

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE health of His Majesty the King still continues to cause anxiety. A Royal Commission has been appointed to discharge the duties of the King. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is on his way to London and the Duke of Gloucester will be leaving from Capetown. The Indian community joins the rest of the population in its sympathy with them and fervently prays for the recovery of His Majesty the King.

At a joint meeting of representative social bodies working among Indians, namely, the H.Y.M.A., Veda Dharma Sabha, St. Paul's Anglican Church, Thomson Street Wesleyan Church and Indian Young Men's Club, recently held in Maritzburg, it was decided to oppose the granting of a liquor and hotel licence in respect to premises in the lower end of Church Street, and a hotel licence to the York Road Bar. The reason stated was that there was no necessity for the hotels in this vicinity and was against the best interests of the Indian community.

Though we would be the last to encourage any opposition by our countrymen to any person desiring to trade in order to maintain himself, in the present instance, we realise that the Bar and hotel licences sought are mainly to trade in liquor with Indians, the result of which, as has already been experienced in other instances, will be degradation and should, therefore, be totally discouraged. The bodies that have opposed the applications in the circumstances have our fullest support.

The members of the Durban Arya Yuvuk Sabha deserve to be congratulated for the wonderful social service work they have been carrying on for years, relying practically on their own strength. In fact, they have been the very first to inaugurate that work—even before the Social Service Committee came into existence. They have reason to be proud of the Aryan Benevolent Home which they had built up purely by self-help at a great sacrifice. "God helps those who help themselves" has proved too true in their case. The Benevolent Home which is situated at Mayville was started in 1921 the object being to look after the aged and indigent Indians who may be loitering in the streets without any home or help. The institution has gradually grown, and the building for the purpose now in existence being found inadequate and in a dilapidated condition, a new Home is under erection at an expence of £2,500, to accommodate 30 males and 20 females. The quiet and persistent activities of the members of the Sabha have now gained the prominence and recognition that is indeed due to them. Sir Charles Smith has donated 50 guineas to the institution, while other donors include B. M. Singh £100, two trusts of the late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee £125, Durban Indian Printers' Union £44, Advocate R. K. Khan £31. Further donations are still coming in. The Provincial Authorities have donated £45 towards the building fund, and have made an annual grant of £100 for maintenance of the home. This act on

the part of the Provincial Authorities will no doubt be much appreciated not by the Arya Yuvuk Sabha only but by the Indian community generally.

Mr. P. F. Kincaid, Acting Under-Secretary for the Interior, has been appointed to act as Secretary for the Interior, from the 5th December, 1928, and during the absence on leave of Mr. C. F. Schmidt.

Thus the *Church Times* dated Nov. 2. :—

The Student Christian Movement held their great meeting in the schools on Tuesday evening. There was an enormous audience, including some distinguished members of the University. The Principal of Brazenose (Mr. O. H. Sampson) was an admirable chairman, and the speakers were the Bishop of Liverpool, the Bishop of Persia, Mr. Alec Fraser and Mr. C. F. Andrews. The general subject was God's purpose for the world, and each speaker helped us to see that purpose from a different point of view. By far the most convincing speeches were those of Mr. Alec Fraser and Mr. C. F. Andrews. The former insisted on the supreme importance of the land question for African native life, which was threatened with extinction not by consumption or by the liquor traffic, but by European land hunger. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who paid an enthusiastic tribute to the members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and to Oxford's younger offspring, the Christa Seva Sangh, made a most profound impression on the huge audience, and he described the work and influence in India of Mahatma Gandhi; his victories for the outcasts and his schemes to save agricultural India from the horrors of the industrial revolution.

A Renter's message from London states:—A private meeting attended by 40 English people and 20 Indians was held under the auspices of the Society of Friends to establish Indo-British groups suggested by Mr. C. F. Andrews. Mr. Andrews expounded the scheme which included the formation of a hospitality committee to assist the large numbers of Indian students arriving in Britain. The scheme was adopted and groups were formed.

"I could still lead India. I shall only lead India when the nation comes to me to be led, when there is a national call" declared Mahatma Gandhi in the course of an interview to a special correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* Lahore. Continuing Mr. Gandhi said: "I shall not go unless I am certain of my power over the masses. I could lead India again, and I would, but not until the masses had realised that they are numerous enough to pursue the policy of non-violence, not until I could control them. But I see nothing on the horizon at the moment that would make me at all anxious to take that position. Perhaps it will not be in my life-time. A successor I cannot name one. There must be one who could lead India to-day. But I cannot name him. If there did not exist such a person, truly I should be ashamed; but it may be necessary in my life time; if not, there will come a man, but not now,

THE CASE OF THE INDIAN WORKER

Dec 12
 THE Congress of the Indian workers which opened in Durban on Saturday and concluded on Sunday was a proof of the keen interest Indian workers are taking in ameliorating their conditions. They are no longer satisfied to remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Some hard truths were spoken by the Agent of the Government of India, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, while opening the Congress. He said the principle of equal pay for equal work was nothing short of mockery in view of the disadvantages at which the Indian worker was placed. The primary disadvantage was of the colour of his skin which, of course, could not be remedied; but he referred to the lack of facilities for the Indian in respect of the necessary educational qualifications and of technical education to fit himself with his fellow-European worker to earn the standard wage as being grievously unfair. He urged upon the Union Government to be generous in their treatment of the voiceless Indian community and also addressed a few words of advice to the Government officials on their duty as civil servants. We wish that these would go home to them. The Agent referred to the three policies suggested for trade union organisation, namely, of having common unions, or common unions with different branches representing the different communities with a common executive, or of having parallel unions and left it to the Congress to decide on the matter, advising them, however, not to go the whole hog if that were not possible immediately, but to be satisfied with half-a-loaf than having nothing.

