

# Indian Opinion

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## UNITY ABOVE EVERYTHING

### NEWS FROM JOHANNESBURG

**D**URING the visit of Mr. C. F. Andrews to Johannesburg (where he has been living all along in the quarters occupied by the Patidar community at the back of the offices of the Johannesburg *Star*) he was informed that the different parties had happily been able to get over their difficulties and had become reunited in opposition to the new Asiatic Bill. It has to be remembered, that the new General Dealers' Control Ordinance is also likely to accentuate the struggle in the Transvaal. A mass meeting was held in the Patidar Hall on Saturday Dec. 26th at 3-30 p.m. The Hall was crowded and all parties were represented. The President, Mr. Aswat, and the Secretary, Mr. Morgan, announced that unity had been achieved.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, addressing the meeting in Urdu, and later on in English, emphasised two necessities, if the struggle was to be maintained. The first was unity; and he was glad to see on the platform, on that occasion, those who had before been dissuited. The second important practical thing was to have the necessary funds always at their disposal, to be used under careful economy and supervision in the impending struggle. It was essential, where big interests were at stake, that there should never be any vital work left undone simply for want of the necessary funds. Mahatma Gandhi had himself always emphasised this point side by side with the need of hard, honest work.

Then Mr. Andrews spoke, in very moving terms, about the condition of India to-day, and how the disturbances, which had taken place between Hindus and Musalmans, and Brahmans and non-Brahmans, had thrown back the whole Indian struggle for freedom. He warned them not to let the same influences creep into their ranks in South Africa, so as to injure their own struggle also. - He spoke further of the encouraging news about the growth of a new spirit in India directed against 'Untouchability,' and the marvellous work that had already been done by Mahatma Gandhi and others in the direction of its removal.

In closing his earnest speech, Mr. Andrews emphasised the point, that the final reliance of each and every man must be, first upon God, who is the Giver of all help to mankind, and then upon themselves under God's guidance, acting as God directed them act. For there was a great truth in the proverb: 'God helps those who help themselves.'

During his stay in Johannesburg, Mr. Andrews paid visits to the Vrededorp location and also to Springs and Germiston, visiting the locations there. In another issue of *INDIAN OPINION* he hopes to be

able to write about these visits relating the story of these locations.

On Sunday, Dec. 27, the Patidar community entertained Mr. Andrews to lunch in the morning and in the afternoon at 4 p.m. he addressed the Sat Sadhak Sabha on the subject of 'Dharma' using the mantram which the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had given him as the subject of his address. There was a remarkable response to his address and he was listened to with close attention. An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Andrews along with a gold watch from the Sat Sadhak Sabha as a mark of their affection, and the meeting closed with prayer and a hymn.

#### Mr. Andrews in Pretoria

Mr. C. F. Andrews spent some very important days in Pretoria, during the past week, where he stayed as usual at the house of Mr. Vyas. He went, at different times, to the Pretoria location and spent one of his evenings there at the homes of Mr. Maharaj and Mr. Keshavji, where all the Indians of the location who came were made welcome. He spoke of the happiness of his old memories of that location at the time when he had once lived there with Mahatma Gandhi, in January 1914. The people of the location pressed Mr. Andrews to stay with them again, and he made them a promise to do so on his next visit, if he possibly could.

While at Pretoria, Mr. Andrews had a very long interview with H. E. the Governor General. He also saw Colonel Creswell, Minister of Defence on two separate occasions and Mr. Boydell, the Minister of Labour. He felt at the end of these visits and interviews, that the situation with regard to the Asiatic Bill was graver even than he had expected. There was very little hope left of a Conference being allowed wherein essential objections could be discussed and fundamental changes in the Bill brought forward. Any other form of Conference would be useless, since the Bill was fundamentally wrong.

Mr. Andrews saw the Bishop of Pretoria, both at his own house and in Johannesburg. The account of the meeting of Witwatersrand clergy and laity, at which the Bishop presided, will be noticed elsewhere. Dean Palmer, of St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, gave Mr. Andrews the opportunity of addressing his congregation on the Sunday before Christmas. The occasion was a unique one and the congregation nearly all stayed behind. Dr. Duke, the son of the late Rev. J. Duke, and Mr. Rheinalt Jones, who are on the staff of the University, have also been taking a deep interest in the problem. It is noticeable that the tone of the

Johannesburg press has been considerably modified since Mr. Andrews has taken up the subject in the newspapers.

### UNITY ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE

[By C. F. ANDREWS]

**D**URING the days that Mahatma Gandhi was fasting for three whole weeks at Delhi all his usual activities ceased. After a few days he was so weak, that he could not be moved even for a drive and change of air in the evening. He had time for thought and prayer and meditation that was of priceless value to him. During this period, he pondered over India's problems to the full and came to certain very important conclusions. Perhaps the most important of all was this, that without Hindu-Muslim unity Swaraj was impossible. This thought was, as it were, made into a part of his own soul, so that for the rest of his mortal life he must either live on for its sake or be prepared to die for its cause. But the idea went further still. He felt that the very spirit of division had crept into India and had been the cause of her subjection. Instead of this evil spirit of division, the spirit of unity must intervene. Then India, without striking a single blow of violence might shake off chains and become free.

As is usual with Mahatmaji, he did not talk much about all this, but began immediately to put it into action. Even during the fast itself, he would call those to his bedside, who were divided and disunited, and would seek to unite them. He succeeded in this to a wonderful degree, and I used to watch the marvellous patience which he showed with each and everyone in turn. Also, I used to see how the sweeper who served him won his smile of gratitude and love, and how the poorest, who came each day for their simple *darshan*, were his most welcome guests.

During the fast itself, a remarkable Conference was carried through to the end, which gained in the Press the name of the 'Unity Conference.' Among the members of that Conference were all the leading Musalmans and Hindus. There was also present the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Calcutta, Foss Westcott, whose wish to come out to South Africa at the present time is well known to us all. He saw Mahatma Gandhi many times; and on one stormy evening, which I can never forget, he stayed to the evening prayers, and Mahatmaji asked him to sing one of the Christian hymns he loved best, which begins,—

"Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead thou me on.

The night is dark, and I am far from home,  
Lead thou me on.

