

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

DEEP regret will be felt among the Indian community of Durban at the sad news received by the English mail of the death in North Wales following an attack of pneumonia of Dr. S. J. Clegg, formerly Medical Officer of Health for the Borough. Dr. Clegg had come into intimate touch with the Indian community during the Small-pox epidemic in 1926 when it was his generous attitude that enabled Indians to co-operate heartily with the Health Department in eradicating the evil.

It is announced in the *Union Gazette* that the sixth session of the fifth Parliament of the Union of South Africa will assemble in Capetown on Friday, January 25, 1929, and the formal opening by His Excellency the Governor-General will take place with the usual ceremony in the Senate House, and Houses of Parliament, at noon on that day.

The following is Mr. Sastri's programme:—Mr. Sastri will arrive in Johannesburg from Capetown on January 4, where he will be the guest of Sir E. Oppenheimer. A farewell banquet will be given at the City Hall by the Indian community in honour of Mr. Sastri on Jan. 5. Mr. Sastri will speak at St. Mary's Cathedral on Jan. 6, on the "Life of Christ as understood by India." He will attend the Indo-European Council meeting on Jan. 7. On Jan. 8, Mr. Sastri will be entertained to a farewell banquet at the Carlton Hotel by Europeans. The Transvaal Indian Women's Association will give a tea party in Mr. Sastri's honour at the Inchcape Hall on Jan. 9. Pretoria Indians will present a farewell address to Mr. Sastri on Jan. 10 and on the night of Jan. 11 Mr. Sastri will leave for Kimberley.

Reuter from Capetown reports of cable messages having been despatched to the Viceroy at Delhi and the Indian National Congress at Calcutta by the Indian National Association. In the former the association congratulates the Government of India on the appointment of a new Agent-General for South Africa. In both cables the association says it hopes the new Agent-General will consult all Indian opinion before concluding negotiations with the Union Government.

Indian National Association is a name hitherto unheard of and we were naturally puzzled as to who the body represented. On inquiries, however, we have been authoritatively informed that it represents the malcontents in the community the parent body being the so-called Federation. These misguided friends of ours have not had a word to say in favour of the present Agent Mr. Sastri or the work done by him, nor in favour of the Capetown Agreement generally. It is surprising, therefore, that they should have taken the lead in hailing with satisfaction the appointment of the new Agent. Is it again their inconsistency, a well-known characteristic of theirs, or is it that they are turning over a new leaf? If it is the latter, so much to their own good and to the good of the community. But we doubt very much if that is really the case.

At the annual general meeting of the Indian Commercial Travellers' Association held during the week, the following officials were elected for the ensuing year: President, G. H. Varachia; Hon. Secretary, E. H. Ismail; Treasurer, S. A. Yusuff; Committee, Malek Amod, E. A. Mayet, C. Khan, S. E. Patel, A. M. Badat.

Thus the *Tribune* (Lahore) on Mr. Tielman Roos:—
We are not so sure that we do not rather like this Minister Tielman Roos of South Africa, albeit he is Minister of 'Justice' so called. He is plain where others indulge in that hypocrisy which has been well defined as the tribute which vice pays to virtue. He is of the type of Lord Milner, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the *Morning Post*. This politician who is officially supposed to 'minister' to 'justice' and paid therefore, burst out as follows the other day:—'We have to make South Africa safe for the whites, and anything endangering our safety we must fight. As nationalists we shall fight to the utmost any attempt to develop the natives on lines which will endanger the white standard of the Union.' This for candour is super-excellent. These whites,—the paper which Mr. Wilson now edits so well said even in its unregenerate reactionary days under Mr. Chesney that the only thing white about the South African cosmopolitans was their skin,—representatives and missionaries of 'civilization', go to other peoples' lands, establish themselves there in power by what means are helpful to success,—the reader is referred to John Bright on this point—talk all the while of their civilizing mission and act all the time to put down the children of the soil contemptuously dismissed as natives to rise to prosperity upon their prostrate body. And they have the audacity to rant of 'justice.' How dirty is their game.

A Reuter's message from Calcutta dated Dec. 22 states:—

"Although the train conveying the Simon Commission was guarded by police on its journey from Patna, the Commission's arrival here was extremely quiet. The reason for this was that the boycott element were busy according a reception to Motilal, Nehru, whose procession was attended by record crowds."

We wonder what Reuter's agency has meant to convey to the world by the above message and by other recent messages referring to the activities of the Simon Commission. One reading accounts of the Simon Commission's activities in the Indian papers cannot fail to see the half truths contained in Reuter's messages. The evidence so far given before the Commission was by men who not only do not represent public opinion in India but who cannot even claim to represent the respective sections to which they profess to belong. The above message only proves how unpopular the Commission is. Reuter's Agency is by no means enhancing the prestige of the Commission by announcing to the world how the latter had to be guarded by the police.