It would be interesting to know the real cause that inspired the Indian workers to get together so suddenly. The Durban Hotel Employees' Union was the only union hitherto registered which, though open to all irrespective of race, as other unions are under the present constitution but in name only, for the latter did not, in practice, allow Indians to join, consisted only of Indian members. Now, European Hotel employees organised themselves and applied for their union to be registered, but there being one union already in existence, the law did not allow the registration of another one. This meant that the European Hotel employees should have to join the existing union which accidentally was composed of only Indians. This was too much for the white man to tolerate and there came about a hitch. Indians in this occupation, it would appear, formed about 97 per cent. whereas Europeans were only 3 per cent. While rightly refusing to register the above-mentioned union, the Registrar has now gone a step further and transgressed the limits of his power by also withholding the registration of the Natal Hotel Employees' Union applied for by Indians. And in order to satisfy the three per cent. of the Europeans with their racial prejudice, Indians are now asked to climb down and accept an inferior position. This is what has brought about this sudden awakening among the Indian workers. Of course, how could the three per cent. of Europeans be asked to change their position however unfair it may be? (1) They have a strong force behind them. They have the franchise and a voice in the Legislature. On the other hand, Indians have neither the franchise, nor the support of the press nor any voice. They can, therefore, be prevailed upon to do anything humiliating, first by sweet words, and if they cannot come to reason then by leaving them severely alone and working the Legislature in which they have no voice. This is the hopeless position of the

Indian in this country.

The Chief Inspector of Labour Mr. Walker, and the Registrar of Trade Union Mr. McGregor were both present at the Congress and we are indebted to them for the sacrifice they had made of their valuable time and for giving a vivid explanation about the object of the Industrial Conciliation Act. In explaining the three ways out of the present difficulty Mr. McGregor said the first was that of common unions, which would always remain as an ideal, but since that ideal is not possible to be reached owing to the prevailing prejudice the second way was to have different branches of a common union with a common executive and the third was to have parallel unions. In the event of our accepting one of the latter ways suggested, the Department, said Mr. McGregor, would do everything in their power to see that that was achieved. Well, we are unable to see much difference between the separate branches and parallel unions. If Europeans are unwilling to sit next to Indians in a common union, what assurance is there that they will be willing to tolerate the presence of Indians on a common executive? And if not, it would only mean that Indians would have to work on their own lines as they would on parallel unions. The question boils down, then, to only two things—common unions or parallel unions. Rather than having parallel unions we would that Indians had no unions at all. Of what benefit are parallel unions going to be to them? As we have stated in our last week's issue, whether there are common unions or parallel unions the state of conditions is going to be the same. What will affect the European will affect the Indian. The Indian will have no say. If he is found in the majority steps will be taken to keep him in the minority so that the European's word may prevail. The conditions will be different only in this respect that the facilities and opportunities enjoyed by the European will not be enjoyed by the Indian and hence the Indian will never be able to fit himself for the wage earned by the European. What is necessary, therefore, above everything else is to seek equal opportunities for the Indian worker for his qualification. When he has obtained the necessary qualification the existing trade unions may perhaps, in the lapse of time, have become wiser to treat all workers alike irrespective of their race or colour, and the Indian may be admitted to the common unions. We are, moreover, averse to parallel unions because we feel that Indians will be accepting an inferior status, and will be supporting a principle which they have always been up against—that of racial differentiation. It will be a case not of accepting a half-a-loaf but of giving away half-a-loaf from a full loaf already possessed by them. We have understood the Capetown Agreement as being the dawn of a new era for Indians in this country. Indians have given away their rights one after another. They have suffered sufficient humiliations in order to respect the prejudice of the European race. It is time that the Europeans learnt that their prejudice was based upon wrong foundations. It is time that they treated others as they would like others to treat them. Let the authorities no longer demand from Indians any further sacrifice of their legitimate rights in order to nuture the illegitimate prejudice of the unthinking European, for the thinking has no prejudice at all. And let not the Government of India meekly submit to all the humiliations inflicted upon their subjects. The Congress have done the right thing in not committing themselves. Their resolution to negotiate through their

executive with the European Trade Union Congress is wise. We would only hope that the latter would see the justice of our cause and come to an amicable understanding.

Parallel Unions (?)

(Specially Contributed)

[Note—Views expressed in the following article are not necessarily shared by the editor. Ed. I. O.]

The problem of trade union organisation formed the chief topic of discussion in the Congress which concluded last Sunday. The presence and participation of the Chief Inspector of Labour, Mr. Walker, and the Registrar of Trade Unions, Mr. MacGregor, was of invaluable assistance to the delegates in understanding the law on the subject of trade unions and several other cognate matters. Even more valuable than their explanations, lucid and exhaustive as they were, was the personal touch and all that it connotes, that has been established. It helped, as nothing else did, to clear the way for a better mutual understanding between the Department and the Indian trade unionists.

