

Indian Opinion

No. 4—Vol. XXII.

Friday, January 25th, 1924.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
Price Fourpence

MASS MEETING OF INDIANS

will be held in Rawat's Bio Hall, Victoria Street, Durban,
on Sunday the 27th January 1924 at 3 p.m.

Business :

Class Areas Bill
(Segregation)

AMOD BAYAT.

President.

A. CHRISTOPHER.

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE.

Hony. Secretaries, Natal Indian Congress.

THE Transvaal British Indian Association General Election of Officers

The above meeting will be held in
the Madrassa Hall, Newtown, on

Sunday 27th inst.,

at 2 p.m. Sharp.

Business :

- 1 Election of Officers.
- 2 General.

E. I. ASVAT,
Chairman,

T.B.I.A.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Indian community in South Africa extends a hearty welcome to His Excellency the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice and Lady May Cambridge.

Mr. V. S. C. Pather, the Hon. General Secretary of the South African Indian Congress left for Johannesburg last Saturday where he is in consultation with the Transvaal British Indian Association, from thence probably on Monday he is leaving for Capetown where the S.A.I.C. Executive will meet before interviewing the Minister of Interior on the Class Areas Bill

Nagpur, Jan. 19.—A political deadlock has arisen in the central provinces in consequence of the refusal of the Swaraj Party (who constitute the majority) to undertake Ministerial responsibility. The decision has intensified the excitement engendered by the debate in the new Legislative Council, which lasted seven hours, and in which 17 members took part. This resulted in the passing by 44 votes to 24 of a motion submitting to the Governor that the Ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the House, and should be requested to resign. The Council thereupon adjourned *sine die*.—Reuter.

London, Jan. 19. (Reuter.)—The Rev. Mr. Andrews has departed for India and will join Mr. Malwa at Marseilles. Interviewed by Reuter, he expressed disappointment at the result of his interview with the Colonial Office in reference to the Kenya question. He feared that an attempt would be made to confront the committee from India on their arrival in England with settled facts both as regards the policy of Whitehall and immigration. Reuter learns from official circles, however, that Kenya legislation has been brought to a standstill pending the receipt of the final view of the Government of India in that connection. It is unlikely that legislation will be proceeded with until those views are known.

A Delhi Reuter's message states on Jan. 20 that consequent upon the political crisis in the central provinces increased excitement prevails in political circles here in regard to the assembling of the central legislature, which the Viceroy will formally open on Jan. 31. The newly-formed legislative assembly consists of 26 Government officials, 15 nominated non-officials, who in ordinary course of events support the Government, 40 Swarajists, forming the main opposition, 34 Liberals and 30 Independents.

A public meeting was convened at Lydenburg on Saturday, reports the Transvaal *Daily Mail*, by the South African League with a view to going into the matter of the Asiatic menace, and to decide on the best course to adopt. A strong committee was elected on that occasion, with full power to act, and was instructed to report progress at a later date. This Committee has been very active, and the first step taken was to make a house-to-house call, and ask for a voluntary written pledge from all white inhabitants of the town not to have any dealings whatsoever with the Asiatic. Their endeavours have met with unbounded success, something like 95 per cent. of the European inhabitants having pledged themselves accordingly. The Committee's next step will be to convene a mass meeting on January 18 when a large number of farmers are expected to come into town, the occasion being "Nachtmaal." It is the Committee's intention to lay the matter before the farming community especially, and to point out the dangers of supporting the Asiatic trader. In the meantime, the Committee also intends getting into touch with municipal bodies all over the Transvaal, with a view to sounder co-operation. Most of the large wholesale business houses, which have hitherto done a roaring

trade with the local Indian stores, have undertaken to support the League by refraining from having any business dealings with the Indians in future. The Asiatic monopoly of the trade is undoubtedly a serious menace to the white business men, and is threatening their entire downfall if not checked very soon.

Cairo, Jan. 18.—In view of the result of the elections, the Cabinet has resigned. King Faud I. has requested the Prime Minister to continue in office until his Majesty has returned from a visit to the Suez Canal on Jan. 25, when there is little doubt he will summon Zaghul Pasha.—Reuter.

