

# Indian Opinion

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## NOTES AND NEWS

THE Indian Trade Commission reached Durban last Wednesday morning. On behalf of the Indian community the Commission was welcomed by the officials of the N. I. and S. A. I. Congress. The Commission consists of Dr. D. B. Meek, O. B. E., Messrs. T. Maloney, Jeevandas Dutia, and A. N. Bose (secretary), and has already visited Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Port Sudan, Aden, Kenya, and the main ports along the East Coast. The Commission has come to the Union

To investigate the possibilities of expanding the export market in South Africa for Indian yarn and Indian cotton piece goods;

To report to the Government of India upon the advisability of appointing Indian Government Trade Commissioners in the countries visited; and

To inquire generally into matters appertaining to reciprocal trade between the Union and India.

Referring to the objection of a certain section of our community to what is known as the Fort Hare Scheme on the ground that it is below their dignity to be placed among Natives, Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in *Young India* :—

"Dinabandhu Andrews when he was here recently drew my attention to what the Poet had written in the press in connection with a movement in the Transvaal said to be going on, on behalf of Indians to isolate themselves from the Africans and wanted me to give my opinion on it. I do not think any importance need be attached to the alleged movement. For I feel that it has no bottom. Indians have too much in common with the Africans to think of isolating themselves from them. They cannot exist in South Africa for any length of time without the active sympathy and friendship of the Africans. I am not aware of the general body of Indians having ever adopted an air of superiority towards their African brethren, and it would be a tragedy if any such movement were to gain ground among the Indian settlers of South Africa. Needless to say, I entirely associate myself with the opinion so forcibly expressed by the Poet condemning the movement. If, as has been stated by the leaders of the so-called movement, it is humiliating to the Indian sentiment and to the Indian national honour and civilisation to think that our Agent General is trying to bring us down to such a low level, it will ill befit us to repudiate such a sentiment when it is expressed by the South African whites in respect of ourselves. And what is more, the South African whites are able to translate their contempt and prejudice against us into action whereas ours towards the South Africans can only react against ourselves."

We have pleasure in offering the above for the wisdom of the "No Fort Harewallas."

Commenting on the withdrawal of the colour-bar clause from the Liquor Bill, *The Hindu* (Madras) writes as follows :—

"The withdrawal of the clause, unfortunately, does not seem to mean the end of the whole trouble. For, though Mr. Roos has decided to drop the ob-

jectionable clause in the Liquor Bill, it is said he intends to achieve his object of squeezing the Indian out of the industry by other means. Indeed, the statement that he has reached the decision "in view of the fact that he considers the whole question of employment may be adequately dealt with under the Wages Act" means that he has only shifted his scene of operations; if this threat materialises then the gain secured to the Indian community by the dropping of clause 104 of the Liquor Bill will be negligible. In our opinion, it is a gross mistake to suppose that obviously anti-Indian laws could be passed without violating the spirit of the Indo-African Agreement. That Agreement has come to be known aptly as "the Gentleman's Agreement." For any party to it to seek to get round it would be to make a scrap of paper of it. If the Indian community welcomed it, it was only because they saw in it a new orientation in the policy of the Union, a veritable change of heart, calculated to solve "the Indian problem" to the satisfaction of South Africa without violating the rights of the Indians. If any meaning other than this is attached to it, Indians would not hesitate to denounce it whole and entire."

The Right Rev. Dr. James Endicott, Moderator of the United Church of Calcutta, who has arrived in Johannesburg in the course of a tour of the world missionary fields supported by his church has expressed some views to a representative of the *Natal Advertiser* on the Native question which give some food for thought to White South Africa in dealing with that difficult question. His association with missions for christianising of the coloured peoples, said Dr. Endicott, had quickened enormously his interest in the attitude of the white and coloured races towards each other. He said so far as one can see the whole trend of legislation seems to be to secure the clear supremacy of the white people and their safety and financial success. "There is not the slightest doubt that racial questions have now become world questions, and it will ultimately be proved that it is only wise and politic to be just and generous in the treatment of the native people," he said. "It is quite possible that the white man may suffer in a remote part of the world for a mistake made in an entirely different part. Race consciousness and the development of nationalism was never real than it is to-day. I cannot judge the treatment of the native problem by the Government of South Africa, but to me it is inconceivable that the solution of the problem will be the absolute domination of the natives by the whites."

Professor F. Clarke of the Capetown University, in an article in *The Daily News*, expresses the opinion that the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has not only, by his very presence in South Africa, disproved the popular identification of the "Indian" with the "Coolie" but has furthered the salutary process of dissociating the possession of a dark skin from the immediate suggestion of a low level of life which it conveys to the average South African. The

Indian problem has in no way been solved yet, but it is in a much better way towards a solution than anyone would have believed two years ago.

The Bishop of Manchester, speaking at the Missionary Conference at Jerusalem, expressed the opinion that if Mr. Gandhi, who perhaps was the greatest man on earth, were a Christian, he would better succeed in finding his ideal, and his energy would succeed in moralising and spiritualising Christian civilisation.