The results of the discussions boiled down to this: that in the matter of trade union organisation, the best course was the formation and registration of common unions, consisting of all workers in the trade irrespective of race or colour. But in view of the strong colour prejudice rampant in this country, this must remain an ideal to be reached in course of time. The second best thing was to organise workers of different races into different *branches* or *sections* of the same union, the executives of which met for common purposes. So far there was almost complete agreement between the Congress and the Department. Opinion was not unanimous as to the third best course. The Department suggested the expedient of registering *parallel* unions. The Congress approached this suggestion with hesitation, misgiving and even with suspicion. The last was easily avoidable, and might well have been avoided if the Department had done promptly the right and obvious thing, namely, the registration of the Natal Hotel Employees Union. No obligations of law or of expediency or of equity justified the action of the Registrar in withholding the registration. The question of parallel unions has nothing to do with the registration of this particular union. If the Indians agree to parallel unions, there is no reason to suppose that they will go back on their word, or consent to change the constitution of the Durban Union but decline to change that of the Natal Union. The suspicion that the Registrar was withholding the registration in order to coerce the Indian to agree to parallel unions was inevitable but unfortunate. But that was not all. Indians form about 97 per cent of the employees in that occupation, and their Union adopted an open constitution, and it welcomed Europeans to join the Union. But the latter, who form but 3 per cent of the employees, declined to do so, and asked for the registration of a separate union for themselves. The law would not permit it. The only solution was for the Indian Union to forswear their open constitution and take the retrograde step of confining it to Indians—a course contrary to the right policy cherished by Indians and professed by the Department itself—just for the purpose of humouring the racial prejudices of a small minority of Europeans in the trade. Indians felt humiliated and outraged. It is not too late to remove this feeling from the mind of the Indian community, and smooth the way for a dispassionate discussion of the question of parallel unions on their merits.

The Registrar's plea for parallel unions as the third best course deserves careful consideration. There can be no doubt that common unions in which the members rise above their colour consciousness are the hope of the future. For the immediate present, separate organisations seem inevitable. Only it is desirable that nothing should be done which would postpone the consummation of common unions. It is also true that it is only an exclusively European union that can possibly bring about the maximum organisation of European employees. Only the enlightened few among them will join a common union, the bulk would rather go without organisation than join a common union. The interests of maximum organisation justify, therefore, separate organisations.

Does the law permit it? The Registrar explained that if in an occupation there existed no trade union, and some employees organised themselves into a union, and asked for registration, he had no option but to register it unconditionally; he could not ask if the union was representative of the occupation, or if it had a colour bar. If, however, a second organisation asked for registration, he was bound to satisfy himself that the first one was not representative of the whole occupation before registering the second. If the first union had an open constitution, it meant it was representative, and hence a second organisation could not be registered. Some European unions have an open constitution, but in practice they shut the door against non-Europeans. By simply refusing to limit their constitutions, they can effectively prevent the registration of parallel unions of non-Europeans. The law does not oblige the Registrar in such circumstances to himself limit the constitutions, and register parallel unions; it is doubtful if he can do so, even if he wishes. At best, it is a matter of his goodwill and discretion. Until and unless the law is amended, the registration of parallel unions in all cases where existing unions with open constitutions refuse in practice to admit non-Europeans must depend on an understanding equally binding on and equally honoured by, the European trade unionists and Indian trade unionists and the Department of Labour. The Congress has done the right thing, therefore, in not passing any resolution on parallel unions, but in suggesting a round-table conference between the three parties to consider the subject with a view to arriving at a common understanding.

The organisation of trade unions is but a means to an end, the adjustment of wages and other conditions of labour by peaceful negotiations with the employers. The machinery provided in South Africa for the purpose is the industrial council under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The important question is the workability of industrial councils under a system of parallel unions. First of all, what will be the relation between the parallel unions themselves? in what respects will they be autonomous and in what common; and how shall differences between the two unions be adjusted? Then as regards the industrial council, how is the first representative meeting to be composed, which is to draft a constitution for the industrial council? What shall be the principle that shall govern representation of the parallel unions on the council? Shall it be proportionate to membership? Shall the decisions in the council be by majority vote? Are minorities likely to suffer on account of racial prejudice? If so, how are the minorities to be protected? Will it be open to one of the unions to negotiate an agreement with the employers? In the event of a strike, shall one union be obliged to stand by the others and share its funds? It is necessary to visualise the working of a system of parallel unions, or for the matter of that, branches of unions and for this purpose a model constitution suggesting the general lines of action would be a great help.

Unless it can be conclusively shown that a system of parallel unions is not only workable but is a distinctive advantage, there is no justification for those who believe in common unions—and the Department of Labour is among them—to give up their ideal of common unions and climb down to parallel unions.

First Indian Trade Union Congress

The first Indian Trade Union Congress, organised by the officials of the Natal Indian Congress, was opened in the Town Hall on Saturday evening, December 1. The floor of the hall was fully packed and several seats were occupied in the galleries. Nearly 200 delegates, representing almost every branch of trade and industry were present.

On the platform Advocate Albert Christopher was supported by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. P. K. Rao, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee president Natal Indian Congress, Messrs. A. I. Kajee and P. R. Pather (joint hon. secretaries Natal Indian Congress), Advocate R. K. Khan and a number of prominent Europeans among whom were Mr. George Rayburn, M.L.A., Mr. George Bull, Mr. McGregor (Registrar of Trade Unions, Pretoria), Mr. R. Walker (Chief Inspector of Labour), Mr. Moffat (Divisional Inspector of Labour), Mr. A. Jamieson, Mr. H. G. Kappell, Mrs. Mabel Palmer, Mr. G. C. Collins, and Mr. Green, Magistrate.