MASS MEETING

SUNDAY'S Mass Meeting in Natal and the Election Meeting in the Transvaal are momentous in the life of the Indian community, faced as it is with the Class Areas Bill—to which we referred in our last issue.

Not a year passes without a law, an ordinance, a regulation or a bye-law being passed to deprive or restrict Indians of a right, which they in theory or in practice hold.

Indians have had considerable experience in various methods of opposing or refusing to submit to unjust laws that would make them less than men. They know the effect of a mere protest and they know the effect of giving up their bodies to save their souls. Without respect to live is to stagnate, to rot. They know from bitter experience that any sort of division in the community means death to it. And they also know united as a community they can live.

Organisation is a necessity and for it to be effective discipline is necessary. In service lies leadership—not in wordy claims.

We are confident that Indians—each and everyone—will rise superior to the ego and every selfish consideration.

And we have no doubt that the community will at its Mass Meeting do the constitutional thing at this stage and what it will do at a later stage depends upon what becomes of the Class Areas Bill—although indications are not wanting in the Transvaal of what that may be.

The unity of Indians in South Africa is strong on this Union Measure and Union Indians will offer a united opposition to the Bill becoming law.

DURBAN RURAL LICENSING BOARD

INDIAN APPLICATIONS REFUSED

A meeting of the Rural Licensing Board was held in the Magistrate's Court, Pinetown, last Friday, Mr. Bernard Hodson, Magistrate, presided, and the following members were present: Major Lewis, Messrs. J. H. Trotter, Sweetman and Percy Saville.

Hoosen Khan applied for a licence as retail dealer from Block 3 to 5 on the farm, Brickfield, Overport. This is an Indian area. The application was refused, the Board considering that the needs of the public were sufficiently catered for.

Sarkoo applied for a new retail licence at Wentworth. He had not a bookkeeper, but would employ one. He put in a petition signed by Europeans and Indians in favour of the store. The nearest store was one mile away. He was Colonial born.

Application refused as there was no need or

justification for another licence in the district.

B. A. Roopnarain, Reunion, applied for a hawker's licence, which was granted.

Amoorges Amod Murches (South Coast Junction), was granted a hawker's licence for Durban County.

All the European applications were granted.

MAKING THE INDIAN PAY

A POTCHEFSTROOM MOVE

LICENCES TO BE RAISED 500 PER CENT.

A conference has taken place here at Potchefstroom on the 19th inst., (reports the *Rand Daily Mail*), between representatives of the municipality and the Asiatic community on the question of the increased fees proposed to be charged by the Town Council for trading and residential stands in the Asiatic Bazaar, occupied by Indians.

Notice of the Council's intention was submitted for sanction to the Provincial Administration, who, in turn, referred the matter to the Minister of the Interior.

Following the suggestion that a deputation from the Asiatic community be appointed to meet the Town Council, Mr J. R. Hartshorne, Registrar of Asiatics, and Principal Immigration Officer for the Transvaal, was appointed by the Government as mediator in the dispute.

The Mayor explained that the taxation hitherto imposed was 5s. for a residential site, and 10s. for a stand reserved for business purposes, and the Council had unanimously agreed that the licence impost must be increased by approximately 500 per cent.

It was not their intention, emphasised the Mayor, to be unreasonable in the demands they were making, but there was a vast difference between the property taxation imposed at the bazaar and the town proper, which made their demand for increased licence fees comparatively reasonable, especially as previous Councils had neglected or overlooked the question of raising adequate revenue from the Asiatic Bazaar.

The cost of the municipal improvements and the burden of taxation, generally, were largely borne by the white commercial community, and the Mayor pointed out that it was useless for the Asiatics to adopt any antagonistic attitude towards the Council. To do any good they must approach them on sound business lines. If friction was avoided and the standholders showed that they were prepared to contribute their fair share of taxation, the Council would assist them in every possible way.