The news of the Commission's arrival in Calcutta being "extremely quiet" too does not very much add to its prestige. It, in fact, does quite the opposite thing. That "the boycott element were busy arranging a reception to Motilal Nehru, whose procession was attended by record crowds" only goes to convey that the people of India have left the Commission severely alone and are whole-heartedly with the Congress in which, at last, all parties—the Liberals and the Moderates included—have once again combined together.

Commenting on the brutal assaults made by the police on the late Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders when the Simon Commission visited Lahore Dr. Beasant writes in her *New India* :—

"Violence and bloodshed at Lahore are a fore-runner of the coming troubles. Will England lose India as she lost the American colonies? As in the latter case, the best brains and strongest hearts in India will not bear many repetitions of the Lahore outrages." Continuing she says :—"The Punjab is not a province to be treated in this way. The citizens are virile and ready to meet violence with violence. Let it not be forgotten if any popular violence occurs that it was the European officials who began it. Is the English Labour Party going still to approve of this detested Commission forced by violence on the people growing more and more angry? Lahore scenes will immensely strengthen the cry for independence, for it is intolerable that our unarmed honoured leaders should be thus brutally treated. Will Mr. Ramsay MacDonald withdraw Labour members from the Commission?"

THE OLD AND THE NEW YEAR

WITH this issue falling into the hands of the reader the old year will have almost closed and the new year will have dawned. Before entering the new year a peep into the past will not be out of place. If the present year just nearing its end could not be said to have been quite as bright as we would have wished it to be neither can it be said that it was altogether dull. Our progress on the lines of the Capetown Agreement has been slow but sure. We commenced the year with the condonation scheme which has caused not a little anxiety to many of our brethren. While we do not wish to enter into the bitter history of the scheme we would remark that a little more generosity on the part of the Authorities was required in dealing with the question especially in view of the fact that the fault of those having entered illicitly was not altogether on the side of those who had committed the offence but that the corruption existing in the Government Department was also to a great extent responsible. However, the trouble has now ended. Those of our brethren who have cleaned up their records have not been any the worse off for having done so. They have nothing to fear provided the Government treat them sympathetically and in a generous spirit. Then we have made a marked progress towards education. The Provincial Authorities who were at one time averse to giving any facilities to Indians for education and who were, in fact, robbing Indians of the financial aid that was due to them are, after the recent inquiry in terms of the Capetown Agreement, taking practical steps towards increasing the existing facilities for Indian education. This is a distinct gain to the Indian community for which it owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and the Indian

educational experts, Mr. K. P. Kichlu and Miss Gordon, who had been expressly sent out by the Government of India. Independent efforts on the part of the Indian community too in this connection has not been wanting. Mr. Sastri's appeal for £20,000 to build a high school and training college was responded to enthusiastically. The site for the purpose has been granted on lease by the Durban Corporation and the foundation stone laid by His Honour the Administrator. The work of building, however, has not yet begun. The delay is unfortunate. The enthusiasm that prevailed in the beginning does not seem to have lasted. The expected £20,000 have not yet come. The wealthier members of our community should bestir themselves and fill the deficiency and the building work should begin before Mr. Sastri leaves these shores. Any honour done to Mr. Sastri will mean nothing to him if this work will be allowed to remain unfinished. Then we have had social reform work carried on with appreciable success. The Social Service Committee in Durban has been of considerable help and guidance to our brethren in matters of health and sanitation and the Child Welfare Society has shown a good record of its work during the year in looking after the needs of children and in instructing mothers in regard to their care. In the Transvaal there has been formed a joint body of European sympathisers and Indians to carry on social reform work. These bodies can play a very useful part in the uplift movement. In regard to housing conditions of Indians no tangible steps have yet been taken. They are bad in Johannesburg and in Capetown but worst in Durban where the population is the largest. The Central Housing Board have inquired into the conditions and their report is anxiously awaited. Whatever the authorities may or may not do in this connection the duty of the Indians is clear enough. The rack-renters of our community should not simply see to the filling of their coffers. If they are in a position to build they should build quarters and let them on reasonable rents to their own brethren and see to the strict observance of sanitary rules. Then there has been an awakening among the Indian labouring class. They no longer wish to remain under servile conditions. They have formed themselves into trade unions and while seeking registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act colour prejudice has come into the way and separate unions for Indians and Europeans have been suggested. We oppose on principle the registration of separate unions, and the seeking of separate registration is, we think, not of so great an importance as is the seeking of equal facilities and opportunities to qualify themselves to earn the European standard wage. A labour organisation for this purpose is most essential and the present move among the labouring class is, therefore, commendable.