Commenting on the above utterance of the Bishop of Manchester the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—

"If Mahatmaji is in the least disposed to consider his conversion to Christianity as a "business proposition" the great return promised by the Bishop of moralising and spiritualising Christian civilisation should be a very great inducement for him to do so. He has publicly stated, however, that there was a period of his life when he seriously considered the question and came to the conclusion that it was best for him to remain and work as a Hindu, imbued with Christian teachings, than become a Christian out off from his ancestral moorings and not certain of finding root in the new soil to which he would have transplanted himself. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi has become a moral and spiritual force in the world, without giving up his ancestral faith, while millions of Indians who have become converts have not yet produced a Gandhi, would seem to show that Mahatmaji's judgment was not at fault. To our knowledge, there are hundreds of Hindus who have made a deeper and more fruitful study of Christ's teachings, in the sense that they have tried honestly and sincerely to live up to them though, of course, few have come up to Mahatmaji's level, than any corresponding number of professing Christians. Why should "Christian Civilisation" refuse to be moralised and spiritualised unless and until Mahatmaji enrolls himself as a Christian?"

## INDIANS IN TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES

A PROCLAMATION dealing with the rights of Indians in the Transkeian Territories has been published in the *Union Gazette* dated May 4, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The Proclamation repeals the Proclamation No. 294 of 1904 (Cape of Good Hope) but safeguards the rights of Indians already lawfully resident in the Territories under it. The new Proclamation makes it illegal for any Arab, Indian or other Asiatic of whatsoever nationality to enter the Transkeian Territories unless he obtains a permit authorising his entry from the Minister of Native Affairs which permit shall be valid for such period and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Minister and specified in the said permit. It further provides for the entry of wives and minor children of Indians lawfully resident within the Transkeian Territories with certain restrictions, the restrictions being that such wife or minor child shall not be a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of the Immigrants Regulation Act No.

22 of 1913, or of any other law; that all children so admitted and those subsequently born shall, upon attaining the age of sixteen years leave the Territories and have no claim to re-entry; that within three months after the death or permanent removal of the husband from the Territories or in the event of a divorce or separation under the common law or under the tenets of an Indian religion the woman shall leave the Territories and have no claim to re-entry. Any expenditure incurred in connection with such removal shall be borne by the Indian concerned, or, in the event of his death, by his estate. If a union recognised as a marriage exists between the Indian and any other woman who resides in any Province of the Union, or if he has in any Province of the Union offspring by any other woman who is still living he will not be allowed to bring in another woman as his wife. The Proclamation further provides a similar penalty to that existing in the Immigration Law for contravention of the provisions thereof.

The new Proclamation is decidedly an improvement on the one of 1904 which prohibited the entry of wives and children of the lawfully resident Indians. While it is gratifying to note that the Union Government has acceded to the request of the Indian community for relief in this instance, one cannot help feeling that Indians in the Territories in question are allowed there only on sufferance and the Government desirous of seeing the last of them. Of course no secret has been made of this policy for to the representations made in the case of Mrs. Barmania who had asked for the privilege to reside with her husband the Minister gave the brutally frank reply that, "it has been the policy of successive Governments since 1904 resolutely to oppose the entry of Asiatics into the Territories and that it is felt that a reversal of this policy is most inadvisable."

In view of this declared policy we have to be thankful for the relief that has been granted to the resident Indians.

In a letter to *The Manchester Guardian*, the Rev. John H. Harris refers to the action of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party approving the decision of the Salisbury Municipal Council not to employ native bricklayers or plasterers in the erection of cottages for natives. Mr. Harris ventures to think that "never in the annals of British colonial history have we witnessed such an extraordinary incident of the colour bar folly based on selfishness and racial hatred."

## Truth About Indian Education

### European Press Comments

#### "Natal Witness"

The *Natal Witness* has the following leading article in its issue of May 4:—

"So far from Indian education having been a burden on the finances of the Province, the Province has been profiteering at the expense of the Indian by pocketing (or diverting to other purposes) nearly half of the subsidy which it has received from the Union Government for educating him. That unpleasant fact, which we pointed out a few days before the Commission began its sittings, appeared clearly enough in evidence and is demonstrated more clearly than ever in the memorandum submitted to the Commission by Mr. Kichlu, the educational expert from India." After quoting the figures amounting to £27,215 saved from the subsidy received for Indian education by the Province the paper goes on to say:—"True, a rather disingenuous attempt was made by certain members (Mr. Hollander was a notable offender) to show that there was nothing in the Subsidies Act of 1925 "which definitely and compulsorily applies the subsidy to educational purposes only." Legally Mr. Hollander may be right, though we very much doubt it. But in equity he has not a leg to stand upon. On the second reading, Mr. Havenga, in fixing the grants as recommended by the Baxter Commission and endorsed by the Education Administration Commission, said

"These grants were deemed by these two commissions to cover what was considered to be the reasonable cost of education for the whole of the Provinces, and what should be the responsibility of the Union Government."

"Could it possibly be argued, even legally, that the "responsibility" referred to does not mean the responsibility for education? The Minister of Finance went on to say that if any Province wished to embark on any more expensive or generous scheme of education it might do so, and the tax payer would have to pay for it. He had previously agreed that the importance of education, from a national point of view, made that service one for which the Central Government could assume a definite liability. The liability was, in fact, defined—£16 7s. 6d. for European pupils in Government schools for the first 30,000 and £14 thereafter, £5 for European pupils in Government-aided schools and £5 5s. for coloured and Indian pupils. The rates were based on the reasonable cost of education for children of the different communities in 1921-22, as calculated by the Baxter Commission; the amount of the subsidy depended on school attendance; it is childish even to suggest that it did not refer to education but was meant as a general supplement to Provincial revenues.