Mr. Hartshorne said that from the tone of the Council's letter, he had not expected much consideration for the claims of the Asiatic community, mentioning that last year the Council had asked that certain stands in the Asiatic Bazaar should revert to the local authority.

The Mayor stated that the Council would be quite content if the Asiatics at the bazaar agreed to an assessment of their land and property on all fours with the scale adopted in respect of property in the town, amounting altogether to 7d. in the £.

It was pointed out by the Asiatic deputation that owing to insecurity of the tenure of property at the bazaar, it was not fair that the leaseholders concerned should be taxed to the same extent as the owners of freehold property in the town. The deputation emphasised the poor state of their business, explaining that merchants were paying

licence fees for more than one business or residential stand; but they admitted, in reply to questions, that this was to keep other Asiatics from opening up in competition.

It was pointed out that there were 127 stands at the bazaar, for which nine traders took out 23 licences.

No agreement being reached after consultation, it was decided that Mr. Hartshorne discuss the matter again with local Asiatics, and advise the Town Council of their decision at the earliest opportunity.

DUNDEE INDIAN LICENCE

H. J. R. KHAN'S APPEAL DISMISSED

A special meeting of the Dundee Town Council was held at Dundee on Jan. 21, to hear an interesting appeal by an Indian trader of long standing in the town, H. J. R. Khan, the renewal of whose licence had been refused by the Borough Licensing Officer, Mr. J. H. Hardy.

Mr. P. O'Hea appeared for the applicant and Mr. J. W. Francis represented the objectors and the Dundee Chamber of Commerce.

After Mr. Hardy had read the notes of evidence taken when the original application was heard, and had given his reasons for refusing the application, Mr. O'Hea addressed the Council. He referred to applicant's long business connection with Dundee and urged that the fact that he had been residing in India did not affect his interests. He was a man of unassailable business integrity. When his store was burnt down some time ago he returned from India and rebuilt and restocked his store. He then discovered that his affairs were in a chaotic condition and placed his position before his creditors, who were satisfied that he was more sinned against than sinning, and agreed to him continuing his business.

It was through the gross neglect of applicant's manager, urged counsel, that the licence money was not paid for 1923, although the business was carried on for some months of that year.

COUNSEL'S OUTBURST

Public policy and justice would be outraged if this appeal were refused, said the advocate. The decision of the Licensing Officer was repugnant to British law and constitution. It was unjust. It was not British. Was the appellant, at the end of his days, to be allowed to say that the administration of justice in Natal was a travesty, a delusion and a snare?

Mr. Francis, in reply, asked the Council not to be influenced by considerations of sentiment. Why did not appellant take out his 1923 licence in March or April or May last? Khan was merely being used as a cloak, and the Durban creditors were in favour of him being allowed to continue to trade. They had no interests in Dundee. His guarantors were the people who were behind this application. Ebrahim Sulman would be getting two licences in the same area if this application were granted.

COULD NOT READ ENGLISH

Reading from the notes of evidence, he pointed out £13,000 as the amount of liabilities over and in excess of assets. The application was one for a new licence technically, and Mr. O'Hea was wrong in terming it a renewal. Applicant was not the wonderful business man counsel would have the Council believe. It took him 12 months in sand to own dust over it, discoloured it by the
Let us now go to Bardoli in

out the true position to which his managers had brought his business. He proposed again returning to India as soon as his business was in going order once more, and might be confronted with the same experience.

He could not read nor write English, and that ground alone justified the Licensing Officer in refusing the application. Mr. A. L. Williams had stated that business in Dundee had depreciated 40 per cent., and there was no need for this licence.

The Council Chamber was cleared, and on resuming the Mayor said the appeal would be dismissed and the Licensing Officer's decision upheld.

SWARAJ

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

There is a very remarkable saying attributed to Christ in the New Testament, which has been badly translated in the common version of the Bible. Christ speaks of a time coming, when nation shall rise against nation and people against people, when there shall be wars and revolutions. Men's hearts, he says, shall fail them to fear, because of their anxiety about things that are coming upon the earth. Christ then tells his own followers not to be down-cast at such a time but to lift up their heads with joy, for deliverance would be near at hand.