Keep Thou my feet: I do not ask to see  
The distant scene. One step enough for me."

Though the outward effects of the Unity Conference were disappointing, it formed a landmark in Indian History, with Mahatma Gandhi's fast as its spiritual inspiration.

On the day when the fast was at last broken, there was a wonderful sacrament of Unity in an act of worship, within the chamber of fasting itself, at the time the fast was broken. Each leader was there, who represented the different sections of Indian religious life. The women of India were also there. Sarojini Naidu could not restrain her tears. The prayers were offered, which represented each religion in turn; then Mahatmaji turned

at that psychological moment and asked Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mahomed and Shaukat Ali to pledge the whole of their lives to the great cause of Unity. They did so, and Mahatma Gandhi took the cup of orange juice by which he broke his fast.

On that afternoon, a telegram came from the *Statesman* of Calcutta. Mr. Arthur Moore, the Editor, had come to Delhi. He had been very deeply impressed indeed by all that happened,—so much so, that he had intended to bring out a 'Unity Number' of the *Statesman*, containing messages from all the leaders of Indian and English opinion to be inserted in that Special Number. By some strange mischance, the telegram addressed to Mahatma Gandhi, asking for his message, had been delayed in delivery more than forty-eight hours; and it only reached Delhi at half-past three on the very afternoon after the fast was broken. Realising its importance, I went to Mahatmaji's bedside and found him quietly dozing; but he opened his eyes as I came near, and I asked him at once for his message.

He answered without a minute's hesitation,—“Unity above everything else.” I felt that in those four words were concentrated all his thoughts and meditations, not only during the fast, but for many years before.

Now at last, there has come to South African Indians a crisis, when our own Swaraj in this country has to be won, that is to say, our own freedom from the intolerable restrictions under the new Bill. As I think of the great struggle that lies before us, the one thought that comes home to me at the beginning of this New Year, which will be so eventful in South African Indian history, is the call of Mahatmaji at the time of his 21 days' fast, 'Unity above everything else.'

### Mr. C. F. Andrews' Mission

The following is a copy of a letter addressed to the Editor, *The Star* (Johannesburg) by Mr. L. W. Ritch:—

Sir,—There is with us this Xmas a follower of the Christ, in the person of the Reverend Charles Andrews. Like his Master he too has come out of the East. Like his Master his purpose is to awaken in the hearts and minds of us of the West an understanding of the behest "Goodwill among Men." Mr. Andrews is generally regarded from the viewpoint of his Indian connections and sympathies. He has come here nominally as a protagonist of the Indians and a supporter of the Indian cause. Merely to so regard him is, however, to do Mr. Andrews less than justice. Mr. Andrews is a European as well as a Christian minister. His immediate anxiety is to try and bring his brother Europeans of South Africa to a realization of the injustice proposed to be done to his Indian brothers by the Class Area Bill. If Mr. Andrews is concerned for the consequences that this measure, if passed, will have in completing the degradation of the Indians of the Union, he is no less concerned with the wrong we, who are the dominant section of the community, will be doing ourselves in perpetrating this wrong upon the servient section. This is a season of the year when peoples professing to be aspirants towards the ideal of the Christ-life are expected for the time at least to get a little beyond the influence of the coarser vibrations of the every day life and to engage in a little searching of the heart. The future of the people of this country is only in the making. As that future is leavened with justice equity and self-denial or their opposites, so will be the stature of the future nation. Tagore has told us that a tree

nurtured in the soil of injustice rots at the root and perishes and Tagore is a seer as well as a poet. Probably, a very small percentage of those who will tacitly acquiesce in the passing of the Class Areas Bill have read its terms or appreciated its consequences. None who have done have ventured to defend it from the moral or ethical standpoint or any other save that of expediency. In a word the measure dooms the Indian section of the population, including those born within the Union, to segregation or confinement in ghettos. The justification advanced is, in another word, self-preservation. The principle of confining a people in ghettos stands condemned as a mistake wherever it has been practised and its dire consequences experienced. It is equivalent to sentencing its victims to rot and one has only to turn to examples of such segregation in certain European countries to realise its awful cruelty. Are we never to shake ourselves free of this shibboleth of "self-preservation?" It has been advanced as an excuse for brutality and man's inhumanity to man from time immemorial. It is the very negation of the Christ teaching. Is the preservation of the Spiritual self the development of which means true human growth and advancement not more important than this miserable preservation of the little sordid self with its petty wants and ambitions? Shall it profit men though they gain the whole world and lose their soul?

I would beg, through the hospitality of your column, for just a little reconsideration by the anti-Asiatic of what forces he is letting loose and the consequences he is producing. Presumably, we do still recognise the doctrine that we must reap as we sow and perhaps, too, we have not entirely forgotten that the Master told us that even "as ye do unto the least of these, so do ye unto Me."

I am, Sir,

Yours, etc.,

L. W. RITCH.

## The Union and its Plighted Word

Dr. Clement M. Doke, the worthy son of the late Rev. J. J. Doke whose active sympathy during last Passive Resistance campaign is well known to our readers has addressed the following letter to the Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg).

Sir,—Those of us who were privileged to meet the Rev. C. F. Andrews at the Y. M. C. A. and listen to his strong appeal for justice and fair dealing for the British Indians domiciled in the Union, were struck with this one outstanding fact, that, if Dr. Malan's new Asiatic Bill is passed, South Africa will be guilty of an absolute breach of faith and a repudiation of reiterated promises India with great forbearance has stood by her word to support the restriction of all immigration into South Africa, and South Africa, on her part, must stand by her word to treat the Indians with justice and humanity, or run the risk of losing her moral reputation.

Is there no way of bringing home to the people of South Africa the fact that her plighted word is being broken openly publicly before the whole world? Is South Africa losing her Christian conscience entirely? Our Government affirmed a belief in God. Let them, then, trust in Him and do the right; and let this panic legislation under which we are suffering in these days be laid aside for saner counsels.

It is unfortunate that so few people in South Africa take any interest in what the Government

is doing, and it is well to emphasise a few facts that may reach some to whom they are unknown.

According to the 1924 population returns given in the last Year Book, the Europeans number over one and a half millions, the Bantu nearly five millions, and the Asiatics only just over 170,000. In these figures are compared with those given for 1921, it will be noticed that during the ten years the European population increased by just under 19 per cent. the Bantu population by just under 16 per cent., and the Asiatic population by only 8½ per cent., throughout the whole Union.