All this would go to prove that Indians who are settled in this country and wish to remain as a part of the permanent population are themselves prepared to ameliorate their conditions and to rise to the accepted standard of the country and that if facilities were provided by the Government they would without hesitation take advantage of them.

Let us now examine the work done by the Government under the Capetown Agreement. They have hitherto concentrated more than anything else on reducing the Indian population to bring it to, what is termed, a manageable compass. That a population of not more than a hundred and seventy thousand cannot be accommodated in the whole of the Union seems to us ridiculous.

to the extreme. But be that as it may. We have accepted the Assisted Emigration Scheme as a means to reduce the population, so long as it is worked on proper and legitimate lines. That scheme has been working in full force and the Government of the day takes pride in the fact that the numbers of Indians leaving the country during the period they have been in power have far excelled those who left under the previous Government. Then in utter violation of the Capetown Agreement the Minister of Justice introduced a clause in the Liquor Bill which aimed at throwing out of employment thousands of Indians and closing for ever the only avenue which was open to them for their livelihood. Fortunately better counsel prevailed and after much agitation and anxious thought we were saved from that calamity. We refer to Clause 104. But we are not entirely out of trouble, for several other clauses have been detected in the now Liquor Act, which have been referred to in our last week's issue, the effect of which will be almost as bad as Clause 104. It is to be sincerely hoped that when other amendments are made in the Act, as they are proposed to be made, these clauses will not be overlooked and that the same reasons which required the deletion of clause 104 to be made will also prompt the amendments to the clauses in question.

Difficulties under the Local Governments are as bad as ever. Licensing difficulties in the Transvaal where there are comparatively a handful of Indians are daily increasing. The cries of 'down with the Indian' are still heard now and then from all over the country. In short, there are no signs visible of a real change of heart. During this anxious period we have had in Mr. Sastri's presence amongst us a great consolation. He has by private negotiations and public utterances prevented public opinion going against us. His absence in the coming year will be keenly felt, for no person will be able to adequately fill his place. There is yet another consolation that we with our difficulties in this country may take. That we may do by comparing our difficulties with those of our brethren in India and of human beings in other parts of the world. Take, for instance, the sufferings of the people in Bardoli and the people in the devastated places where nature has played havoc. We are far better off than those people.

Our wish for the new year is that the spirit in which the Capetown Agreement was arrived at would prevail in both the communities and that both would honestly work for its fulfilment; that colour prejudice would be a thing of the past and that a spirit of tolerance would prevail among the ruling race; that both the communities would be inspired by a spirit of friendliness and brotherhood and that they would stand by each other in times of peace as they have stood in times of distress. What we would wish for our own brethren in this country is this: Let us not merely clamour for existence, let us not lose our manhood for the sake of mere existence; our self-respect and honour of our country should be more precious to us than our existence; we should be prepared to sacrifice our existence to maintain them. Then alone will we have deserved to live. With this wish and prayer we wish one and all

A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

An Unfair Attack

With our fullest concurrence we reproduce the following reply by the *Leader*, (Allahabad), to an unjustifiable attack of the *Indian National Herald* on the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri:—