Representatives of the Maritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress Mr. S. R. Naidoo and Mr. R. B. Maharaj were also present.

Mr. Sastri Opens The Congress

After prayers were conducted on behalf of the different sects of the community, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, in the course of an eloquent speech, referred to the Capetown Agreement under which the principle underlying the Industrial Conciliation Act, which consisted of equal pay for equal work has been accepted. Mr. Sastri referred to the conditions of the unskilled Indian labourers and said that the Wage Board should be moved in this connection, and, as Native unskilled workers in Bloemfontein had succeeded in referring their conditions of work to the Wage Board and received some measure of amelioration, Indians would also, he felt sure, succeed.

Coming to the question of skilled and semi-skilled Indian workers Mr. Sastri admitted that their condition was not quite satisfactory. He realised that there was a rigid colour-bar in every sphere of industry and the Indian was made to feel that he was in strange and inhospitable surroundings. The Indian could not become an apprentice, he could not get educational qualifications, he could not get access to the Technical College for technical education. The principle of equal pay for equal work, in so far as it applied to the Indian, was, in the circumstances, indeed a gross mockery.

On the subject of technical education Mr. Sastri said there was only one way out of the present difficulty and that was by appealing to the authorities of the Technical College to come to the rescue of the Indian community by throwing open that institution to Indians who were anxious to go in for commercial studies.

Referring to the Government's responsibility, Mr. Sastri said they had a responsibility from which the wisest would shrink. They had to deal with a community which was at their mercy, which had no means of making their voice heard, which had no newspapers to serve them, no educated person to speak for them, who were deprived of every consti-

tutional means to take recourse to. He appealed to the Government, therefore, to be as lenient and as generous as possible in their dealings with the Indian community.

Mr. Sastri also appealed to the Government officials to realise their duty. They were civil servants, they were serving the State, and that was not a small responsibility. They should consider themselves as servants not only of Europeans but all the communities belonging to the State and should treat them alike.

In conclusion Mr. Sastri appealed to the delegates to the Trade Union Congress not to be guided by extremists but to conduct their deliberations with all the moderation that they could command and to be satisfied with half-a-loaf if it was not possible to get the full loaf immediately. He expressed the hope that, if they worked along proper channels their representations would doubtless meet with success.

After his speech Mr. Sastri was garlanded by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee.

Welcome To Delegates

Mr. Rustomjee then extended a welcome to the visiting delegates in the following words:—

"On behalf of the Natal Indian Congress I extend a hearty welcome to the delegates attending this Conference. We are pleased at the spontaneous response to our invitation. The formation of a Trade Union Congress amongst the Indians is indeed a forward move that is directed towards the ameliorating of the lot of Indian workers in this country. Any improvement in the conditions of the workers depends much in their solidarity, and it is, therefore, all the more imperative that all the Labour organisations should be strengthened.

"Undoubtedly, in your strength lies your salvation. I am fully conscious of the difficulty that confront you, but I am confident that with consistent working your ultimate goal will be reached. By that I mean that with the spirit of goodwill that is emanating from the Capetown Agreement the Indian worker will in time be treated equally with the European worker.

"The interest that is being manifested this evening towards the workers augurs well for your future.

"I sincerely hope that your deliberations at the Conference will be guided by good counsel and that you will receive the blessings of the Almighty in this new movement.

"I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express our thanks to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri for having kindly consented to open this Congress.

"I welcome the presence here of the Registrar of Trade Unions, Mr. MacGregor, the Chief Inspector of Labour, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Moffat the Divisional Inspector of Labour. Their presence throughout the proceedings with their wide and matured experience will no doubt assist the delegates in their important discussions.

"Our thanks are due to the European guests who have responded to our invitations."

Mr. S. Joseph, Secretary Natal Hotel Employees' Union and Mr. Ramsunder Patak, delegate of the mine-workers, suitably responded.

Presidential Speech

The president of the Congress, Advocate Albert Christopher, was then garlanded by the president of the Natal Indian Congress and delivered the following speech:—

Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri,—Sir, on behalf of the workers I am happy to say that they rejoice to have you among them this day and are grateful for the interest you are taking in their lives. They will remember, even when you are no longer among them, the words of advice and encouragement you have given them. If they could, they would be happy to keep you, if not for always, a

little longer with them. They know, even when you are away from them in far away India, that you will continue your interests in their welfare in this country, and they too, will follow you in the spirit in your selfless work, no matter where you go.

Ladies and Gentlemen, turning to the purpose for which we are met here to-day, I do not intend to discuss the Trade Union movement excepting so far as it touches the Indian worker. Some fifteen years ago, Mr. Lee, a European, and Mr. now the Rev. Sigamoney, started several Trade Unions amongst Indians, some of which still exist. Efforts have been made from time to time to win recognition from European workers: such efforts have only in one or two industries met with partial success as in the case of Indian workers in the Furniture Industry. Some twelve years ago, Indian Printers and Printers' Assistants began to knock at the doors of the South African Typographical Union for admission and are still knocking. The Durban Hotel Employees' Union has alone been registered, all other Indian Unions are unregistered and Indian workers have had the doors of the Trade Unions run by European, closed in their face. Indian workers, therefore, are largely subject to the will of the European Trade Unions which effectively keep them from rising in the industrial world.