Surely these figures, if nothing else, should allay the fear and talk of self-preservation which are the guiding principles in the present Government's anti-black legislation. Europeans are increasing in this country faster than the natives, and at more than twice the rate of the Asiatics. If the Asiatics are treated justly and fairly, as British citizens, there will cease to any menace," for India is in agreement to stop all further immigration, and of those Indians resident in South Africa, over 70 per cent., were born here.

We could appeal to South Africans upon this question from the point of view of South Africa's plighted word; we could appeal from the Christian standpoint; we could appeal from the point of view of cold statistical reason; and in every case we could come to no other conclusion than that the present Bill is wrong and unjust.

But we must not forget, in addition, the effect of South Africa's action upon Imperial relations. India has borne with great patience hitherto. If this goes through, have South Africans seriously thought of its effect upon the relations of India and the Imperial Government? This is not making for peace; it is going to act as an irritant, and it should not be allowed.

## India Must Face the Facts

No exception can be taken to the tone of the speech delivered by Viceroy of India, in reply to an address presented to him by the deputation which is now visiting that country on behalf of South African Indians. Even the address itself was moderate, when one remembers the violent language which has been used both here and in India in denunciation of Dr. Malan's Bill. The deputation would seem to have realised that nothing is to be gained by an appeal to passion. Indeed, such a course can only serve to harden the attitude both of the Government and the white people of the Union, for if there is one thing which is unmistakably clear it is that South Africa is not likely to yield to threats whether they are uttered here or oversea.

But deputation, it will be noticed, is still flirting with the idea that the Imperial Government may be persuaded to intervene and prevent the Union from carrying out the policy embodied in the Asiatic Bill. For that reason, the Viceroy was asked to secure the King-Emperor's disallowance of the Bill under the South African Act. Apparently, the Indians have deliberately, ignored, or else they have forgotten, announcement, made recently in the House of Commons, by Lord Winterton, Under-Secretary of State for India, that South Africa has "an absolute right to pass any such legislation." That point has been emphasised by the Viceroy, who remarked that "the issue was now in South Africa, which was a dominion whose Parliament had full power to pass legislation regarding its internal affairs," and, further, that "no claim can be sustained by us of a right to interfere in their domestic affairs."

Thus we have a definite recognition, both in England and in India, of the Union's right to solve this

problem in its own way and in its own interests. In these circumstances, it is difficult to see what the South African Indians hope to achieve by pressing for direct interference on the part of the Indian Government. Nor is the matter one in which the League of nations is entitled to intervene. First and last, it is for South Africa to settle, and both the late and the present Government have laid it down that dictation from outside will not be tolerated.

Nevertheless, South Africa is, and and always has been, prepared to listen to representations whether they come Britain or India. The Viceroy, in his speech, indicated this very plainly. "It was not generally recognised," he said, "what the Union Government had done from time to time to meet representations made by his Government and the extent to which their protests and representations had achieved success."

In the case of the present Bill there has been not the slightest attempt to rush it through Parliament. It was introduced last session, and then left over until last year. Since that time the Government has been in correspondence with the Indian Government. Dr. Malan has received a deputation from the Indians, and, with the Cabinet's consent, a Commission has arrived to investigate on behalf of the Indian Government. No further proof can surely be needed of a desire to understand India's point of view, and to secure India's goodwill towards a policy which this country may see fit to adopt. Before the question is decided, India can be assured that her representations will receive earnest consideration. But it must be definitely realised that South Africa's interests will come first.—*Rand Daily Mail*.

## Asiatic Problem in the Union

Rev. Andrews' reply to the *Rand Daily Mail* :—

Sir,—Your moderate and very carefully worded editorial, entitled "India Must Face the Facts," emboldens me to ask in return from the side of India that one fact, painfully self-evident to us, may be realised in South Africa, namely, that the Minister of the Interior, though courteously offering to receive deputations about the new Asiatic Bill, has always qualified his offer by refusing to discuss fundamental changes. He has only offered an opportunity, either of discussing details himself, or else of placing those details before the Select Committee after the new Bill has passed its second reading. He stated recently at Capetown that the Union Government could not agree to a round table conference because "that would mean making concessions on the essential principles of the Bill."

Two of the "essential principles" of the new Asiatic Bill are compulsory segregation and repatriation, both of which were categorically repudiated by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission as late as March 3, 1921. Their recommendations were: "There should be no compulsory segregation," and again, "There should be no compulsory repatriation" (Report, p. 63, sec. 225). The Union Government is now determined to go directly against the findings of its own Commission and yet it refuses to allow a round table conference, because "that would mean making concessions on the essential principles of the Bill."

The strangest of all is that the Minister of the Interior, while refusing to discuss fundamental changes, has declared that this new Bill is based on the lines of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1921. As I have explained, his own Bill flatly contradicts the two most important recommendations of that Commission's Report.

Would South Africa face these facts? Is no conference possible before Parliament meets?

(REV.) C. F. ANDREWS.

## Anti-Asiatic Movement In Potchefstroom

The following letter appears in the *Rand Daily Mail* dated December 25th above the non-de-plume anti-Asiatic :—

Sir,—The Rev. C. F. Andrews, under the heading "Asiatic Problem in the Union," states in the *Rand Daily Mail* that two of the essential principles of the proposed Reservation, Immigration and Registration Bill are compulsory segregation and repatriation. I have read the Bill through very carefully and can find no reference therein to compulsory repatriation.

As regards the question of compulsory segregation, the idea of the Bill is merely to give people of a distinct class an area in which they can live and develop on their own lines, both socially and as regards their religion. No other class will be allowed either to trade or reside in these areas. In view of this, it is difficult to understand the agitation against this Bill, particularly from the Indian quarter.

In his own country no one is more keen upon class distinction or "caste" than the Indian himself; yet, apparently, when he leaves India he expects to be allowed to reside and trade wherever he pleases. His desire is always to have his shop next to that of the white trader, and notwithstanding his low standard of living he wishes to enjoy the right of residing wherever he pleases.