As a fact the Province has decided to be "generous" at its taxpayers' expense to both Europeans and coloured. In 1925-26 it spent £21 14s. per head on Europeans in Government schools against a subsidy of £16 7s. 6d., and £6 2s. 4d. on those in Government-aided schools against a subsidy of £5. On coloured it spent no less than £13 2s. 2d. against a subsidy of £5 5s. For 1926-27 the figures were approximately the same, though the expenditure on Government-aided schools for Europeans was reduced. During the same period the unfortunate Indians had spent on them, out of their subsidy of £5 5s., £4 0s. 2d. in 1925-26 and £3 16s. 10d. in 1926-27. Nor does it affect the issue to say that Indians in Government schools cost £7 5s. 6d. a head, or £2 0s. 6d. more than the subsidy, for only

20 per cent. of them are there and it is the nett figures which are in question. They show, and it is no use shirking the fact, that the Provincial Council has misappropriated or misapplied £27,215 already, and has spent not a penny of its own. Even the capital expenditure on Indian schools since 1910 has only been £19,158, and the bulk of the money for Government-aided schools has come from the Indians themselves. Thus Natal has spent on Indian education about half of what the Union Government regarded as the reasonable cost of educating Indians, for which it itself accepted liability—and for which it found the money.

What is to be done? The Indian community very reasonably lays claim to the amount that has been saved and suggests that it be used for capital expenditure on buildings, though not necessarily in a lump sum. It is difficult to see how the claim can be rejected. It further asks that the whole of the subsidy be in future spent upon it—and we do not think that there will be found a single member of the Commission to quibble over that. For the rest it appeals to the Province to be "generous" to Indians as it is to Europeans and coloured, even though its generosity be on a much smaller scale, by contributing something at least from its own revenues. There also we consider that it has right on its side, particularly when the coloured analogy is taken into account, for the Indian pays a measure of provincial taxation and is entitled to a measure of all provincial services. At the same time it appeals to the Union Government to recognise both the "definite liability" which it has assumed in so many words for education up to "a reasonable standard," and the inadequacy of the existing subsidy for the purpose. If it can be established, as no doubt it can, that it costs the Province something not far short of £13 to educate a coloured pupil to "a reasonable standard," then there will be a strong case for the increase of the subsidy for both coloured and Indians. The Provincial Council will be entitled to put up that case and to insist upon having it heard—but only after it has set its own house in order, and by admitting its peculations in the past and promising, for the future, to spend the money which it is given on the purposes for which it is intended.

#### "Natal Advertiser"

In the course of a leading article headed, "Robbing Peter To Pay Paul" the *Natal Advertiser* writes as follows:—

"No more striking revelation of the discreditable attitude of the Natal Provincial Council towards the education of the Indian community could be made than that contained in the memorandum presented to the Indian Education Commission by Mr. K. P. Kichlu, the education expert of the Indian Government. It must have surprised the members of the Commission; if it did not, they are people cast in a peculiarly impervious mould."

After referring to the amount saved by the Province from the subsidy for Indian education the paper goes on to say:—

"Whether these economies were made in a deliberate and autocratic manner or whether they were penetrated under a misapprehension, they reveal a most disturbing and discouraging state of affairs, and one that makes one despondent about the future. It is no exaggeration, we think, to say that next to that of the native, the problem of dealing with the Indian in our midst is the most important in its ultimate effect upon the country. Upon the way in which we handle it not only depends to a great extent the peace and prosperity of Natal, but even larger issues concerning India herself may be found to be involved. In the solution of the difficulties and complications that have gradually arisen since the importation of the earliest indentured labour to Natal

the Provincial Council will of necessity have to play the leading part and set an example to other governing bodies. It is a task that demands the utmost patience, intelligence, thought and, above all, scrupulous fairness and justice. With the goodwill generated by the Capetown Conference and the subsequent "gentleman's agreement," the portents are more favourable than they have ever been. Yet at such an auspicious time what do we find? The Government sets aside certain sums of money under the head of a grant-in-aid of Indian education in this Province. That point has been raised for the defence, as one might say, that there is nothing in the Subsidies Act of 1925 which definitely and compulsorily applies the subsidy to educational purposes only. Though that be true or not—even assuming that it is true—that does not acquit the Executive of responsibility for a piece of cheese-paring that is as miserable as it is injudicious and ineffectual.

"We have heard—and the Indian also has heard—a good deal of gratuitous and highly moral advice telling the Indian that if he hopes to realise any measure of his aspirations he must improve his conditions of living, with the European standard as his ultimate aim. The Agent-General for India, Mr. Sastri, has told us, with that wisdom and insight that have distinguished all his utterances in this country, that the first and essential step is that the Indian must have facilities for education. He understands his countrymen and their difficulties better than we can do, and through all his arguments and observations this insistence on education has run like a thread. The Indians themselves are realising this truth in gradually growing measure. Already they have realised it to the extent of providing the bulk of the money for Government-aided Indian schools. Yet the Provincial Council can find nothing better to do than to apply for other purposes part of the already small sum advanced by the Government. It can find nothing better to do than hamper the efforts of the Indian people, backed to a great extent by their own money to do that which they have been urged and implored to do.

