926	929	8.5	39174	16.5
1931	969	4.3	49910	28.2

(2) Since the last ten years there have been only five Indian trading firms carrying on business in European zones in Rhodesia and five of these put together will, under no circumstances, be able to compete with any one of the large European stores in either Bulawayo or Salisbury.

(3) It will be sheer injustice if the licensing powers are transferred to the local committees which, being chiefly comprised of local European traders, will naturally endeavour to Europeanise the whole trade to the detriment of the Asiatics.

(4) We are in favour of creating zones for Native and European trades and, definitely, not for zones for Asiatic or European traders.

We therefore urge the Government not to give any effect to such resolutions which advocate the principle of communal segregation which we strongly resent, and we trust that the matter will receive your favourable and sympathetic attention."

Farewell To Young Moola

At Nigel

On Sunday night, March 7, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Mayor, a splendid farewell function was given by Mr. Ebrahim Timol at Goldfield Hotel, Nigel, in honour of Mr. Ebrahim Moola, the eldest son of Mr. L. E. Moola (prop. S. S. Bazaar), who is going overseas for

higher education at the University of Alighath. More than 150 distinguished Europeans as well as Indians participated in the function. Dr. Dadoo of Johannesburg, who presided over the function, spoke in congratulatory terms of young Mr. J. Moola. Messrs. Plain, Mirza, Dangot, Bharoochi and Dr. Meyer also spoke. Young Mr. Moola in reply thanked the setting for the honour done to him. After refreshments the meeting terminated. For the general management of the function, thanks are due to Mr. Ismail Hajat of S. S. Bazaar.—Contributed.

Mosque And School For Mahommedans

The Klerksdorp Town Council recently granted an application from the Klerksdorp Mahommedan Association for a piece of ground 150 by 180 feet, situated between the swimming-bath and the old power station, for the purpose of erecting a school and a mosque, writes the correspondent of the *Star* at Klerksdorp. Doubts were expressed as to the advisability of alienating ground in the park for such purposes, especially as the report of the Asiatic Land Tenure Commission had not yet been received. The Town Clerk replied that the site was not in the park. It was an old ash heap. It was also stated that an adjacent piece of ground was owned by Asiatics, who were in possession before 1919 and therefore outside the scope of the commission's inquiry.

Pretoria Indian Physical Culture Club

Lgr. Sigamoney Appaswami, hon. secretary of the above club, writes: Physical Culture in Durban is a promising and a popular pastime. There are many clubs in Durban, including "Sonny Moodley's Physical Culture Club" which has several branches. The Durban branch of the above club presented a very varied entertaining programme of excellent Physical Culture Display at the Royal Theatre, recently. The people of Durban are becoming more and more physical culture-minded. In Pretoria, physical culture is lacking. Yet, there are over 30 Leaguers who belong to the "Health & Strength" League of London, and whose motto is to encourage and help one another to gain and maintain physical fitness, and every member to pledge himself to do all in his power to help forward the cause of physical culture. In the year 1932, Lgr. S. M. Paddy, Somasundram Appaswami and myself formed a Physical Culture Club in Pretoria for the first time which was known as "The 1st. Pretoria Indian Amateur Physical Culture Club," and with the kind co-operation and untiring efforts of a few friends we managed to run the club for about a year. Owing to the lack of interest shown by the members we were unable to continue with the

classes which resulted in closing down. Since then many efforts were made to re-open the club, but to no avail. Another attempt was made in the year 1935, but proved unsuccessful. At last, with the kind assistance of Messrs. G. Moothoo, R. Varthoo, G. Gopaul and B. Swaminathan I successfully re-opened the club in January 6, 1937, and changed its former name to "Indian Health & Strength Physical Culture Club". The following office-bearers were elected:—Messrs. G. Moothoo, president; Sigamoney Appaswami, hon. secretary and instructor; G. Gopaul, hon. treasurer; B. Swaminathan, manager and assistant instructor. Membership is opened to all Indians, and the entrance fee is 2s. 6d. At present the club is creating much enthusiasm and continues to do all that is possible to advertise the good cause of physical culture. To stir up more interest the club is organising an All-Day Easter Carnival Sports on Easter Monday. In conclusion I hope and fully trust all Leaguers and those interested in physical culture will join the above club and do all in their power to help forward the good cause of physical culture. For further particulars, please apply to the secretary, 273, Asiatic Reserve, (Phone 6576), Pretoria.

Obituary

The Late Mrs. Jane Christopher

The funeral of the late Mrs. Jane Emma Christopher, aged 63, took place on Sunday March 7, at the Anglican Cemetery, West Street. The late Mrs. Christopher was the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey of Durban. Born in Mauritius she came to Natal with her parents in 1881. She married Mr. James Christopher in 1898, and took up residence in Dundee where her husband was employed and later at Newcastle, and on the transfer of her husband to the Second Civil Court, Durban, she took up permanent residence in Durban. She was of a very cheery disposition and beloved by all those with whom she came in contact. She was a member of the St. Aidan's Mother's Union and took an active part in its welfare. Her life of sacrifice and works of charity for the poorer sections of the Indian community was unostentatiously done and she was at all times ready and willing to render personal aid and attention to many poor families. The very large circle of friends who attended at the graveside was an eloquent testimony to the love and esteem in which she was held. She leaves behind, her husband, two sons and three daughters to mourn their loss, and to them our sympathy is extended.

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This omnibus Edition of Mahatma Gandhi's Speeches and Writings has been published by Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co, Madras. It is the fourth and the latest edition on Mahatma Gandhi. It is revised and considerably enlarged with the addition of a number of important articles from *Young India* and *Navajivan* (rendered into English). The collection has over 1000 pages of well-arranged matter ranging over the whole period of Mahatma Gandhi's public life. The volume begins with the South African Indian question and covers his views on indentured labour and Indians in the Colonies, his jail experiences in South Africa, his pronouncements on the Khaira and Champaran affairs, his discourses on the Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha, and his *Young India* articles on the Non-co-operation Movement including select papers on the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, the Congress, Swadeshi, National Education and Swaraj. It also includes Mahatma Gandhi's famous letters to the three Viceroy—Lord Chelmsford, Lord Reading and Lord Irwin, Select Extracts from his celebrated Autobiography, his historic Statement before the Court at the great trial, his Congress Presidential Address and other public utterances, his Speeches and Messages during his great march to the Salt pans of Dandi, the full extent of his Agreement with Lord Irwin and the Speeches implementing the Pact. Then there are his speeches at the Second Round Table Conference followed by the Willingdon-Gandhi correspondence. Another section contains his important studies on the Hindu-Muslim question as also the statements on the problem of untouchability following the historic letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the Epic Fast which resulted in changing the Premier's Award. Yet another section gives his reminiscences of great Indians like Gokhale Pheroze Shah Mehta, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, C. R. Das, etc. The selection contains chapters on a variety of subjects of miscellaneous interest ending with his famous gramophone record on God. It contains numerous illustrations and an index.

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