Will Mr. Andrews explain why it is that the Indian, being such a slave to caste prejudice in his own country, is not content with the society of his own race when he comes to South Africa?

I notice that Mr. Andrews also quotes the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1921. May I give an instance of the way in which this Commission took their evidence?

"An offer was made to drive the Commission round to some of the shops and residences occupied by Asiatics, to enable a comparison to be made between these quarters and those of the white trader doing the same business. The Commission replied that they were acquainted with all these particulars and had not the time at their disposal."

Actual figures regarding trading licences were not accepted in public, but were obtained at a later date through the various Receivers of Revenue. I have a copy of the report, issued by the Potchefstroom Receiver of Revenue at that date, in front of me.

Summed up, the report shows that at that date there were 45 Indian businesses in Potchefstroom as against those of 103 Europeans. A list of the businesses were submitted, showing that the 45 Indians were actual traders, but among the 103 Europeans are included boards of executors, auctioneers, millers, dairies, wagon builders, motor garages, printers, chemists, commercial brokers, tearooms, restaurants, hairdressers and so forth. I think the above shows how much reliance can be placed on the findings of the Commission.

We know perfectly well that the Asiatic has not yet reached the stage of being in a position to compete in all the above-mentioned businesses, and had that stage been reached, there would have been no need for any legislation, or for any Enquiry Commission, as South Africa would then have been virtually an Indian colony.

In reply to Mr. Andrews' question, "Would South Africa face these facts?" I can assure Mr. Andrews that every right-thinking South Africa is pleased to note that the present Government does propose facing the facts, and that the only thing they regret is that the facts have not been faced at an earlier date.

ANTI-ASIATIC.

### Mr. Andrews' Reply

Sir.—My reply to 'Anti-Asiatic' is quite simple. With regard to compulsory repatriation, lawyers have stated that Chapter 2, if passed into law, will immediately invalidate a very large number of bona-fide domicile rights of domiciled Indians. They have pointed out how this will be done. It is impossible to explain everything clause by clause. One example may suffice. Under Section 20, a South African born Indian, whose forefathers were also South African born, may become a prohibited immigrant and lose the right of returning to the land of his birth, if by any chance or necessity he is absent from South Africa for over three years. Other clauses are intended to make trade or residence in South Africa so impossible for certain classes of Indians that they may be 'induced' to retire. Dr. Malan himself calls this 'application of pressure.' The 'Statement,' a leading paper in Calcutta, written for Englishmen, had the following editorial remarks:—"The worst feature of this measure is its dishonesty. Its real object as was calmly admitted by Dr. Malan, is to force as many Indians possible to leave the country through the sheer inability to tolerate the new conditions to be imposed on them. There is something almost diabolical in the cruelty which would expel them, not by summary expropriation, but by a process of slow torture." This is a 'white' opinion on South Africa's proposed legislation.

With regard to the Lange Commission, the names of the late Mr. Justice Lange, General Wylie, Mr. H. J. Hofmeyer and Mr. Duncan Baxter, should be sufficient to assure every South African that the Enquiry was fairly and honourably conducted.

With regard to compulsory segregation, the Commission after inspecting the segregated areas in the Transvaal, declared concerning Vrededorp:—"We found the inhabitants crowded and huddled together amidst indescribable filth. . . The majority of Asiatics appear to be of a low and degraded type, though we met with a few of a superior type, who strongly resented to the miserable conditions under which they have to live. . . It seems nonstrous that these men, who have by their industry worked themselves up to a well-to-do position, should now be forced to remove into locations." I have lived in these locations, in order to learn at first hand what it means, and I can fully endorse every word of this. It is nonstrous.

My answer with regard to the caste-system argument is, that two wrongs never made one right. South Africa with its segregation policy is becoming a caste-ridden land. To any one coming from India, this fact stares one in the face. South Africa is in danger of committing suicide just as India did many centuries ago, while trying to solve her own colour problem. For Caste, in Sanskrit, means colour. At the very time that India is rising from the dead and throwing aside segregating and untouchability South Africa is seeking to use more and more these inhuman means. I am not defending India's past and I pity from my heart South Africa; for she seems to be determined on a policy, which the history of segregation, both in Europe and India, has proved in the long run to lead to misery ruin and death.

Lord Salisbury once urged those who dealt with world politics to use large-scale maps. I would tender that advice to 'Anti-Asiatic' when he writes that South Africa might have become virtually an Indian Colony if certain trades had been thrown open to Indian competition. Let me take a large-scale map. South Africa with its protectorates is a country containing over a million square miles. If the Union alone is taken its areas is 472,000 square miles. The European population is one-and-a-half millions; the Indians number only 160,000. The

Europeans increased last census by nearly a quarter of a million. The Indians increased by 13,000. The Europeans in Natal increased last census by 40 p.c., the Indians increased by only 6 p.c. In fifty years' time, the Europeans may expect to reach over five millions. The Indians will then be an insignificant element in the Transvaal as they are in the Cape even to-day—and in Natal, at anything like the present rate of increase, the Europeans would out number Indians by at least five to one. Is there no danger, on this Indian question, of becoming short-sighted.

## Indians and the Union

### Position Reviewed

#### Address by Mr. C. F. Andrews

The Rev. Charles Freer Andrews, M.A., the representative of the National Christian Council of India, who, at the special request of all leaders of public opinion in India, is touring South Africa in connection with the Indian question, on the 21st ultimo, in the Y.M.C.A., delivered an address before a representative meeting, which was attended by many clergy and laymen.

Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Pretoria, presided and among those present were: Dean Palmer, St. Mary's; Archdeacon Skey, the Rev. J. Glyndwr Davies, the Rev. Charles Phillips, the Rev. J. Howard, the Rev. A. MacMillan, Pretoria, the Rev. W. Parker, Dr. Doke, and Mr. Rhiensalt Jones.

In the course of his address, Mr. Andrews referred to the Asiatic Bill to be introduced early in the coming session by the Minister of the Interior.