"Ever since Union it has been the complaint of of the Natal Provincial Council that the Government has confined the Indian question as rigidly as possible to this Province. It has not allowed the Indian population to spread all over the Union, and in that sense has declined to accept responsibility for solving Natal's difficulty. Therefore, from the very beginning the onus of finding means to soften the impinging of the Indian upon white civilisation is thrown upon the Natal Provincial Council. To seize upon the moment when, for the first time, South Africa's feet are set upon the path towards ultimate solution to deprive the Indian community of their just and honourable due is an idea that would have occurred to few legislative bodies. It may be original, but in this case originality does not spell intellectual comprehension of the needs and desires of either white or brown. Mr. Kichlu's case is unanswerable, and the sooner originality gives way to the more prosaic and honourable course of the borrower who returns that which he has been loaned, the sooner will the Provincial Council, though it still leaves us depressed about its ability to tackle anything outside its routine jobs, conform with that which every canon of justice and decent treatment demands.

There has been a deficit of £1,486 in eight months' service of "unreserved" tramcars of Durban operating to Toll Gate and Overport.

A Reuter's message from Bombay states that Mr. Joshi, president of the Bombay Textile Labour Union has received 21,000 rupees (about £1,500) from Moscow.

## Asiatics In Transkeian Territories

### Proclamation

The following Proclamation No. 93, 1928, by His Excellency the Governor General appears in the *Union Gazette* dated May 4:—

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to the admission of Arabs, Indians and other Asiatics into the Transkeian Territories;

Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers and authorities vested in me by law, I do hereby proclaim, declare and make known that from and after the promulgation of this proclamation the following provision shall take effect and have the force of law:—

1. Proclamation No. 264 of 1904 (Cape of Good Hope) is hereby repealed but such repeal shall not affect the rights of any Indian, lawfully resident in the Transkeian Territories at the commencement of this Proclamation.
2. Subject to the provisions of sections *three* and *four* of this Proclamation, it shall not be lawful for any Arab, Indian or other Asiatic of whatsoever nationality, to enter the Transkeian Territories
3. Notwithstanding anything in section *two* contained, the Minister of Native Affairs, hereinafter referred to as the Minister, may issue an order authorising the entry of any Arab, Indian or other Asiatic into the Transkeian Territories. Such order shall be valid for such period and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Minister and specified in the said order.
4. Any Indian lawfully resident within the Transkeian Territories at the date of the promulgation of this Proclamation shall be entitled to obtain from the Minister a permit, in a form to be prescribed by the Minister, authorising his wife and minor children to enter the said Territories from any other portion of the Union and to reside therein; provided that—
  - (a) application for the admission of such wife or minor child shall be made in a form to be prescribed by the Minister and shall be attested by such Indian before a Magistrate;
  - (b) such wife or minor child shall not otherwise within the Transkeian Territories be a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of the Immigrants Regulation Act, No. 22 of 1913, or of any other law;
  - (c) all children so admitted and all children subsequently born of such wife shall, upon attaining the age of sixteen years, leave the said Territories and have no claim to re-entry;
  - (d) within a period of three months after the death of such Indian or his permanent removal from the said Territories such wife and all the said minor children shall leave the said Territories and have no claim to re-entry;
  - (e) upon the divorce or separation under the common law of South Africa or under the tenets of an Indian religion, of such wife and such Indian, the woman shall, within a period of three months thereafter, leave the said Territories and have no claim to re-entry;
  - (f) any expenditure incurred in connection with the removal of such wife or children from the said Territories shall be borne by such Indian, or, in the event of his death, by his estate.
5. For the purposes of the preceding section—"Wife" shall mean any one woman between whom and a lawfully resident Indian as afore-

said there exists a legal marriage or a union recognised as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion, notwithstanding that by those tenets the union of such Indian with other women at the same time would also be recognised as a marriage; provided that both parties to such union are over the age of sixteen years and provided further that no woman shall be deemed to be the wife of such Indian:

- (a) if such a union exists between him and any other woman who resides in any Province of the Union; or
- (b) if such Indian has in any Province of the Union offspring by any other woman who is still living.

"Minor child" shall mean a child under the age of sixteen years who is the offspring of such Indian and his wife as herein defined or who is the offspring of such Indian and a deceased woman who, if she had been alive, would have been recognised as his wife (as herein defined) or whose union with such Indian could have been registered as a marriage under section two of the Indians Relief Act, No. 22 of 1914.

6. Any person who in contravention of the provisions of this proclamation—

- (a) unlawfully enters the Transkeian Territories or;
- (b) remains in the said Territories when no longer entitled so to do; or
- (c) fails to comply with the conditions of any order issued by the Minister under section three

shall be guilty of an offence unless in the case contemplated in paragraph (b) it be proved to the satisfaction of the court that such person is unable by reason of physical incapacity, absence of means or other good and sufficient cause to remove from the said Territories.

(2) Any person convicted under the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment not exceeding six months, and be ordered to remove from the said Territories forthwith; and should any person as aforesaid disobey such order, he shall, upon conviction, be subjected to a further penalty not exceeding fifty pounds and be liable to be summarily removed beyond the boundaries of the said Territories.

(3) Any person failing to take steps to effect the removal from the Transkeian Territories of his wife or erstwhile wife or minor child when having regard to the provisions of section four such wife, erstwhile wife or minor child is no longer entitled to reside in the said Territories shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds sterling, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, and be ordered to take the necessary steps to effect such removal forthwith; and should any such person disobey such order, he shall, upon conviction, be subjected to a further penalty not exceeding fifty pounds sterling and the court so convicting him may declare his right to reside within the said Territories forfeited.

(4) Any person who knowingly makes a false statement in completing the form of application referred to in proviso (a) to section four shall be guilty of an offence and punishable as for perjury and upon conviction shall forfeit his right to reside within the said Territories and shall be liable to be summarily removed therefrom.