'By his weak-kneed compromise with the latter (the South African Government), Mr. Sastri is leaving a legacy of trouble for his successor and creating fresh dangers for his countrymen in the Union, the end of which it is difficult to forecast.' This is the verdict of the *Indian National Herald* of Bombay on the services rendered by Mr. Sastri to the Indian community in South Africa. Fortunately for this country and its people in South Africa, Indians both here and in that dominion have a different opinion altogether of Mr. Sastri's work and have generally accepted the agreements arrived at by him with the Union and Provincial Governments on behalf of his fellow-countrymen. Dr. Gool speaking on behalf of the Cape British Indian Council at a reception given in honour of Mr. Sastri said that it was a well-known fact that it was Mr. Sastri's kindliness, his complete grasp of the situation and his ability to meet differences which had been the greatest factor in arriving at a permanent solution of the Indian problem in South Africa. The South African Indian Congress in their last session passed a resolution placing on record their appreciation of Mr. Sastri's work. Mr. Gandhi than whom nobody in this country understands the South African question better has spoken highly of Mr. Sastri's work and in a message to the Indians of South Africa he said: 'Their strength.....lies in their unity, moderation and reliance upon one who is not merely Agent-General of the Government of India but is their true and powerful friend and guide.' Mr. Andrews who has done so much for the cause of Indians in South Africa has paid tributes of high praise to Mr. Sastri's work. It was left to our Bombay contemporary to speak of Mr. Sastri's 'weak-kneed compromises.' The journal finds fault with the assisted emigration and condonation schemes. Let it be understood that no Indian is enamoured of the assisted emigration scheme; Mr. Sastri too is not enamoured of it. But Mr. Sastri and others who signed the Capetown Agreement knew the temper of the people they were dealing with; they knew that by rejecting the scheme offered at Capetown they would not be obtaining better conditions for Indians. And the present scheme is admittedly an improvement on the former one; an emigrant now has not to make the humiliating statement, 'I hereby renounce....' And if he likes he can go back to South Africa again, provided three years have not passed since he left South Africa. As regards condonation, it has not taken away any of the existing rights of Indians. The scheme does not touch the lawful entrant at all. In the case of the illegal entrant it offers him an opportunity to make his position safe in the country for ever by seeking condonation. But it is absolutely voluntary; if he does not choose to seek condonation, he can continue to live as he has been living in the past under the risk of being discovered some day and placed before the immigration officer. But it would be better for him to obtain a free pardon and live for ever in safety. Indian visitors from South Africa describe how greatly Mr. Sastri has improved Indo-European relations in that country. What Mr. Sastri has done for the cause of education alone entitles him to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen. We are greatly sorry that there should be any one so unfair as to speak of Mr. Sastri's 'leaving a legacy of trouble for his successor.'

Mahatma Gandhi On Lalajee's Death

"Long Live Lalajee"

Young India dated November 22, contains under the above heading the following leading article by Mahatma Gandhi:—

Lala Lajpatrai is dead. Long live Lalaji. Men like Lalaji cannot die so long as the sun shines in the Indian sky. Lalaji means an institution. From his youth he made of his country's service a religion. And his patriotism was no narrow creed. He loved his country because he loved the world. His nationalism was international. Hence his hold on the European mind. He claimed a large circle of friends in Europe and America. They loved him because they knew him.

His activities were multifarious. He was an ardent social and religious reformer. Like many of us he became a politician because his zeal for social and religious reform demanded participation in politics. He observed at an early stage of his public career that much reform of the type he wanted was not possible until the country was freed from foreign domination. It appeared to him, as to most of us, as a poison corrupting every department of life.

It is impossible to think of a single public movement in which Lalaji was not to be found. His love of service was insatiable. He founded educational institutions; he befriended the suppressed classes; poverty wherever found claimed his attention. He surrounded young men with extraordinary affection. No young man appealed to him in vain for help. In the political field he was indispensable. He was fearless in the expression of his views. He suffered for it when suffering had not become customary or fashionable. His life was an open book. His extreme frankness often embarrassed his friends, if it also confounded his critics. But he was incorrigible.

With all deference to my Musalman friends, I assert that he was no enemy of Islam. His desire to strengthen and purify Hinduism must not be confounded with hatred of Musalmans or Islam. He was sincerely desirous of promoting and achieving Hindu Muslim unity. He wanted not Hindu Raj but he passionately wanted Indian Raj; he wanted all who called themselves Indians to have absolute equality. I wish that Lalaji's death would teach us to trust one another. And we could easily do this if we could but shed fear.

There will be, as there must be, a demand for a national memorial. In my humble opinion no memorial can be complete without a definite determination to achieve the freedom for which he lived and died so nobly. Let us recall what has after all proved to be his last will. He has bequeathed to the younger generation the task of vindicating India's freedom and honour. Will they prove worthy of the trust he reposed in them? Shall we the older survivors—men and women—deserve to have had Lalaji as a countryman by making a fresh, united, supreme effort to realise the dream of a long line of patriots in which Lalaji was so distinguished a member?

Nor may we forget the Servants of People Society which he founded for the promotion of his many activities all designed for the advancement of the country. His ambition in respect of the Society was very high. He wanted a number of young men all over India to join together in a common cause and work with one will. The Society is an infant not many years old. He had hardly time enough to consolidate this great work of his. It is a national trust requiring the nation's care and attention.

Indian National Congress

A Reuter's message from the Calcutta Congress Camp states:—

All parties to the convention adopted unanimously a resolution favouring India's constitutional position re self-governing dominion with a status like Australia and South Africa. The debate was on the motion of the Swarajist, Sen Gupta, who was supported by Sir Ali Iman, Sir Rama Swami and Chintamani. The Liberals emphasised that forces of political unity achieved in connection with the boycott of the Simon Commission should be regimented with a view to securing Dominion status which gave equal partnership with the biggest nation in the world.

Mrs. Besant suggested an organisation on a parallel with the Government in order to achieve freedom.