"Dr. Malan's Bill," said Mr. Andrews, "goes even further than the majority report of the Lange Commission. It proposes to confine the Indians not only to agricultural land rights in the coastal belt, but also to immovable property, so that no Indian in the future will be able to hold immovable property except in the coastal belt. That goes far beyond the Lange Commission report, which only speaks of agricultural land. I would also point out that the Lange Commission attempted to offer some compensation. They suggested that if the Indians would agree to confine their agricultural land rights to the coastal belt they should be granted specially long leases as a consideration for the withdrawal of rights. There is no word whatever about that in Dr. Malan's Bill, which gives no compensation for taking away the rights possessed by Indians in Natal since they landed in 1860.

"The second thing is that Indians so far in Natal have been allowed to live freely in townships, but under this Bill they are to be segregated into locations. Compulsory segregation is the main principle of this Bill and that is entirely contrary to the Lange Commission report. Thirdly, one of the main objects of Dr. Malan's Bill is to repatriate compulsorily as many Indians as possible. Dr. Malan himself has explained the Bill in introducing it by saying that it is his intention to induce by pressure as many Indians as possible to leave the country. Pressure can only mean compulsion, and there are many clauses in the Bill which must lead to compulsion.

"Those are the three parts of the Bill that are supremely objectionable to Indians. They will reduce the position of Indians in Natal to a level which they never reached before and they are regarded as the clearest possible breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement and of the promises made by South African statesmen at the Imperial conferences"

Mr. Andrews referred to the bitterness experienced by the people of India as a result of the promises made by South African statesmen, which in India were regarded as broken time after time.

### "The End has Come"

"India," he proceeded, "has tried not once, but again and again to come to an agreement with South Africa and to get South Africans to keep their promises, but these had appeared to them to be broken even before the present crisis. Now at last they are faced with such a breach of promise that they think the end has come."

The pledge made between South Africa and India was quite a simple one. South African statesmen had said to India time after time that if only the latter would set them free from the fear of Indian immigration they would deal justly and sympathetically with the Indians who were domiciled in the Union. That had not only been promised by South Africa, but by Canada, Australia and New Zealand. All these Dominions had kept faith with India. When trouble came to a head in South Africa in regard to the Indian question, Mr. Gokhale, who came out and met General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fisher was verbally assured by them that if India would agree to a complete stoppage of immigration they would do their utmost to solve the domestic Indian problem. Mr. Gokhale went back to India quite certain that the £3 tax—a most humiliating tax on Indians in South Africa—would be abolished, and he pledged himself that if the South African Government brought in an Immigration Bill by which Indians would be prohibited into this country he would get a willing acceptance of that measure on the part of India. He did so, and the Bill was introduced by General Smuts in 1913, and there was never a word said against in India.

### The Settlement Welcomed

"India accepted the Bill assured that South Africa was going to do its part, but the moment we were told in India that there was not any promise at all, but that the £3 tax would remain, then passive resistance started."

Going on to refer his coming to South Africa when the Smuts-Gandhi agreement was made on June 30, 1914, and to Indian differences being settled under the Indian Relief Act, Mr. Andrews pointed out that according to that settlement there was to be a just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested Indian rights, and that the Indian community would be sympathetically dealt with on the understanding that no more immigration from India to South Africa should take place.

"The rejoicing over that solution of our troubles are very great indeed. Nothing did more to enable Lord Hardinge to send practically every troop—British and Indian—to the western front than this settlement, which was made a short time before the outbreak of the Great War. We had every hope that at last we had come to a solution of the South African difficulty, and General Botha, General Smuts and every party joined in this national settlement of the Indian trouble on the one understanding that if India would not raise any question about her nationals being excluded in future, South Africa would treat as far as possible with sympathy and justice those Indians who had permanent rights of domicile in this country."

In that Bill was incorporated what was known as the voluntary repatriation clause, by which if any Indian in South Africa liked to take a small sum of money for his passage home he could have it on the understanding that he would give up his right of domicile. How important that was from the South African viewpoint was reflected in the fact that while there were now only 161,000 Indians in the Union, yet since the Bill had become law 30,000 In-

dians had left the country under the repatriation clause. While the Indian population in Natal had increased since the Smuts-Gandhi settlement only by 6 per cent. to 8 per cent. the European population in that province had increased by 39.8 per cent.

During the war the agreement was being kept back for the most part. Indeed there were only minor administrative difficulties. As a settlement had been reached on the main point there was every hope that these would be sympathetically dealt with.

Those minor difficulties were later introduced to the Imperial Conference in 1917, when India pledged itself not to object to the exclusion of British Indian citizens from the Dominions and asked the Dominion Prime Ministers to do everything they could for the small number of Indians who were settled in their countries. In 1918 and 1921 at the two next Imperial Conferences this was embodied in definite resolutions.

Having quoted General Smuts as saying at the Imperial Conference, when the stoppage of Indian immigration had been agreed to, that he for one did not consider that among the multitudinous problems which confronted South Africa the question of India would trouble them much in the future, Mr. Andrews recalled the speech at the conference by Mr. Burton, who paid a tribute to the Indians as good, law-abiding citizens, and added that it was the duty of the Government to treat them as human beings, and that the Indian memoranda would receive sympathetic consideration.

There was another conference in 1923. At every conference the same position was taken up fundamentally. India sought to obtain more consideration for Indians domiciled in the Dominions than they had received in the past. She tried to get the different details settled. Australia had treated her magnificently, giving Indians full citizen rights. New Zealand has done the same, and Canada also had been generous, with the exception of certain things being withheld in British Columbia.

"In 1923, when General Smuts was pressed that there should be more consideration for the Indians domiciled in South Africa, he said he could not pledge any further political rights, and he was adamant on that point, but he said, at the same time, that they would have every justice and fair play shown them. He made the statement that barring political rights, Indians in this country had every right of citizenship. Though in 1923 General Smuts declared that he could not give any further political rights to Indians in this country, he in no way said that they were going to take away from Indians the very meagre rights which they had already. As a matter of fact, he said just the opposite, that they would be treated with justice and fair play."

Dealing with the Lango Commission report (1920) Mr. Andrews maintained that two of the findings were altogether against the Bill which it was now proposed to introduce to Parliament.