7. The Minister may take all such steps as may be necessary to effect the removal from the Transkeian Territories of any such person as is referred to in paragraph (b) of sub-section (1) of section six but who owing to physical incapacity, absence of means or other good and sufficient cause is unable to comply with the requirements of this Proclamation;

## Mr. Polak On Indians Overseas

Mr. Polak, who had been on a short visit to India spoke at Lahore on the subject of Indians overseas. He pointed out the difference between Indian emigration and its consequences in ancient days and during recent times. In the former case he said it was voluntary and unorganised. Men went freely abroad and founded colonies in which Indian culture was developed and had left permanent records of which the most significant were to be found to-day in Java and Indo-China. In modern times, with the exception of East Africa, emigration had been in the main not voluntary, not free, but organised and semi-servile, so that to-day not only had India to overcome the consequences of the indenture system in many parts of the world, but Indian communities abroad, by their very origin, had created in those distant countries an impression that India was a country of poor culture, low development and mainly to be regarded as a reservoir of cheap labour.

As regards South Africa Mr. Polak said this impression was slowly beginning to wear off, partly owing to the visit of the South African delegation to India and partly as a result of the Round Table Conference, followed as it had been by the successful deputation of Mr. Sastri as the Government of India's Agent in the Union of South Africa. The Round Table Agreement was being implemented by both parties in a spirit of loyalty to each other and with the general support of the South African Indian community. Mr. Polak did not think serious notice need be taken of the small dissentient minority which was no new phenomenon even in Mr. Gandhi's days.

### Disaster To Non-European Interests

The most tender spot of the present time was East Africa. Mr. Polak had reason to believe that there was now very little likelihood of the proposal of the political federation of the East African territories fructifying for a long time to come. There was, however, still danger of a European majority over all parties in the Kenya Legislative Council in the event of any grant of responsible government. That, he thought, would be a real disaster to all non-European interests. He was unable to see in what respect the situation had fundamentally changed from that which prevailed in 1923 when the British Government laid down the doctrine of its sole and undivided responsibility for and trusteeship of native interests. He felt this whole question had been opened out by the new White Paper of 1927 and the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission. The Kenya Indian community was bound to reopen, as in fact it had done, the whole question of a common as opposed to a communal franchise based upon racial considerations alone. Mr. Polak felt sure that the only possible safeguard for the Kenya Indians, and with them for the rest of the Indians in East Africa, was the knowledge that Indian public opinion and the support of the Government of India were behind them. He paid a warm tribute to the Government of India for having sent the deputation of Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. Ewbank to assist the Indian community of East Africa to present their case to the Hilton Young Commission at this critical juncture.

In conclusion, Mr. Polak suggested that there were openings in several overseas British territories, excluding South Africa, for adventurous young Indian professional men and their families to settle. They could earn a reasonable livelihood and gain the confidence of the Indian people abroad by rendering valuable political and social service. What was mainly needed in overseas Indian colonies was adequate responsible leadership and the setting up of high moral standards. There was no place over

seas for communal friction and, in fact, it was highly exceptional that any occasion like this occurred.

As regards South Africa, he thought the best service India could render from a cultural point of view was to provide facilities for South African Indians to come to India and acquire high professional qualifications which they could place at the disposal of South African Indians on their return. They would thereby raise the social and economic standards of South Africa and the Indian community.

## Indian Exchanges' Tribute To Mr. Sastri

Thus the *Leader* (Allahabad):—

Mr. Sastri's action in consenting to remain in South Africa till the end of this year will be much appreciated by all interested in the well-being of our countrymen settled in that country. His presence here at this time would have been of inestimable value but the cause of our countrymen in South Africa is also our own. During the brief period that Mr. Sastri has been there not only has he won the confidence and affection of the Indian community, but he has also produced a remarkable impression on the white community. Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, recently said, the Capetown agreement has been lauded from various points of view but not so far from the point of view that it has brought Mr. Sastri to the country. He is not only a man of world-wide reputation, but he is a man who deserves that reputation, not only on account of his accomplishments—of what he has done—but also and chiefly on account of what he personally is. 'He is,' Dr. Malan further said, 'one of the most outstanding examples in the world of personal self-sacrifice and devotion to high personal ideals. His presence in the country is of the utmost value to the two nations.' Another important figure in South African politics Mr. Duncan said of Mr. Sastri, 'It is a very great thing for us to have had among us a representative of Indian culture at its highest. We know that Mr. Sastri has made very great sacrifices in coming here. He came, I feel, simply because he felt it his duty to come where he could best serve India.' 'His coming here,' Mr. Duncan added, 'has been of very great service to his country and to us, and it has opened the eyes of the people to what Indian culture really means. I hope that he will continue for a long time to live among us.' It is very gratifying that this distinguished servant of India, who has the confidence of both communities, has decided to stay, at much personal sacrifice, for some time more.

*Justice* (Madras) writes as follows:—

We are glad that it has been found possible to continue the appointment of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent to the Government of India in South Africa till the end of the year. Mr. Sastri's term of office has been successful to a large measure and during the critical period that the Indians are passing through at the present time in South Africa, it is reassuring to learn that a gentleman, who has studied closely and who understands the psychology of South African statesmen will continue to act as Agent. During the past few weeks, matters of great moment, affecting vitally the interests of Indian residents in South Africa have occurred, and it is comforting to learn that solutions have been found to questions which, at one time, were supposed to be beyond any solution. The deletion of the Clause in the Liquor Bill, which attempted to penalise Indians, is a triumph to the cause of sobriety. It is well-known that the personal pleadings of Sir Mahomed Habibullah, added to the efforts of Mr. Sastri, were

largely responsible for the happy termination of an unfortunate controversy. We congratulate Mr. Sastri on his patriotic decision to continue his duties for some time longer.