The dissentiates did not vote but made a statement expressing their faith in the independence for which they would fight in congress.

Those Unwanted Guests

The Tribune (Lahore) has the following leading article under the above heading referring to the Simon Commission. It will be of interest to the people of South Africa to know better why India boycotts the Commission:—

Why is all that is good and true in the country, irrespective of caste, creed or class, sternly resolved to boycott the Simon Commission? The question has been answered in hundreds of leading articles and from a hundred platforms, but it is not amiss to briefly answer it again on the day of the Commission's arrival at Lahore. India can have nothing to do with this Commission, first, because its constitution and composition involves the complete negation of her right to have an effective voice in her own affairs and particularly in the shaping of her own constitution; and secondly, because it has been thrust upon her not only without regard to her wishes, but in the teeth of her united national protest. To these primary reasons may be added two secondary reasons, which lend further strength for the case for the boycott. One is that the appointment of an all-British Commission is a positively retrograde step, because in all previous cases in recent years Indians have been associated with similar bodies; and the other is that it is inconsistent even with the spirit of the halting preamble to the Government of India Act, which laid stress on the necessity of "associating Indians in every branch of Indian administration" and on the action of Parliament in evolving responsible government in India "being guided by the co-operation received from Indians," and, by implication, on the equal necessity of associating Indians with a Commission entrusted with the all-important duty of framing India's future constitution.

But the last two reasons, let it be frankly stated, have only served to strengthen the boycott by bringing those politically-minded Indians into the vortex of the national movement who might otherwise have stood aloof from it. Even without them the boycott might have been there. No country which has arrived at the stage of national self-development that India has reached could for one moment have accepted an arrangement under which it was denied all determining voice in the shaping of its destiny. Had a Commission like this been offered to Ireland in the days when she was struggling for self-rule as we in India are struggling for it to-day, not one Irishman would have touched the offer with a pair

of tonga. As a matter of fact British statesmanship never dared to make so insulting an offer to Ireland. In another case, that of Egypt, it did make the offer, but with results which are writ large on the pages of recent Anglo-Egyptian history. The Milner Commission received a treatment at the hands of patriotic and self-respecting Egyptians which neither they nor their country ever forgot. How could any one expect India to be the only exception to this rule?

As far as we are aware, only two reasons have so far been publicly given for the exclusion of Indians from the Commission, both equally untrue and equally absurd. One is that Parliament could not share its responsibility with any other body or individual. The question in this case, however, was not at all that of Parliament sharing its responsibility with others, but simply of devising the steps by which and the manner in which the responsibility of the British Parliament could be transferred to an Indian Parliament. And who has ever heard of one of the two parties to such a transaction being denied all ultimate voice in it? But assuming that there was some force in the argument, how did it affect the position? Even if a substantial proportion of the Commission had been Indian, Parliament would still have remained the master, because the report of the Commission would naturally have been made to it and could only have been given the effect of law by its consent. The second reason was equally flimsy and even more offensive to India. The Commission, it was said, had to be all-British, because it was impossible to find Indians who were free from bias or preconceived notions. How little the members actually appointed to the Commission can be said to stand this test, is known to every one. But that is another matter. The really important point is that the very men who pleaded their inability to find three or four suitable persons in all India to serve on the Commission proceeded in the same breath to suggest the appointment of as many committees of seven or more persons as there were Legislatures in India, all with the same functions and the same proposed status as the Simon Commission! Nor is another aspect of the matter to be overlooked. If Indians are unfit to work on a Commission which is to determine their constitution, they are *ipso facto* unfit to govern themselves. Why this farce of an enquiry then? If Lord Birkenhead and his supporters had intended to prove their utter lack of responsibility and seriousness and their complete unfitness for handling a difficult and delicate question involving the future of three hundred millions of human beings, it would have been impossible for them to proceed differently.

Here, then, are the reasons for the boycott in a nutshell. It is perfectly obvious that no Indian, who is not entirely devoid of sensitive and self-respecting patriotism, can have anything to do with so unacceptable a body. This is not to say that even this unacceptable body cannot eventually justify itself. It can justify itself if, as Lord Durham did in the case of Canada, it will recommend for India what India has been asking for. In this matter it has a unique advantage over Lord Durham. The Nehru Committee and the All-Parties Conference have done the whole work for it and have stated in precise terms what India wants. It has only to say ditto to them, and ask the British Parliament to accept the Nehru report, as modified by the Lucknow Conference and the proposed Convention, as its own report. But until it has done so it must be prepared for a rigid boycott. Judging from the beginning it has made, this is the very last thing one can expect. In every single respect Sir John Simon and his colleagues have justified the worst apprehensions of those who from the first have been in favour of

non-co-operating with them. The manner in which the Central and Provincial Committees have been treated, the large volume of *in camera* evidence, the decision to treat the most important memoranda as confidential, and last but not the least the nature of the questions put to witnesses and the observations which the Commissioners have from time to time allowed themselves to make, all show conclusively that the process in which they are engaged is little better than tinkering, and that nothing is farther from their mind than to make recommendations fundamentally altering the character, constitution and basis of the Government in India. As this last is all that even the most moderate of Indian opinion is bent on having to-day, it is perfectly clear that the personnel of the Commission is as unacceptable to India as its constitution. The Punjab will have nothing to do with such a body.