"That Commission recommended that there shall be no compulsory repatriation and no compulsory segregation. But this Bill of Dr. Malan's insists on compulsory repatriation and compulsory segregation. The weak part of the Lango Commission report, from the Indian viewpoint, is the clause about the Natal coastal belt. The Commission suggested that agricultural land in future should not be held by Indians except within the 30-mile coastal belt of Natal, but this finding was not unanimous. It was objected to very strongly by Mr. Duncan Baxter, one of the four Commissioners, who signed the minority report dissenting from the recommendation respecting land on the coastal belt, on the ground that it was a retrograde proposal and inconsistent with the other recommendations."

The meeting afterwards sat in private.

Mr. Manlal Gandhi (son of Mahatma Gandhi),

who edits an Indian newspaper in Natal, was also present, his introduction to the meeting being marked by applause.

## Ferment in Asia

### Rev. C. F. Andrews on Current events

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A., who now in Johannesburg in connection with the Indian question, in an interview with *The Star* (Johannesburg), made reference to the report of the proceedings of the Indian National Congress now sitting in Cawnpore.

Mr. Andrews said that the congress had to be taken very seriously indeed, for it was the body that directly influenced the masses of the Indian people. While other conferences only affected the intelligentsia, the congress speeches were read in every vernacular, and the news penetrated to almost every village in India.

The vital point in the speeches which have come through," proceeded Mr. Andrews, "was made by Mr. Gandhi, in which he offered either arbitration regarding the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1924, or else a round-table conference. The only single attitude taken throughout India, both by Europeans and Indian alike, is that that agreement has been broken, and along with that the understandings reached at the different Imperial Conferences from 1917 to 1923. Since this has been, throughout, the one attitude of the Indian Government and the Indian people alike on this question, it is difficult to see how it can remain a purely domestic question which South Africa alone may decide, for any breach of international agreements obviously will have to be referred to international arbitration, and in the case of the British Commonwealth, to some court of arbitration within the British Commonwealth to which each side may submit its claim.

### China's Temper

Referring to development in China, Mr. Andrews stated that while he had been there last year he had made a very close study of the situation.

"The feeling," he said, "against the foreigner was even then on the point of explosion, and although the explosion when it came at Shanghai early in this year was not so serious as I had expected, there can be no doubt that the Anti-Western feeling is increasing, on every hand. Whenever torpedo boats ran up to protect the ports, the Chinese feel that their national honour is being outraged and degraded. I feel that the news that six destroyers are rushing up to Shanghai and other Chinese ports will inevitably mean another outburst of anti-foreign excitement."

### Afghanistan Incident

with regard to the cable published in Saturday's *Star*, that Russian troops had attacked an Afghan outpost at Darkad, Mr. Andrews said that would be almost as serious in its importance if it were confirmed. The cable, he went on to say, was quite clearly from the special correspondent of the *Pioneer* at Kabul, who was extremely careful and accurate in the news that he sent. At the same time it would be necessary, he added, to await confirmation before regarding the report as fact.

In conclusion Mr. Andrews said: "Asia, from one end to the other, is in a ferment of dissatisfaction, and the feeling of subjection to the West is becoming so strong that at any point it may explode in open violence. It is necessary for South Africans to remember always this psychology of Asia when dealing with the Indian question within its own borders."

## Indian National Congress

### South African Indian Question

Cawnpore, Dec. 26.—The fortieth session of the National Congress opened to-day, over fifteen thousand attending, including three thousand delegates. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the first Indian woman president, took the chair.

After the presidential address, three hours were devoted to a discussion on the position of Indians in South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi moved a resolution assuring full support to Indians in their struggle and suggesting to the South African Government arbitration regarding the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914, or a round table conference, failing which requesting the British Government to instruct the Governor-General to withhold his assent to the Reservation of Areas Bill.

Dr. Abdurahman (head of the delegation from the Union), dealing with the Bill, told the Congress that it was intended to hound the Indians out of South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi characterised the Viceroy's reply to the deputation as most unsatisfactory from the head of a mighty Government. He disagreed with the Viceroy's description that the issue concerned the domestic affairs of the Union. He recalled the Boer War, which he said was due partly to the ill-treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, and asked why should not the British Government in the same manner proclaim war on the Union Government when the life and honour of 160,000 Indians were involved.

General Smuts, he said, had given his pledge, not individually but on behalf of the nation. The South African Whites would be denying the Bible and God by refusing elementary justice to the Indians.

Mr. Gandhi impressed upon the Congress to remember that support included passive resistance which he would lead in India if need be to support their South African brethren, whom he assured of all possible help. The resolution was passed with acclamation.

Dr. Abdurahman, in thanking the Congress, said the resolution was the first thing giving hope since their arrival in India. He wanted Mr. Gandhi or Mrs. Naidu to proceed to South Africa in a few months to help their cause. He assured the Congress, amidst applause, that the majority of the South African Indians were determined not to give way if backed by the Indian nation. The Empire meant protection for Whites only, and the earlier it ended the better it was because India was part of the Empire. That handful of Whites in South Africa was so behaving that if India had her army and battle-ships the Whites would not dare to trouble them.

He urged the Indians in Councils to obstruct all Government measures as a protest if the Government of India failed to back them.

## Subjects Committee Meet

### South African Deputation Present

Cawnpore, Dec. 26.—The Indian National Congress Subjects Committee to-day discussed the position of Indians in South Africa. The meeting was attended by Dr. Abdurahman and other members of the South African Indian Deputation, and Dr. Rutherford.

Mr. Gandhi in moving a resolution of welcome, assured the deputation of full support in their struggle against the consolidated forces which threatened the very existence of Indians.

A resolution characterised the Areas Reservation Immigration and Registration Bill as a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of a racial character, and calculated to make the position of settlers worse than in 1914, and residence of self-respecting Indians impossible. If an

interpretation of the 1914 agreement was not accepted by the Union Government, Congress should suggest arbitration as in 1899.

The resolution endorsed the suggestion of a round-table conference, but if the Union Government would not accept this, and an arbitration proposal, the resolution expressed the opinion that the Imperial Government should withhold the Royal Assent to the Bill if passed.

Mr. Gandhi announced that the resolution had been drafted after several hours' discussion.

Two members of the deputation, Messrs. Benaridas and Chattervedi, urged their compatriots to support those in South Africa without awaiting Swaraj.

Mr. Gandhi declared he exactly knew the feeling in South Africa, and would have gone there if he felt he could be helpful. The committee passed the resolution which full Congress will support.