The *Tribune* (Lahore) writes:—

Except on one condition public opinion in India will warmly approve of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's patriotic decision to stay in South Africa till the end of this year. That condition is that on his return to India he would take his rightful place among the leaders of the boycott movement, just as he did take his rightful place among the leaders of the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. That is the only work in India to which even the very good work he has been doing as India's Agent General in South Africa can be subordinated.

## Mahatma Gandhi's Tribute

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—

The decision of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri to remain in South Africa beyond his term will gladden the hearts of the Indian settlers as it has pleased and eased the minds of those here who are interested in the South African question and who have been anxiously following the course of events in the sub-continent. Familiarity in Mr. Sastri's case instead of making the Europeans indifferent or lukewarm has made them look to the Agent General as their friend and peace-maker. By his punctilious impartiality combined with firmness wherever necessary Mr. Sastri has inspired them with trust as well as respect. The grateful Indians have not been slow to discover and appreciate the worth of this distinguished countryman and they were urging him to prolong his stay, if it was at all possible. Let them now demonstrate their affection and appreciation by becoming united and by being correct in the observance of all their part of the agreement. I tender my congratulations to Mr. Sastri on his self-denial. For I know how anxious he was to return home at the end of his term.

## Can Africa Be A White Man's Land?

Those who wish to make and keep South Africa a white man's land are unnecessarily upset by the presence of a few thousands of Indians in their midst. Whether South Africa will be a white man's land or not, depends really on what the native African is capable of achieving. In view of the progress that the African is making some think that the white man will not be able to achieve his object. A correspondent writing to the *Nation* of London recalls to mind what Anthony Trollope wrote, fifty years ago: 'South Africa is a country of black men—and not white men. It has been so; it is so; it will be so.' Has the white man by his efforts of half a century been able to disprove this belief? The correspondent says that so far the colour-fate of South Africa has not yet been decided in favour of the white man. 'The field of unskilled work has passed completely out of the white hands, that of semi-skilled work is passing and even skilled work is threatened. The process of white attrition,' the writer says, 'has begun and decay must quicken as the years pass. The native African is receiving education to-day, both the education of schools and the education of general contact with white life. He is learning rapidly and no people that has once put its foot upon the educational ladder can be stopped half way.' The writer concludes, 'The African is challenging the European's claim that South Africa is a white man's country. He is becoming race conscious; he is organising trade unions for natives; he is talking of "Africa for Africans." The future of South Africa, it would seem,

still lies in the lap of the gods. Whether the white community will be able to keep South Africa white and maintain European standards of living in the face of native African competition, the future will disclose, but the small numbers of Indians, specially now when they have accepted the principle of equal work for equal wages and other conditions of the Capetown agreement, should not be an eyesore to their white fellow-subjects. All this is apart from the question whether after all the demand of 'Africa for Africans' is not eminently reasonable.—*The Leader*.

## The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[ BY M. K. GANDHI ]

Part IV. Chapter XII.

EUROPEAN CONTACTS (contd.)

In Johannesburg I had at one time as many as four Indian clerks, about whom it is difficult to say whether they were not more like my sons than clerks. But even these were not enough for my work. It was impossible to do without typewriting, which among us if at all, only I knew. I taught it to two of them, but they never came up to the mark because of their poor English. And then one of these I wanted to train up as an accountant. I could not get out any one from Natal, for no one could enter the Transvaal without permit, and for my own personal convenience, I was not prepared to ask a favour of the Permit Officer.

I was at my wit's end. Arrears were fast mounting up, so much so that it seemed impossible for me, however much I might try to cope with professional and public work. I was quite willing to entertain a European clerk, but I was not sure to get a white man or woman to serve a coloured man like me. But I decided to try. I approached a typewriter's agent whom I knew, and asked him to get me a stenographer if he could. There were girls available, and he promised to try to secure the services of one. He came across a Scotch girl called Miss Dick, who had come fresh from Scotland. She had no objection to earn an honest livelihood, wherever available, and she was in need. So the agent sent her on to me. She immediately prepossessed me.

'Don't you mind serving under an Indian?' I asked her.

'Not at all,' was her firm reply.

'What salary do you expect?'

'Would £17/10 be too much?'

'Not too much, if you will give me the work I want from you. When can you join?'

'This moment, if you please.'

I was very glad and started dictating letters to her. Before very long she became more a daughter or a sister to me than a mere stenotypist. Scarcely had I reason to find fault with her work. She was often entrusted with the management of funds amounting to thousands of pounds, and she was in charge of account books. She won my complete confidence, but what was perhaps more, she confined to me her innermost thoughts and feelings. She sought my advice in the final choice of her husband, and I had the privilege to give her away in marriage. As soon as Miss Dick became Mrs. MacDonald, she had to leave me, but even after marriage she did not fail to respond whenever under pressure I made a call upon her.