Moslem League For Dominion Status

A Reuter's message from Calcutta dated Dec 26, states:—

The Maharajah of Mahumudabad, the President of the All-India Muslim League, in opening the session of the League to-day, gave a lead in favour of Dominion status for India, as an alternative to complete independence.

The Maharajah declared that the British connection gave an undeniable security, and was a valuable asset to Indian Nationalism, which must face laborious decades before reaching a sturdy manhood.

Moreover, he said, the report drawn up by Motilal Nehru in August last, which demanded, inter alia, Dominion status, the transference of political power from England to the people and an Indian two-Chamber Parliament, with supreme authority, guaranteed all the requests for political freedom which would be conferred by independence.

The Maharajah urged that Muslims should be broadminded and appoint delegates to participate in the proceedings of the All-Parties Convention, to accept the Nehru report with modifications.

The opinion of the Indian Congress camp on the alternative causes of Dominion status and complete independence is seriously split, despite efforts at conciliation by Mr. Gandhi, who, however, advocates the Dominions ideal.

The latest developments show that, if the Imperial Parliament does not enact the Nehru Constitution by 1930, the Congress will declare national Independence as its goal, and meanwhile adopt the programme and prepare to enforce the Congress ideal.

'Freedom To The Free'

Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in his *Young India*:—

Whilst we are cutting one another's throats in the name of religion and some of us running to the Statutory Commission in the vain hope of getting freedom, a friend sends me the following from James Allen to remind us that even in the land of so-called freedom, the real freedom has still to come. Here is the passage:

'All outward oppression is but the shadow and effect of the real oppression within. For ages the oppressed have cried for liberty, and a thousand man-made statutes have failed to give it to them. They can give it only to themselves; they shall find it only in obedience to the Divine Statutes which

Where the sun does not enter the doctor does—Italian Proverb.

The only true secret of assisting the poor is to make them agents in bettering their condition—Archbishop Hannan.

are inscribed upon their hearts. Let them resort to the inward freedom, and the shadow of oppression shall no more darken the earth. Let man cease to oppress his brother. Men legislate for an outward freedom, yet continue to render such freedom impossible of achievement by fostering an inward condition of enslavement. They thus purane a shadow without and ignore the substance within. All outward forms of bondage and oppression will cease to be when man ceases to be the willing bond-slave of passion, error, and ignorance.

The outward freedom, therefore, that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is the correct view of freedom, our chief energy must be concentrated upon achieving reform from within. In this much needed work all who will can take an equal share. We need neither to be lawyers, nor legislators to be able to take part in the great effort. When this reform takes place on a national scale no outside power can stop our onward march.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Bitter Experience

The following account of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, of the Jallianwalla Bagh fame given by the London correspondent of the *Tribune* will be read with interest in South Africa.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer had an unpleasant experience recently when he tried to speak about India at an institution, called "The Brotherhood Church" in Hoxton, North London. The work of this church is based upon Tolstoyan principles and affords an open platform to all, whatever their views may be. The Minister, Rev. F. R. Swan, belongs to an opposite school to that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, having made his church a centre of advanced Labour politics. But having been invited to address the meeting, the ex-Governor, as Mr. Swan said, was at least entitled to a fair hearing. Perhaps, if more had been known of him, he would never have been asked to come.

Anyhow, Sir Michael's civil reputation had got there before him. The *Morning Post* would have us believe that "there is no name more revered and loved in the Punjab than that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer." If it is loved in the Punjab, it is evidently execrated in London, for as soon as its owner began to speak he was met by such a volume of hostile shouts as to be quite taken aback. Accustomed as he is to the friendly parlours of the East India Association (where they hang on his words), Sir Michael was unprepared for the vigorous protestation of a proletarian audience, and after a few vain attempts to make himself heard he left the platform in disgust.