After that Christ gives them a parable. "Behold," he says, "the fig tree and all the trees. When the fig tree begins to put forth new leaves, then you may be certain that the winter is over and summer is nigh at hand. Even so, out of the very midst of difficulties and dangers, the new life of God's Kingdom will surely appear upon the earth."

It is at this point, that Christ utters the saying about which I have spoken.—He says :

"In your fortitude, ye shall win your souls."

It has always seemed to me, that this was one of the greatest *mantrams* of all, for passive resisters. It contains the very essence of Swaraj. It is Swa-Raj—the Kingship of the Soul!

We have so often been told about Mahatma Gandhi himself, that Swaraj is to come from within outwards: that we are not to say 'Lo, here!' or 'Lo, there!' expecting it to drop down from heaven, but to build up the spiritual fabric of the new kingdom, the new Raj, the Raj of 'Swa' of the Self, the Soul, by changing the whole fashion of our inner slave-mentality, till we become free men indeed.

"In your fortitude ye shall win your souls."

What a wonder of beauty it was that I saw at Guru-ka-Bagh, outside Amritsar, where with my own eyes I beheld the fortitude of those brave Sikhs, receiving blows and insults, which were hardest of all to bear, but never returning blow for blow or insult for insult; standing up to each blow with infinite spiritual bravery, rising again and again from the ground, to be beaten down again. In their fortitude they had won their souls.

I could not help contrasting this scene with that which I had witnessed before, in the same Punjab, when the Sikhs had been taken unawares, in those days of Martial Law, in 1919. At that time leaderless and helpless, like children crying in the night, in panic and dismay, they had lost

their souls. Oh! the pity of it! Oh the pity of it! At Manianwalla and elsewhere, without leaders, without preparation, they had *not* stood firm, but had given way. As I went among them and loved them passionately, these men with hearts like children—as they told me their own terrible story—the insults to their women worse than death,—the insults to themselves worse than death;—they had gone through it all,—not with fortitude then, in 1919, but with fear. But thank God, Mahatmaji had come among them, and in a moment they had responded. He told them to endure, not in panic, but with fortitude, and they had endured! Now they had *won* their souls. The events that were witnessed at Guru-ka-Bagh in 1921 had, to my mind at least, redeemed the events that happened in 1919."

I was not present at Nagpur in the months of June and July this year. The duty which I had undertaken concerning Kenya was one that could not be laid aside, and I only came back from England in the middle of the struggle. But I know well the leader, Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, as an intimate friend. I know well his heart of love and tenderness and my own heart was filled with joy at the bravery and pity he showed. I have also seen, since that time, at Shantiniketan and elsewhere those who were imprisoned in that struggle—simple, modest, humble men of heart full of the spirit of love. As I have talked with them and watched their faces as they kindled with joy, I have known the truth about them also, that 'in fortitude they have won their souls.'

And what shall I say of countless others, who have gone to prison without a word, without a murmur, counting it all joy to suffer and endure? Again and again, I have met them, in North and West and South and East of India, wherever I have travelled and wandered. Never yet have I had a single word from these of bitterness or hate. They have often suffered untold hardships, of which they speak but little—their worn faces often tell the tale without the need of words—they have endured suffering patiently under the present Indian prison system—a system which has been condemned long ago by every one who knows what prisons ought to be. But never have I heard from them a bitter or uncharitable word. On the contrary, I have seen their faces filled with the light of love and peace, and I have known afresh the meaning of those great words of the suffering Christ:—

"In your fortitude, ye shall win your souls."

I go to England, partly to recover health, partly also to take up with all earnestness the cause of Indians abroad there at the centre, London, where alone work for them can be done by me at this juncture. But I go also with the deep heartfelt longing and intention of making known these very things about which I have been writing—the things which I have witnessed with my own eyes in India and heard with my own ears. I ask that it may be borne in mind by those passive resisters who have suffered, that my own English fellow countrymen do not yet know the truth; that the truth never reaches them through cablegrams and newspapers which give only a one-sided point of view. I ask, and I have a *right* to ask—the right of love—that the English people to whom I go—my own countrymen—may be as dear to you as they are dear to me. I ask you to believe from me, that their hearts are warm with love, as mine is, and not cold and hard. My one prayer is, that they may know the *truth*, and understand the truth about what is happening in India to-day!

INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

DRAFT SCHEME OF PROPOSED INSTITUTION

Pandit Totaram Sanadhya, who has returned to India after a stay of twenty-one years in Fiji, submits the following draft scheme towards bringing into existence a central organisation for the conduct of work relating to Indians Overseas, in India:—

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Since January 1922, an Indian Overseas Correspondence Branch brought into being by Mahatmaji at Sabarmati, with which he has been associated, has been carrying on the work of correspondence with and giving publicity to the communications received from such of those Indian residents abroad as are coming within its limited orbit. The arduous times that the Indians abroad are passing through, especially since the beginning of this year, with the multiplicity of comprehensive issues that have begun to confront them, render it imperative that efforts should be put forth henceforward on not an *individual*, but a *national* scale, with the cumulative energies of India and Indians Overseas combined towards a common endeavour. In this opinion he has been reinforced by the correspondence that has been reaching from Colonies in all the different parts of the world exhorting to open an organisation forthwith.

The issues referred to above are briefly as follows:—

1. A system of semi-slavery has been statutorily imposed and maintained intact since January last, involving seven lacs and sixty seven thousand Indian labour population in Ceylon, Straits Settlements and the Federated States of Malaya in that condition where Indian participation in the administrative, judicial and executive machinery is grievously inadequate to safeguard such interests and representation of Indian elements scandalously meagre out of all proportion to its importance.

2. Since May, the Indian Government itself has associated itself with assisting cheap exploitation of labour in India in the interests of Crown Colony Governments, albeit this directly hits and upsets the economic equilibrium against the Indian labour communities already settled in those distant colonies. The process has begun in the case of Mauritius, and as statements made in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State go to show, its extension is foreshadowed in the case of Fiji and British Guiana also.

3. In July last has come the notorious decision regarding Kenya whereby the British Cabinet has deliberately drawn a colour line in the exercise of rights of citizenship, discriminating against the nationals of this country, as such, which is soon to be followed by Ordinances humiliating to Indians settled in that part of the country.

4. In October has come from Fiji the compulsory impost of an iniquitous Poll-Tax on sixty thousand Indian residents in that Island, the majority of whom are in the throes of unemployments, penury and distress. Their ultimatum to the Government has been given and unless miracles happen their flocking to jails in their thousands is becoming certain.

5. And last, though not least, comes the last straw on the long-suffering backs of our compatriots in South Africa in the final measures of segregation that Genl. Smuts is soon to bring into effect against them, which shall compel our countrymen either to live there like the natives of S. Africa, or to return to this country, to face disappointments and sorrow.

Now to carry on a battle that has so many fronts, and to wage it with any hopes of success, it becomes clear that more than a correspondence Branch is needed at this juncture. It is felt that this deficiency may be supplied by an Institution of the Overseas Indian Colonials themselves working in India in league with public organisations already well established in this country, so that a steady, sustained, effective campaign may be launched forthwith from now, specially since the

Government is bent upon drawing away the attention of the public of this country from legitimate and pressing issues and confusing them with issues in the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand etc, and taking steps to that end.

Hence the scheme is outlined as here-under, bringing under its purview interests of the Colonies and South Africa, specially and designed to take up a programme forthwith and to work it up with the co-operation of the "People" of India and the leaders of this country, and leaving it to Providence for its results.

THE SCHEME

1. A central institution to be located at one of the Presidency Towns or Provincial capitals of India.

With self-reliance as the guiding principle, the objects to be steadily kept in view to be:

(1) To carry on a propaganda in such a manner as to take the whole country with the Colonies in all the various phases of the struggle from day to day, (2) to devise means in consultation with the leaders and take such specific lines of action as may be the best under the circumstances from time to time. In other words to function as a Standing Committee, on Colonial affairs to public bodies in this country and (3) to achieve a co-ordination and solidarity by a process of fusion among the Colonies themselves and again through Union a strength, which as unaided, heterogeneous and individual components they could not obviously command.