The Subjects Committee later, by 135 votes to 21, adopted a resolution moved by Pundit Motilal Nehru in favour of boycotting Legislative Councils if the demands already submitted by the Legislative Assembly as regards constitutional progress were not conceded.

The resolution laid it down that Swarajists should only attend often enough to prevent their seats having to be vacated, and to throw out the Budget.

It was also laid down that no office should be accepted as long as the Government did not give anything in the nature of a satisfactory reply.

The discussion was heated owing to Bombay and Nagpur Swarajist leaders declaring that the offices of power and responsibility ought to be filled by patriots at a time when Indianisation was proceeding apace; otherwise the Swaraj movement would receive a set-back and Government would appoint anti-nation "elists."

It is expected that this resolution will be carried by a large majority when brought before Congress.

## South African Deputation in India

### Viceroy's Reply

The South African deputation this morning interviewed the Viceroy at Belvedere.

In the course of an address to the Viceroy the deputation, summarising their grievances, stated that they would "show up glaringly the impossibility for Indians to survive and retain their manhood under any further imposition of restrictions."

Referring to the conditions in the Cape Province, the deputation stated they were glad to say that Indians had no complaint to make either against the Europeans or the Government in that Province. In the Transvaal the effect of the General Dealers' Control Ordinance was not yet felt by the Indian community, but the members of the deputation did not hesitate to predict how new licences would be granted in the future.

### Natal Ordinance

With regard to Natal, three Provincial Ordinances had deprived Indians of their municipal and township franchise rights if their names were not already on the voters' roll. The Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance was specially designed to restrict trading by Asiatics, and was administered in that spirit.

In response to clamorous demands the Government had promised to pass during the forthcoming session the Class Areas Bill which the deputation described as intended to administered solely against Indians.

The principle of compulsory segregation for trading and residential purposes could not be accepted by the Indian community. The clauses relating to ownership of land, renewal of leases, and trading rights would spell financial ruin to the Indian community, and the Bill generally was in violation of

the spirit and intention of the settlement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi.

The address concluded with an appeal to the Indian Government to secure the Union Government's consent to a round table conference, failing which the deputation asked the Viceroy to secure the King-Emperor's disallowance of the Bill under section 65 of the South Africa Act, or thereafter invited him to appeal to the League of Nations as the Bill contravened the spirit and intention of the covenant to which the Indian Government is a signatory.

### Viceroy's Anxiety and Sympathy

The Viceroy, in replying, said he had watched the position of Indians in South Africa with anxiety and sympathy for some years past, and had taken all measures from time to time which appeared to him and the Raj calculated to ameliorate their condition. He was deeply grieved over the present situation and considered that it was natural that members of the deputation should seek to ascertain at first hand the feelings of the people and Government of India, and to fortify their cause with the warm sympathy of the people and Government of India. Great indignation had been felt and expressed in India, and public opinion was deeply pained by the status which the projected legislation in South Africa proposed to assign to Indians. The deputation rightly stressed the necessity of a round table conference which suggestion had been repeatedly pressed by him and his Government, but had not yet been accepted by the Government of South Africa.

The concrete proposals regarding the deputation which had proceeded to South Africa were made on October 9th and accepted by the Union Government on November 10th. It was greatly hoped that the deputation sent to South Africa might collect facts and make suggestions which would serve as a basis for a fresh proposal, to which the Union Government might be disposed to agree. He fully understood the depth of feeling whereby their community and Indian opinion generally was exercised, and he did not underrate the strength of the apprehensions they entertained. But it should be remembered that the issue was now in South Africa, which was a Dominion whose Parliament had full power to pass legislation regarding its internal affairs. South African feeling was naturally sensitive to interference from outside in these affairs.

### Right to Make Representations

He and the Raj emphatically held that they had the right to make representations regarding measures prejudicial to Indians in South Africa. It was a duty from which they would never shrink. They claimed that their views should be heard and considered. He had reason to know that their right to make representation was not disputed by the Union Government, and he gratefully acknowledged that they had on various occasions given effect to their suggestions.

Proceeding, the Viceroy said: "At the same time we recognise that the position of that Government must be respected, and no claim can be sustained by us of a right to interfere in their domestic affairs. Should the Union Government be unable in the end to accede to our request we reserve to ourselves freedom to take such action as may seem desirable in the circumstances."

He did not consider the prospects hopeless, and he believed the Union Government would give careful consideration to their views, based as they were on facts and equitable consideration. It was not generally recognised what the Union Government had done from time to time to meet representations made by his Government, and the extent to which their protests and representations had achieved success.

Regarding the Areas Reservation and Immigration

Bill of 1925, the Raj had already telegraphed very full representations. The Raj had addressed a detailed despatch containing their views on the Asiatic Enquiry Commission's report of 1921, which had given rise to long correspondence, and the matter was still under discussion. They looked to the members of the deputation for constructive suggestions, and any detailed criticism of the Bill they might offer would be most carefully examined.

Concluding, the Viceroy said: "We shall carefully and anxiously consider the best course to follow. It would be premature for me on my part to indicate the exact measure we may adopt, but you may confidently count on my warm personal interest in your difficulties and on the sincere desire of my Government to find a way to remedy those anxieties whereby you are now oppressed."—Reuter.

## Asiatic Question

### Another Member of Deputation Arrives

There arrived by the *S.S. Karapara* early yesterday morning Sir Deva Prasad Savarthakary, K.C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and ex-Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta, who is the fourth member of the delegation from the Indian Government sent to inquire into the Indian situation in South Africa. The remainder of the deputation arrived recently on the *Karagola*, and included Mr. Paddison, the Hon. Syed Raza Ali, and the Hon. G. S. Bajpai, I.C.S.

Sir Deva was accompanied by his son, Dr. Savarthakary, as private secretary. He has followed the South African Indian question very closely during past years, and has heard the views of the deputation now in India from Natal. He declines to discuss the situation at present, but feels that a solution of the problems now existing will be found. He is much impressed with the beauty of Durban, and regrets that he is unable to stay here for a time.

Sir Deva left by yesterday afternoon's train for the Rand, where he will join the remainder of the deputation.