The opposition was attributed to a Communist organisation. Indians cannot be accused of having instigated it. But it was evident from the beginning that the interrupters were determined to refuse the speaker a hearing, and as they were in a majority the conductors of the meeting were helpless. Red banners were waved in the church, one of them being inscribed, "O'Dwyer, Murderer," and another "Stop murdering English workers." Socialist songs were sung at intervals, and pandemonium reigned until the meeting came to its premature end. A policeman was called in, but his services were not required. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was able to leave the building without molestation.

The denial of free speech must always be condemned, but it must be acknowledged that in this case Sir Michael O'Dwyer only got what he deserved.

Lalajee's Memorial

Appeal For Five Lakhs

The following appeal has been addressed to the citizens of India by Dr. M. A. Ansari, Panit Malan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Ghanashyamas Birla:—

It is but meet that there should be a national memorial to the revered memory of a patriot so brave, so great and so self-sacrificing as Lala Lajpat Rai. We the undersigned have therefore taken it upon ourselves to make an appeal to the generous public for funds which we hope will meet with universal response. If we expect large donations from the rich, we know that Lalaji's spirit would find the greatest solace from the coppers of the poor. We propose to announce later the exact manner in which the funds will be used, but we constitute ourselves as trustees for the funds with power to associate others with us in their administration. We may, however, generally state that we shall use them for the advancement of Lalaji's many political activities to which he so nobly gave the best part of his life. We shall naturally bear in mind his great creation and the instrument of his operations—the Servants of the People Society.

We have fixed the sum of Rs. 5,00,000 (five lakhs) as the minimum that a grateful country should give to Lalaji's memory. Regard being had to the bad times through which we are passing, we have chosen the lowest sum consistently with Lalaji's all-India greatness and the cause to which the monies are to be devoted.

Subscription should be sent to Sjt. Ghanashyamas Birla, 8 Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta, who has kindly consented to act as Secretary and Treasurer for the fund.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

Part IV Chapter XLV.

SHARP PRACTICE?

I had no doubt about the soundness of my advice, but I doubted very much my fitness for doing full justice to the case. I felt it would be a most hazardous undertaking to argue such a difficult case before the Supreme Court, and I appeared before the Bench in fear and trembling.

As soon as I referred to the error in the accounts, one of the judges said:

"Is not this sharp practice, Mr. Gandhi?"

I boiled within to hear this charge. It was intolerable to be accused of sharp practice when there was not the slightest warrant for it.

"With a judge prejudiced from the start like this, there is little chance of success in this difficult case," I said to myself. But I composed my thoughts and answered:

"I am surprised that your Lordship should suspect sharp practice without hearing me out!"

"No question of charge," said the the judge. "It is a mere suggestion."

"The suggestion here seems to me to amount to a charge. I would ask your Lordship to hear me out and then arraign me if there is any occasion for it."

"I am sorry to have interrupted you," replied the judge. "Pray do go on with your explanation of the discrepancy."

I had enough material in support of my expla-

nation. Thanks to the Judge having raised this question, I was able to rivet the Court's attention on my argument from the very start. I felt much encouraged and took the opportunity of entering into a detailed explanation. The Court gave me a patient hearing and I was able to convince the Judges that the discrepancy was due entirely to inadvertence. They, therefore, did not feel disposed to cancel the whole award which had involved considerable labour.

The opposing Counsel seemed to feel secure in the belief that not much argument would be needed after the error had been admitted. But the Judges continued to interrupt him, as they were convinced that the error was a slip which could be easily rectified. The Counsel laboured hard to attack the award, but the Judge who had originally started with the suspicion had now come round definitely to my side.

'Supposing Mr. Gandhi had not admitted the error, what would you have done?' he asked.

'It was impossible for us to secure the services of a more competent and honest expert accountant than the one appointed by us.'

'The Court must presume that you know your case best. If you cannot point out anything beyond the slip which any expert accountant is liable to commit, the Court will be loath to compel the parties to go in for fresh litigation and fresh expenses, because of a patent mistake. We may not order a fresh hearing when such an error can be easily corrected,' continued the Judge.

And so the Counsel's objection was overruled. The Court either confirmed the award, with the error rectified, or ordered the arbitrator to rectify the error, I forget which.

I was extremely delighted. My client and senior Counsel were equally delighted, and I was confirmed in my conviction that it was not impossible to practise law without compromising truth.

Let the reader, however, remember that even truthfulness in the practice of the profession cannot cure it of the fundamental defect that vitiates it.

Part IV. Chapter XLVI.