2. Representative Members from each of the Colonies chosen by recognised groups or Indian Associations to form the working body of the Institution.

3. Each Colony to maintain its own information Bureau containing up-to-date information, in respect of ordinances and all legal instruments affecting Indians in the Colonies, reliable statistics under different heads of Indian population, their material and moral well-being, in trade, agriculture, labour, health, education, etc., as could be revealed from Trade, Immigration, and other returns published officially from time to time.

4. Each Colonial representative to be kept posted up with the progress of events occurring in the respective colony and at the same time with what transpires in this country in respect of his own.

5. Each Colonial representative to be the accredited agent to communicate to this country Resolutions passed in the Association or Associations of his own colony and to transmit to them such decisions that public bodies in this country take in respect of them.

In other words to be the connecting link between the Mother-country and the Colonies and to bring them together by a living touch.

6. Each Colonial representative to be financed and be answerable to the respective Colonial Indian Associations of whom he is a depute.

7. All the Colonial Representatives jointly to issue an organ of their own to give an authoritative lead to the country in respect of the conditions that obtain in the Colonies regarding Indians resident therein, the disabilities they suffer under, and their requirements for social and moral as well as their political uplift.

8. Each Colonial Representative should be the chosen member of a Central Indian Association in each Colony, such a central body having as its branches affiliated to it similar organisations spread over as a network throughout the whole Colony, so that when an important decision is taken by the central Association in the Colony it may represent the united voice of the Indian section of the Colony.

9. Each Colonial Representative to take instructions directly from the Colonial Association and to carry on the routine of his duties as they may prescribe and to take such initiatives in this country as they may permit him to do so on their joint willing acquiescence for responsibility.

10. Each Colonial Representative were in sand
worker in the affairs related
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engage himself in any independent remunerative line of his own.

11. The location of the Institution to be dependent upon the free choice of the Colonial Associations, willing to send up their Representatives and the actual running of the Institution in India itself will be the common concern of the body as a whole, while the management of the details will be at the free and the unfettered discretion of the Representatives themselves.

Lastly, a beginning to be made forthwith as at least an experiment for a year; and with the momentous period that India is now entering on its final struggle for Swaraj, it is fervently hoped that the Colonies will also participate in pulling all their resources in intellect, enterprise and patriotism with that of the Mother-country. Finally Panditji trusts that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears and that each colony will do its duty, as England expected and every man did his duty on a momentous occasion in her past history.

NATIONALISM

By MR. O. F. ANDREWS

Here, in Europe, my first impression has been that nationalism has gone now to such extreme lengths, that it is tearing European humanity to pieces. I am writing this article from France, where, five years after the war, passions seem to be running even stronger than they were two or three years ago. The cry, on every hand, is that Germany must not be allowed to lift up her head again. In Roman times, there was a certain famous General called Cato, whose one cry was, 'Carthage must be destroyed.' It is this cry which is being uttered in France to-day: 'Germany must be destroyed.'

That is why Mr. J. M. Keynes has called the Peace Treaty a "Carthaginian Peace." Here in France, everyone seems prosperous. There is no unemployment. The difficulty, I was told, was shortage of labour. In Germany from every side, we receive the news of hungry crowds fighting with one another for a pittance of bread or potatoes, children starving and no milk to be had for babies; mothers outworn and sinking under the weight of care. Yet the cry continues to go up from France that Germany must be destroyed. I asked one Frenchman, a Liberal, how he accounted for it. He said to me, "It is nationalism run mad." The French people individually are generous and brave; but collectively panic and passion drive people mad.