But a permanent stenotypist was now needed in her place, and I was fortunate in getting another girl. She was Miss Schlessin introduced to me by Mr. Kallenbach whom the reader will know in due course. She is at present at the head of a girls' school in the Transvaal. She was about seventeen when she came to me. Some of her idiosyncrasies

were at times too much for Mr. Kallenbach and me. She had come less to work as a stenotypist than to gain experience. Colour prejudice was foreign to her temperament. She seemed to mind neither age nor experience. She would not hesitate even to the point of insulting a man and telling him to his face what she thought of him. Her impetuosity often landed me in difficulties, but her open and guileless temperament removed them as soon as they were created. I had often signed without revision letters typed by her, as I considered her English to be better than mine, and had the fullest confidence in her loyalty.

Her sacrifice was great. For a considerable period she did not draw more than £6, and refused ever to receive more than £10 a month. When I urged her to take more, she would give me a scolding and say, 'I am not here to draw a salary from you; I am here because I like to work with you and I like your ideals.'

She had once an occasion to take £40 from me, but she insisted on having it as a loan, and repaid the full amount last year. Her courage was equal to her sacrifice. She is one of the few women I have been privileged to come across with character clear as crystal and courage that would shame a warrior. She is a grown up woman now. I do not quite know her mind as well as when she was with me, but my contact with this young lady will ever be for me a sacred recollection. I would therefore be false to truth if I kept back what I know about her.

She knew neither night nor day in toiling for the cause. She ventured out on errands in the darkness of the night all by herself, and angrily scouted any suggestion of an escort. Thousands of stalwart Indians looked up to her for guidance. When during the Satyagraha days almost every one of the leaders was in jail, she led the movement single-handed. She had the management of thousands, a tremendous amount of correspondence, and INDIAN OPINION in her hands, but she never wearied.

I could go on thus indefinitely writing about Miss Schlessin, but I shall conclude this chapter with citing Gokhale's estimate of her. Gokhale knew every one of my coworkers. He was pleased with many of them, and would often give his estimate of them. He gave the first place to Miss Schlessin amongst all the Indian and European co-workers, 'I have rarely met with the sacrifice, the purity and the fearlessness I have seen in Miss Schlessin,' said he. 'Amongst your co-workers, she takes the first place in my estimation.'

## News In Brief

The following definition of "Coloured" person has been given in the Old Pensions Bill which is to be introduced in the Union Parliament:

"Coloured" person means any person who is neither white nor:—

(a) A Turk, or member of a race or tribe whose national or ethical home is Asia, nor

(b) A member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa; nor

(c) A Hottentot, Bushman or Koranna; nor

(d) A person who is residing in a native location under the same conditions as a native; nor

(e) An American negro, and includes a member of the race or class commonly called Cape Malays or Griquas.

The *Indian Daily Mail* is informed that the name of Sir Edward Grigg, present Governor of Kenya, is prominently mentioned as among those in the run for the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Sir Leslie Wilson.

# ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન.

પુસ્તક રૂ ૬ મું.

ફ્રીડેડે, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૮ મે ૧૯૨૮

અંક ૧૯

## નોંધ અને સમાચાર

### હિન્દુસ્તાનથી વેપારી પ્રતિનિધિમંડળ

હિન્દુસ્તાનથી વેપારી પ્રતિનિધિમંડળ મયા યુધવારે સ્ટ્રીમર ખંડાલામાં ડરબન ઉતર્યું છે તેને હિંદીકોમ વતિ નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કોંગ્રેસ અને સા. આ. ઇન્ડિઅન કોંગ્રેસના જોશી-શીવલોએ આવકાર આપ્યો હતો. કમીશનના મેમ્બરો મેસર્સ ડો. ડી. ખી. ચીક, ડી. મેલોની, જીવજીવસ પુરષોતમ દત્તીયા, અને એ. એન. ખોજ, છે. વધુ વીગત આવતા અંકમાં આપીશું.

### રોડેશીયામાં વહીવટ

‘મેન્સ્ટર ગાર્ડિઅન’ માં એક પત્ર લખતાં રેવરન્ડ જોન એચ. હેરીસ સેલીસબરીની મ્યુનીસીપલ કાઉન્સિલે નેટીવો માટે રહેવાના મકાનો બાંધવામાં ઇટા અથવા અને પ્લાસ્ટરનું કામ કરવાને નેટીવોને નહિ રોકવાના કરેલા ઠરાવને સધન રોડેશીયાની લેબર પાર્ટીએ સંમતિ આપેલી છે એ વિશે સુચન કરતાં જ્યુઆબ્ડું છે કે ખ્રીષ્ટીય સંસ્થાનેની તવારીખમાં આવેલા સ્વામી અને જાતીય તિરસ્કારની લોગણી પર રૂબરૂ વર્ણવેલો અસાધારણ કામલો આપણે એક પણ જોવામાં આવ્યો નથી.