Industrial legislation, within the last few years, has more or less regularised the methods of wage adjustments and conditions of employment. It becomes more and more necessary that Indian workers must get the legal status as members of registered Trade Unions, so that their interests may be adequately protected.

Indian workers are out for better conditions in the hope that eventually with the help of European workers, they may attain to standard rates of wages. The fear that is expressed that the Indian skilled or semi-skilled will lower the standard, is baseless. In the early days of Trade Unionism in England, the Unions were confined to male skilled-workers, but, towards the end of last century, women and unskilled workers were brought within the scope of Trade Unions. This was largely due to the fact that the skilled aristocracy of labour recognised that they were really acting against their own interests in keeping out the so-called semi-skilled and unskilled. They found that workers who could not be classified as skilled, were often able to compete successfully with skilled craftsmen and thus helped to blur the difference between the grades of labour. The lower classes of labour were therefore taken into the Trade Unions and there was no difficulty in fitting them into the industry. Indian workers in like manner could be taken into the Trade Unions, and, in the industry in which they are now employed, they could continue to fill the positions which they now fill, and ultimately attain to standard wages if they are given opportunities of apprenticeship where apprenticeship is necessary.

Unfortunately, apprenticeship which at present also serves in other countries as a means of limiting entry to a Trade Industry or occupation, in this country, it in addition, operates to keep the Indian workers from the benefits of apprenticeship, as Indian workers cannot comply with educational requirement up to the standard laid down by the compulsory Education Act, which may be taken to be up to the Sixth Standard. Even if he could pass the Sixth Standard in any other school, still he could not get the Technical Education that is necessary after he has entered into his Articles of Apprenticeship. So he cannot be an apprentice and, therefore, cannot ever become a workman in terms of the Industrial

Laws. Within the last few months an Indian Building Contractor, who has a large business, applied for the registration of two Indian Apprentices; he was refused registration on the ground that he did not possess adequate facilities for training apprentices. Therefore, at present, where an Indian can apprentice himself to an Indian employer, he cannot do so for he has no opportunities of getting technical education.

When the economic inequalities to which Indians are subjected, were pointed out to the Wage Board, the Board found that they could not determine wages on a differential basis. Indians then as now, do not ask for differential treatment, but equality of opportunity and equality of treatment.

Indian workers are as anxious as other workers, that the principle of collective bargaining and the strength that lies in collective bargaining, should not be shattered by workers in an industry dividing themselves. They are prepared to work up to the European standard of wages, and they ask that the promises held out in the Capetown Agreement, that those who remain in the country and accept western standards of civilisation will be given every opportunity of upliftment, should be given effect to. Much of the condition in which they live and work is due to the small wages they are paid and the conditions of employment imposed upon them in the service of the Government, of a Municipality or of private firms. Indian workers appeal to European workers to help them to rise to the level of European workers so that by their solidarity they may maintain a civilised standard of living for workers in South Africa. Indian workers also appeal to European employers to treat them according to their merits. In the words of the last Economic Commission I would conclude:

"On general principles it appears to us to be an unsound policy to exclude by legislation a class which has no representation in the legislature from economic opportunities at present open to them for the benefits of a politically privileged class. The governing consideration in wage regulation should be to encourage the use to its fullest capacity of every class of labour and to discourage any waste of capacity. In the special circumstances of South Africa, the policy of restricting the opportunities of low-paid non-European workers, is particularly dangerous. The white man has no less to fear from an improvement than from a degradation in the economic status of the Native," and so he has nothing to fear from an improvement in the economic status of Indian workers.

Vote of Thanks

Pandit Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi then delivered a speech in Hindustani and a vote of thanks to Mr. Sastri and the European guests was proposed by Mr. S. R. Naidoo and the Congress was adjourned, after singing the National Anthem, to the following day to meet at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall at 2.30. p. m.

On Sunday the Congress resumed its sittings at 2.30 p.m. at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall when the Government representatives Mr. McGregor and Mr. Walker gave a lucid explanation of the objects of the Industrial Conciliation Act and replied to numerous questions put to them by the delegates. They were together with the Divisional Inspector of Labour Mr. Moffat present at the meeting almost throughout the proceedings, and the trouble they had taken and the assistance they had rendered was much appreciated by the Congress.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

"This Congress empowers its Executive to meet

Prejudice may be considered as a continual false medium of viewing things.—Butler.

In answering an opponent, arrange your ideas, but not your words.—Colton.

the European Trade Union Congress Executive and press the question of Indians being accepted into the existing trade unions of this country, and thereafter to make its report, together with such recommendations as may be proper.

"This Congress urges upon the Union Government to consider the pressing need for providing reasonable technical educational facilities for Indian apprentices, as required by the Apprenticeship Act, and suggests that in the absence of these facilities the Indian apprentices be exempted from that portion of the requirements of the Apprenticeship Act, and that all Apprenticeship Committees be instructed accordingly."

The following were nominated officials of the Natal Workers' Congress: President Mr. A. Christopher; vice-presidents, president of each union; joint secretaries Messrs. A. I. Kaffee and P. R. Pathar; Treasurer Mr. S. L. Singh, Executive Committee, each union to nominate a member.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

Part IV. Chapter XLI.