## Things in India

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

III

By the time this article appears in the columns of INDIAN OPINION, the All India National Congress will have finished its course. Some telegrams will have reached South Africa about it. At such a time South African Indians will surely like to hear something about the National Congress itself concerning what it stands for to-day in Indian National life.

One of the things that needs to be realised, and is as yet little understood, is this, that the All India National Congress has ceased to be merely an annual gathering, which meets only once a year at different centres and focuses public opinion merely for a few days on the ideals of the Nation. For it has now become a body, which has a very hard-working and powerful incentive, and also a kind of representative general assembly, or Council. Therefore, not merely for a few days at Christmas time, but also on every day of the year, the authority of the National Congress is being felt and work is being carried on, at headquarters, by an executive agency, which is vital for the national welfare.

The chief different Committees of the Congress are two in number,—the Working Committee, which has become the Executive of the Congress,

and the General Committee, called the A.I.C.C. ('All India Congress Committee') which forms a kind of miniature Congress, carrying on the deliberations of the Congress itself and deciding things of immense national importance. For instance, it actually decided, just before I left India, to change once more the conditions of franchise, subject to confirmation by the All India Congress at Cawnpore. This will easily show what vitally important duties it undertakes.

The central office of the Congress has been now for some few years past at Allahabad. Under the very able guidance of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, it has become both prompt in action and business-like in performance. Only those, who have directly to deal with Congress affairs, can realise how much essentially necessary work there is now to be done, and how difficult it is to keep everything in careful business-like order and yet at the same time to exercise a due economy of Congress financial resources. During the year 1925, under Mahatma Gandhi's presidentship, an immense advance has been made in these business-like methods of efficiency. The work that the National Congress has done through its Executive, during the year that is just coming to an end, has been probably much greater and more efficient than that of any previous year. At least that has been throughout my own personal experience in dealing with it.

Just as, at head-quarters, there has been a very wide-spread and efficient development; so also, in every province, a really national organisation is at last being worked out, which will form the framework for the true Swaraj, or Self-Government of the future.

The official provincial boundaries of the Government of India have been left on one side, in many instances. Provinces of a more natural order have been adopted, which coincide with the great language areas. Then, we have the Utkal province of Orissa in which the Uriya language is spoken: the Andhra province, called Andhra Desa: the Tamil province, called Tamil Nadu: the Malabar province, called Kerala Nadu: the Maharashtra province, the Sind Province etc. All these now make up the main provincial divisions, with a full provincial organisation behind them.

Then, further, the different Districts have also their own organisation. District Conferences are regularly held. Even right down to the villages, the same Congress organisation continues. Indeed, it is quite true to say of the whole Congress movement to-day, that its strength is shifting more and more the big towns to the little villages; from the intellectuals, who talk English, to the village people, who do not know a word of English. It is true, that this change in the centre of gravity is by no means yet completed; but the influence of Mahatma Gandhi has been all along moving and working throughout in this direction. An unseen and almost silent revolution is being carried out, of vast and momentous importance, making the Congress a Truly National Body. This is exemplified by the commanding place that speeches in the mother tongue are now being afforded at all Congress meetings. They are taking the place of English, not only in the Provincial and District Conferences, but also in the All India National Congress itself. Again, at each All-India National Congress, one of the most important and striking progressive developments has been the welcome and delightfully enthusiastic presence of the Kisans, or villagers, and also of those, who for centuries have been called 'Untouchables,' but are now rapidly becoming integral parts of the Indian Nation.

What, then, is the programme, that is more and more working itself out year by year, amid many outward changes? Who is the leader? What hand is the guiding hand at helm of affairs?

Undoubtedly, the driving force has come from Mahatma Gandhi, most of all; and the main causes which he has taken up, with his whole heart and soul, have, each in turn, won a settled and established place in the All India Congress programme. At the present moment, I would only name the following:—(i) The removal everywhere of untouchability. (ii) The restoration of Hindu-Muslim unity. (iii) The promotion of 'khaddar' or homespun cotton cloth for everyday use. (iv) The prohibition of drink and drugs. (v) The nationalising of education.

It may be asked, in conclusion,—'Has not the All-India National Congress got a warm corner, at its very centre, for the cause of Indians abroad?'

I am afraid, I cannot yet answer that question quite positively. There are still very many who say, that until India herself attains Swaraj, she cannot help Indians abroad effectively. While there is a practical truth in this, yet at the same time it is only a half-truth. I hope, therefore, that the presence of such a powerful speaker and personality as that of Dr. Abdurahman, pleading on behalf of Indians in South Africa, together with the very fortunate presence, this year, of Srimati Sarojini Devi as Congress President,—with her full knowledge and sympathy concerning the Indian cause abroad,—may make a great difference. I trust that this year a permanent Department of the Congress may be formed, dealing only with the affairs of Indians abroad. Already there is some talk about this, and it is possible that it may materialise. Personally I am doing everything I can to foster and promote it and I have sent a message to the Congress urging this very thing to be done this very year. I trust that the South African crisis may bring about this one excellent result in Congress itself and that a permanent gain may thus be achieved for the cause of Indians abroad.

Mr. P. R. Pather, the Secretary of the Hindu Tamil Institute informs us that the children of the Institute will be staging "The Merchant of Venice" at the Maritzburg H.Y.M.A. Hall on the 2nd January 1926 at 8 p.m. We have witnessed the staging of the play at Durban and we can safely say that the acting of the talented children was more than what we expected them to do. The proceeds of the play will go towards the additions to the existing Institute buildings and we would therefore exhort every Indian in Maritzburg to witness the play.

### Natal Indian Congress

A general meeting of the members resident at Ladysmith will be held on Sunday the 10th day of January 1926 at 2 p.m. at the premises of Mr. Rugnathsingh, Illing Street, Ladysmith, for the purpose of forming a Branch of the Natal Indian Congress and electing the officials of such Branch.

P. R. PATHER,  
Acting Secretary,  
Natal Indian Congress.

### Natal Indian Congress

A general meeting of the members resident at Clairwood will be held on Sunday the 17th day of January 1926 at 2 p.m. sharp for the purpose of forming a Branch of the Natal Indian Congress and electing the officials of such Branch,

P. R. PATHER,  
Acting Secretary,  
Natal Indian Congress.

## BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders to be made payable at Durban.

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