I have had lately a great fear, that the wonderful awakening in India, which has been brought about through Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-co-operation movement, might exclude similar passions of selfishness and hate, and in this way come down to the lower plane of national greed instead of keeping in the higher ranges of the things of the spirit. An incident, which gave me a great shock of alarm, brought this thought suddenly before my mind the other day. I had been deeply regretting that I had taken any notice of the attack made upon me by an Indian newspaper in East Africa. The rebuke which I had needed to cure my sensitiveness had come to me from Mahatma Gandhi himself, who had been told about it in prison. He told me, quite rightly, that I should have taken no notice about it, and I had felt really ashamed. I hoped that the whole incident was finished, and that I should hear no more about it. Then, suddenly, I was given to read the explanation which the Editor himself gave of his attack upon me. It was, he said, *because I was a humanitarian*. He then went on to give utterance to the most glaring nationalism I had ever read in my life. He said that if I favoured India I must favour India right or wrong; India must *never* be in the wrong, as far as I was concerned; otherwise, I should be of no use to anyone in the national struggle. Furthermore, there was no room for one who could not hate England. Every true Indian Nationalist must hate England; and if I were an Indian's side, I must hate England also. There

was no room for humanitarianism in modern politics. It was class warfare, and always class warfare. He ended by saying that the sentimentality, called humanitarianism, was good enough for religion, but it was of no use in politics at all.

I have tried as far as I possibly could to give the substance of what this Indian writer said, amid many apologies, for having given me such evident pain, and many expressions of regret. I know where he got all this talk from: he got it from Europe. He never learnt it in India. I am quite certain that these ideas of nationalism have not got any hold as yet in India, especially among Mahatma Gandhi's followers. They are the very last things that Mahatmaji himself would countenance; for they are entirely opposed to his own ideal, which is the ideal of humanity. Mahatma Gandhi would be the very first to resist him country if he believed that his country was in the wrong. In South Africa he did everything he could to win to his own side, in the righteous cause, not merely his own countrymen, but those of other nations. In India, it has been the same thing. His very greatest happiness has been, when some new discipline from Denmark, or America, or England, has come to him, in order to take up the cause which he has had so much at heart. Twice over, in the Non-co-operation movement itself, he has appealed to every 'Englishman in India' to come and help him—so certain has he been of the divine righteousness of his cause. Ever since I have known him, this has been the great distinguishing feature of all his work and influence. There is no 'nationalism run mad' here.

Surely the truth of life is this:—The human race is really and truly a family,—not a series of hostile camps, armed to the teeth against one another. Every great religion of the world has tried to bring home to men this vital truth. It stands at the back of all that the forest dwellers in ancient India taught to men when they declared that to reach the Truth, it was necessary to "see the Universal Self in all things and all things in this Universal Self." The supreme name for God, the *Advaitam*, implies the same thing. There is only one family,—that of mankind. There is only one race,—the human race.

Therefore, let us entirely keep out of our great Indian national movement all hatred against any other race or nation. We must go forward in the spirit of love, not of hate. We simply ask for our place in the one family of mankind from which we have been unjustly excluded. We do not wish to exclude others unjustly in turn. We are on the side of all oppressed nations, whether in Africa or elsewhere. We do not wish for one moment to join the oppressors. This has been from first to last, Mahatma Gandhi's own ideal; and it is in this spirit alone, that the victory must be won, if it is worth winning at all.

I turn back once more again to France,—beautiful France. Here, the kindly people whom I have met in the train and in the streets have shown me every courtesy as a foreigner. While I was travelling by night from Marseilles to Paris in a second class compartment and had to sit up the whole night in the small and crowded carriage, a young French lady seeing how tired I was and that I was a foreigner offered me her corner seat which was a little less uncomfortable than mine. I cannot describe how deeply the act of kindness touched me. I was not *hated*, but *loved*, simply because I was a stranger. Why should it not be the same with nations? Why should there not be this exquisite courtesy between two different races? But instead of that we have segregations and exclusions, enmities and hatreds, and in Europe the whole atmosphere between the different nations is poisoned. My one prayer is,—I have prayed it so many times since I came to Europe,—that India may not become engulfed in this terrible vortex of hate.