GOKHALE'S CHARITY

I have already referred to the attack of pleurisy I had in England. Gokhale returned to London soon after. Kallenbach and I used regularly to go to him. Our talks were mostly about the War, and as Kallenbach had the geography of Germany at his finger tips, and had travelled much in Europe, he used to show him on the map the various places in connection with the War.

When I got pleurisy this also became a topic of daily discussion. My dietetic experiments were going on even then. My diet consisted among other things, of groundnuts, ripe and unripe bananas, lemon, olive oil, tomatoes and grapes. I completely eschewed milk, cereals, pulses etc.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta treated me. He pressed me hard to resume milk and cereals, but I was obdurate. The matter reached Gokhale's ears. He had not much regard for my reasoning in favour of a fruitarian diet, and he wanted me to take whatever the doctor prescribed for my health.

It was no easy thing for me not to yield to Gokhale's pressure. When he would not take a refusal, I begged him to give me twenty-four hours for thinking over the question. As Kallenbach and I returned home that evening, we discussed where my duty lay. He had been with me in my experiment. He liked it, but I saw that he was agreeable to my giving it up if my health demanded it. So I had to decide for myself according to the dictates of the inner voice.

I spent the whole night thinking over the matter. To give up the experiment would mean renouncing all my ideas in that direction, and yet I found no flaw in them. The question was how far I should yield to Gokhale's loving pressure, and how far I might modify my experiment in the so-called interests of health. I finally decided to adhere to the experiment in so far as the motive behind was chiefly religious, and to yield to the doctor's advice when the motive was mixed. Religious considerations had been predominant in the giving up of milk. I had before me a picture of the wicked processes the gowalas in Calcutta adopted to extract the last drop of milk from their cows and buffaloes. I also

had the feeling that just as meat was not man's food, even so animals' milk could not be man's food. So I got up in the morning with the determination to adhere to my resolve to abstain from milk. This greatly relieved me, I dreaded to approach Gokhale, but I trusted him to respect my decision.

In the evening Kallenbach and I called on Gokhale at the National Liberal Club. The first question he asked was: "Well, have you decided to accept the doctor's advice?"

I gently but firmly replied: "I am willing to yield on all points except one about which I beg you not to press me. I will not take milk, milk products or meat. If not to take these things should mean my death, I better feel I had face it."

"Is this your final decision?" asked Gokhale. "I am afraid I cannot decide otherwise," said I. "I know that my decision will pain you, but I beg your forgiveness."

With a certain amount of pain but with deep affection, Gokhale said: "I do not approve of your decision, I do not see any religion in it. But I won't press you any more." With these words he turned to Dr. Jivraj Mehta and said: "Please don't worry him any more. Prescribe anything you like within the limit he has set for himself."

The doctor expressed dissent but was helpless. He advised me to take *mung-soup*, with a dash of asafoetida in it. To this I agreed. I took it for a day or two, but it increased my pain. As I did not find it suitable, I went back to fruits and nuts. The doctor, of course, went on with his external treatment. The latter somewhat relieved my pain but my restrictions were to him a sore handicap.

Meanwhile Gokhale left for home, as he could not stand the October fogs of London.

Ferment In The East

Mr. Andrews Explains The Root Cause

"The East is now becoming the storm centre of the world. What was happening in the West during the terrible war years is beginning to happen in the East," said Mr. C. F. Andrews, speaking at a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in London. "If we are to meet the rising forces that are sweeping over the East in wave after wave of emotion, often bitter and often possibly irrational, but always coming right out of the heart of a suffering that we in the West can hardly understand, we shall need all the forces of sympathy, long-suffering, understanding, and love."

India, he said, had become only second to China in her terrible unrest, suffering, and bitterness of heart, and in constantly growing antipathy to the domination and over-weening arrogance of the West.

"I read a few days ago," he said, "that in addition to all I knew of, the suffering there when I left India four months ago, there has come a failure of the rains over a large part of India. That means that in six months' time there will be famine, with which comes disease and death. It seems as if the burden has become too great."

Mr. Andrews told his audience that both Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore had urged him some months ago to come to the West. "It is your duty," they said, "to tell the West that India cannot stand the strain much longer, that the bitterness is increasing, that the old trust and confidence in the Englishman has almost entirely departed, and that distrust and suspicion have come in its place, not only in China but in India." These men, perhaps the two most sensitive souls in the world to-day,

both loved this country and its people, but that was the thought deep in their minds.

"If the unrest and bitterness become greater, and the misunderstanding on both sides becomes critical," he said, "what can be the end but a greater world conflagration than happened fifteen years ago? The East is the danger-spot to-day. Unquestionably every single day a great excitement of humanity is growing up."

He said the tendency in the West was to think too much of Europe, and to think that all would be well if France and Germany could get along together, or if the Balkans were settled, or if America became pacifist. But the centre of gravity of the world's population had always been in the East. A circle with its centre in Borneo and including Java, Japan, and India, would contain more than half the human race. The vital fact was that China and India were seething with distress and misery, and that the unrest extended to Java and Japan.

Mr. Andrews said deliberately that he did not think any other people in the world had been so true to peace, love, gentleness, and the principle of non-violence as the mass of the Indian people had been throughout their recorded history. There were three-quarters of a million villages in India and a million villages in China whose inhabitants were permeated by the message of Buddha, that evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good, and that anger cannot be overcome by violence but only by love. That was the heart of Buddha's teaching, and the people loved it.