### ગોરાની સર્વેપરીતા

રાષ્ટ્ર રેવરન્ડ ડો. જેમ્સ એન્ડ્રીકોટ જે યુનાઇટેડ ચર્ચ ઓફ ક્રેડેન્સાલ મોડરેટર છે અને ઇન્ડિયાની મીજનરી સંસ્થાઓ જોવાને પધંચુ કરવા નીકળી હાલ યુનીયનમાં આવેલા છે તેમણે ગોરા અને કાળા લોકો વચ્ચેના સંબંધ વિશે કેટલાક જણવા જેવા વિચારો દર્શાવ્યા છે. તે જણાવે છે કે રંગીન વર્ણના લોકોને ખ્રીસ્તી બનાવવાની હિલચાલમાં પોતાના સંબંધથી ગોરા અને રંગીન વર્ણના લોકો વચ્ચેના અરસ પરસની વલણના વિશયમાં પોતે ધણો રસ લેતા થયા છે. અને જોઈ શક્યા છે કે હાલના કામલાઓની વલણ કેવળ ગોરાઓની સર્વેપરીતા, સહીશલામતી અને આધિક સંજ્ઞતા જોળવવાની છે. હવે જાતીય પ્રત્યે એ ઇન્ડિયાના પ્રત્યે યદ્ય પડ્યા છે એ વિશે તો કંઈજ સંદેહ છે નહિ અને અસલ વત્તીઓ તરફ ઇન્સારી અને ઉદાર વર્તણુક બતાવવામાં જ હકાપણુ સમાયેલું છે એ આખર જતાં સિદ્ધ થયા વખત નહિ રહે. જાતીય જાગૃતિ અને રાષ્ટ્રિયતાની ખીલવણી અમાઉ ટદી નહીં હતી તેવી આજે પ્રબળ છે અને નેટીવોના સવાલનું સમાધાન તેઓની ઉપર ગોરાઓની સંપુર્ણ સર્વે પરીલાથીજ આવકે એ માર્ગ મેલું પ્રમાણે કરવું નહિ શકાય તેવું માર્ગ છે.

### “કલડ” ની વ્યાખ્યા

વૃદ્ધાવસ્થાના પેનશનને લખતું ખીલ યુનીયન પાલમિન્ટમાં પસાર થવાને બહાર પડ્યું છે તેમાં “કલડ” માણસ કોણ કહેવાય તેની વ્યાખ્યા કરવામાં આવી છે તે જણવા જોમ છે. “કલડ” માણસનો અર્થ આ પ્રમાણે કરવામાં આવ્યો છે:-

(ક) પશુ માણસ કે જે ગોરો નથી, અથવા,

(એ) તુકે અથવા તો જે જાતીનું રાષ્ટ્રીય કે ધાર્મિક વતન એકીયા છે તે જાતીનો નથી, અથવા,

(ખી) જે આફ્રિકાના અસલ વત્તીઓની જાતનો નથી, અથવા

(સી) હોટેનટોટ, યુકમેન કે મોરાનાના નથી, અથવા

(ડી) જે નેટીવ લોકોજનમાં નેટીવોના જેવીજ સ્થિતિ માં રહેનારો નથી, અથવા

(ધ) અમેરીકાનો હબશી નથી.

અને કેપ મલાય અથવા સાધારણ રીતે ગ્રીકવા તરીકે જોળખાતી જાતીનો તેમાં સમાવેશ થાય છે.”

### ગાંધીજી ખ્રીસ્તી હોત તો?

જરૂરલામમાં મીજનરીઓની પરિપદમાં બાપણુ કરતાં મેન-ચેસ્ટરના ખીશરે ગાંધીજીની તરીફ કરતાં એમ મત દર્શાવ્યો હતો કે ગાંધીજી જેઓ પૃથ્વી પર એક મહાનમાં મહાન બ્યકિત છે તેઓ જે ખ્રીસ્તી હોત તો પોતાનો આદર્શ સિદ્ધ કરવામાં તેઓ ધધારે સજ્જ થાત અને ખ્રીસ્તી સુધારાને નૈતિક અને અધ્યાત્મિક બનાવી શકત ‘ઇન્ડિઅન સોશીયલ રીફોર્મર’ મેનચેસ્ટરના ખીશરના ઉપલાં કથનપરથી ટીકા કરતાં લખે છે કે: “જે ગાંધીજી ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મ અદ્ય કરવાનો એક વ્યાપારી દ્રષ્ટિબળ વિચાર કરવા ઇચ્છતા હોય તો ખ્રીસ્તી સુધારાને નૈતિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક બનાવી શકવાનો ખીશરે સુચવેલો મહાન બદલો તેમને તે ધર્મ અદ્ય કરવાને જરૂર પ્રેરણા કરે. તેવો છે. પરંતુ ગાંધીજી જાહેરમાં ટદી ચુક્યા છે કે તેમના જીવનમાં એક વેળા એવો સમય હતો કે જ્યારે એ બાબતને તેમણે મંબીરતાથી વિચાર કર્યો હતો પણ તેઓ એવા નિર્ણય પર આવ્યા હતા કે પોતાના પુર્વજોથી ઉતરતા આવેલા ધર્મ છોડી હજને ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મનો અંગીકાર કરીને અને જે નવી જુમીમાં મુજ નાખી શકાય તે નહિ તે વિશે અનિશ્ચિત રહેવાના કરતાં હોંદુ ધર્મમાં જ રહી ઇસુખ્રીસ્તના શિક્ષણથી રંખાવલા રહેવું વધારે સાઈ છે. આજે ગાંધીજી પોતાના પુર્વજોથી પળાતો આવેલો ધર્મ છોડ્યા વખરજ ઇન્ડિયામાં અન નૈતિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક બળ અનેલા છે જ્યારે લાખો વટલાયલા હોંદીઓમાંથી એક પણ અંધી પેલા થયો નથી એ હકીકત ગાંધીજીએ પોતાના નિર્ણયમાં જુલ મહોતી કરી જે પુરવાર કરી બેસે છે. કમીશનને જોવામાં આવ્યાં છે. ટદી, ટદી, ટદી.”