The Breath Of Religion

The Indian word translated as "non-violence" was the commonest word in the Indian language. It was the breath of the Indian religion. But what was the position to-day? In India it was being openly said that, in spite of all Gandhi had done, the West was still too strong, that it knew only one weapon, the first, and that India would never be respected unless it met the West with the Western weapon.

In reply to a question, Mr. Andrews said that he could give many reasons for India's bitterness, but the deepest of all was something far deeper than any political or economic question: it was a moral question, the arrogance of the white race. It was its consciousness of the superiority complex of the West that had made the inferiority complex of the East so painful.

A woman in the audience, who said she came from the Southern States of America, pointed out that the great difficulty in the way of equality in the social relations of the Eastern and Western races was the problem of inter-racial marriages.

Mr. Andrews said he recognised the difficulty of that problem, but it would have to be faced. Only a few years ago people were afraid to face the sex question, and they still shirked this other problem.

"I am going to study the question," he said, and for that purpose I am going to the Southern States of America and on to the West Indies and Africa. The problem will inevitably become more urgent. Will it be possible for the races in crowded cities to live apart, or do they live apart, and would not inter-racial marriages be better than sin?"

Another questioner, who had lived in Mohammedan villages in India, had been distressed by cruelties he had seen, and did not consider that the Mohammedans bore out the lecturer's description of Indian gentleness. Mr. Andrews said that he had also lived in many Indian Mohammedan villages, and he had been impressed by the effect that India had had on her Mohammedans. He had lived in other Mohammedan countries and had found that Islam in India was not Islam of those other lands.—*Bombay Chronicle.*

The Hon. Mr. Natesan In Canada

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. Natesan on the occasion of the Government dinner at Edmonton on Sept. 8th:—

Mr. Premier, My Lords and Gentlemen,—I desire to avail myself of this public opportunity to convey to you, the citizens of Edmonton, and through you, to the citizens of the Dominion of Canada, how very much we appreciate the kindness with which we have really been overwhelmed. It is now sixteen days since we stepped on your shores and from the moment of our arrival till now we have been received everywhere with warmth and we have been throughout recipients of your boundless hospitality.

We have been daily feasting our eyes on your beautiful rivers, your fine lakes, your lovely mountains, your great monuments and your grand Parliamentary buildings; we have enjoyed with profit the excursions to your colleges and Universities; your agricultural, industrial and mining centres. When we witnessed the Niagara Falls—"a spectacle, sublime, awe-inspiring, bewildering,"—we were admiring too the marvellous machinery and structure you have put up to harness the water-power and thereby bring comfort to the homes of the rich and poor; when we went down in the lift 2150 feet in the Hollinger Gold mines, we realised the gigantic character of your attempt to explore the mineral resources of your province and the careful arrangements you have made to ensure the comforts of the working men toiling below; we have been able to obtain from you at first-hand a detailed account of the origin and growth of your world-famed "Wheat-pool," an experiment in co-operation which ought to be a great lesson to all who wish to help the farmers, rich and poor; after witnessing all these, one can really echo the words of one of your admirers "Nature here, indeed, has been lavish with her gifts, and man has seconded nature with a skill and ingenuity that is astonishing." But that is not all.

My fellow delegates from India and myself have witnessed with a glow of pride and satisfaction the remarkable amity that prevails among all the classes, communities and races that inhabit this vast Dominion of yours. Besides the French, the English, the Scotch, the Irish, the Welsh, you have here Italians, Finns, Ukrainians, Germans, Norwegians, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Swedes, Belgians, Hollanders and others. Verily, you have in your land a brotherhood of internationalists, and you are giving the world a lesson in true cosmopolitanism. Yours is the best example in the world of once-warring races and nations, living together in peace and harmony; tied by one bond, the love of the common country. Your strong devotion to your native land can be seen when one notices the fervour with which all the different races and nationalities join in singing with pride your national song "Oh Canada, Oh Canada."

If you will allow a personal note, I landed on the shores of Quebec on the 24th August, my 55th birthday. I regard it as the greatest good fortune of my life, that I have had the privilege of being your guest in this wonderful country. New hopes, new aspirations, have been roused in my bosom, and I shall return to my native land with renewed strength and faith in the destiny of my country. By the blood of your martyrs, the sufferings and privations which the Pioneers—men and women—have undergone and by the sweat of your brow and self-sacrificing labours, you have transformed what was once a vast area of forests and wild plains, into a prosperous and happy land. And you have achieved all this by working for only seven months in the year.

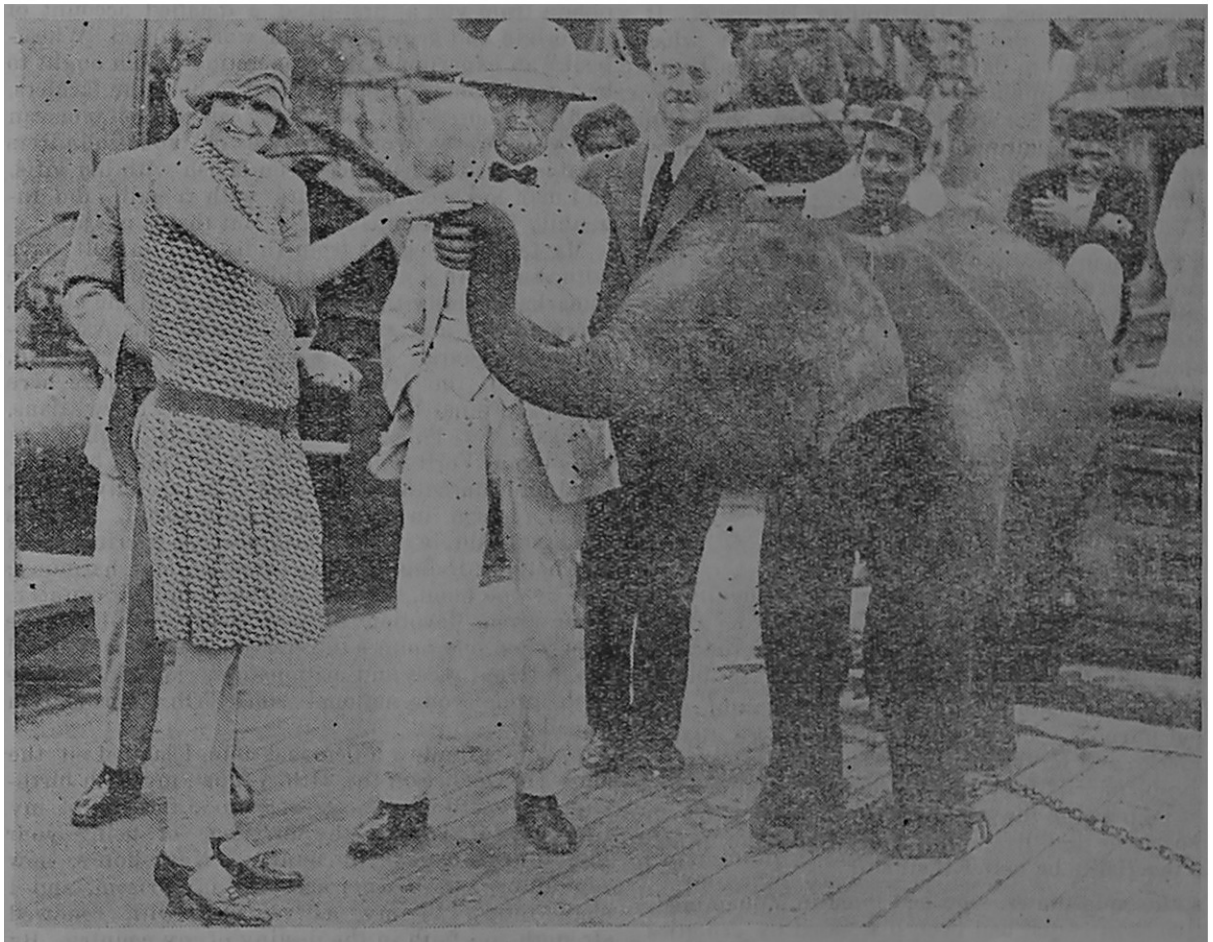
In return for your magnificent hospitality and the splendid opportunities you have offered us to study your country, I desire to convey my gratitude in the time-honoured fashion of my country by uttering the three words "God bless Canada." I now turn to my country. Following the precedent set by others who have spoken about their country, I desire on this occasion to give you a few facts about our past, our present and our aspirations for the future. I feel this is necessary as I find there is a great deal of, I had almost said, profound ignorance about our country. I come from India—a land which one of the great Western *savants* described as "the cradle of humanity," a land which, as Lord Peel has told you already, has a great past and an ancient civilisation behind it. It is worth remembering too, as our good friend Roselyn Mitchell observed, that though for over a period of ten thousand years, conqueror after conqueror has contributed his share of destruction, yet until this day, it preserves its personality,—a unique personality indeed.

We are 320 millions, Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, and other martial races, and though sometimes one has fought with the other, yet each has given unto the other something of its culture and thus jointly enriched the civilisation of the country.

We have had great rulers in the past, Chandragupta and Asoka, Akbar, the great Mussalman Emperor, whose beneficent rule and noble attempt to found a Universal Religion has formed the theme of one of the finest poems of Tennyson. We have

had warrior-statesmen like Ranjit Singh and Sivaji, whose statue was not long ago unveiled by the Prince of Wales. The art of government has not been, and is not, unknown to us. The Dravidian, the Aryan and the Mussalman all alike have had their day, although each has its own chequered tale to tell. For a long time past and even at the present day, the great Native States, Indian States as they are called, and which comprise one-third of India, have been and are being administered by a number of able and distinguished Indians. It may interest you to know that the Prime Minister to His Exalted Highness the Nizam is a Hindu; that in Mysore, a province ruled by a Hindu, a young and patriotic Mussalman is the Dewan. I am mentioning some of these facts to you, because you hear so little about my country and what little news is given to you is about the ill-feeling that is said to permanently exist between Hindus and Muslims. It will interest you to know that among one of the great saints revered by the Hindus, is Kabir, a saint of Mussalman origin. In one of the mosques in the South from which I come, Hindus go on pilgrimage and offer their prayers. To go back to the subject, our capacity for administration; within the last quarter of a century, Indians drawn from all classes and creeds have been trusted with responsible posts in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of those of the Governors of the various Provinces, and, according to all accounts, they have acquitted themselves very well.

(To be Continued)



Courtesy Natal Advertiser:

The baby elephant presented by Mr. Sastri to the Durban Zoo

शास्त्रीजीने दुरबनना जूने भेट करेले लुथीनु मरुतु.

The poorest arrangements will still be their way when delivered with firmness and decision.

Fetters though made of gold are fetters still. That a man should work is a law of life.