CLIENTS TURNED CO-WORKERS

The distinction between the legal practice in Natal and in the Transvaal was that in Natal there was a joint bar; a barrister, whilst he was admitted to the rank of advocate, could also practise as an attorney. Whereas in the Transvaal, as in Bombay, the spheres of attorneys and advocates were distinct. A barrister had the right of election whether he would practise as an advocate or as an attorney. So, whilst in Natal I was admitted as an advocate, in the Transvaal I sought admission as an attorney. For, as an advocate, I could not have come in direct contact with the Indians and the white attorneys in South Africa would not have briefed me.

But even in the Transvaal, it was open to attorneys to appear before magistrates. On one occasion, whilst I was conducting a case before a magistrate in Johannesburg, I discovered that my client had deceived me. I saw him completely break down in the witness box. So, without any argument, I asked the magistrate to dismiss the case. The opposing counsel was astonished and the magistrate was pleased. I rebuked my client for bringing a false case to me. He knew that I never accepted false cases, and when I brought the thing home to him, he admitted his mistake, and I have an impression that he was not angry with me for having asked the magistrate to decide against him. At any rate, my conduct in this case did not affect my practice for the worse, indeed, it made my work easier. I also saw that my devotion to truth enhanced my reputation amongst the members of the profession

and in spite of the handicap of colour, I was able in some cases to win even their affection.

During my professional work, it was also my habit never to disguise my ignorance from my clients or my colleagues. Wherever I felt myself at sea, I would advise my client to consult some other counsel, or if he preferred to stick to me, I would ask him to let me seek the assistance of senior counsel. This frankness earned me the unbounded affection and trust of my clients. They were always willing to pay the fee whenever consultation with senior counsel was necessary. This affection and trust served me in good stead in my public work.

I have indicated in the foregoing chapters that my object in practising in South Africa was service of the community. Even for this purpose, winning the confidence of the people was an indispensable condition. These large-hearted Indians magnified into service professional work done for money, and when I advised them to suffer the hardships of imprisonment for the sake of their rights, many of them cheerfully accepted it, not so much because they had reasoned out the correctness of the course as because of their confidence in and affection for me.

As I write this, many a sweet reminiscence come to my mind. Hundreds of clients became friend and real co-workers in public service, and their association sweetened a life that was otherwise full of difficulties and dangers.

The Evils Of Smoking

A slashing attack on the tobacco habit, by a Maritzburg eye specialist was a feature of the proceedings of the Parliamentary and Debating Society, says the City correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*, when Dr. Ingle moved the following resolution:—

"That smoking is a useless and harmful habit, and is such a rapidly-growing evil that it should be included for control under the Narcotic and Habit-Forming Drugs Act."

Dr. Ingle comprehensively covered the subject and quoted statistics to prove his point, that tobacco smoking was an obnoxious habit.

His views, said the speaker, were supported by such authorities as "The Lancet" and the "British Medical Journal." Civilisation was hampered by superstition, and doctors had proved that the superstition that smoking was a useful, or harmless, habit, was entirely wrong. Man was really what might be called a "doping animal," for in all countries, and in all ages, he had sought out drugs which temporarily produced pleasurable sensations, or gave a feeling of increased health and power. The poisonous plant most commonly used by the Natives of America was tobacco, and when Columbus first landed at Cuba he observed Indians smoking their rolls of tobacco in peculiar pipes which were known as calumets. Some of the sailors tried the experiment and must have decided that the pleasure afforded outweighed their misery, for they took back to Europe samples of tobacco seed and soon that practice of smoking was introduced.

Amazing Figures

The tobacco habit had now spread to every civilised, and almost every uncivilised country, and was indulged in by more than 700,000,000 people.

Dr. Ingle then proceeded to quote some amazing statistics regarding the use of tobacco in America. There, he said, no fewer than 120,000,000 cigarettes were smoked daily. Laid end to end, the cigarettes sold in America in one day would stretch 3,000 miles. One million eight hundred thousand acres of land in America was devoted to the cultivation of tobacco.

Continuing, Dr. Ingle then said that the number of virulent poisons to be found in tobacco was almost incredible. The chief poisons were nicotine, furfurole, collodine, prussic acid, and carbon monoxide. Nicotine was one of the most virulent poisons known, and all animals quickly died from it. One drop of nicotine was sufficient to kill a cat, and two would kill a dog. Furfurole was fully 50 times as poisonous as alcohol and was one of the most poisonous agents in cheap, immature whiskey. There was as much furfurole in one cigar as in 23 bottles of whiskey. Collodine and carbon monoxide were also very poisonous, and prussic acid was the most powerful poison known. With all these virulent poisons, it was impossible for a smoker to escape mental and physical deterioration.

Dr. Ingle went on to describe various experiments on animals. Smoker's heart, he said, was recognised by all doctors, as a single cigarette would raise the blood pressure 15 points, thus greatly increasing the work of the heart. Tobacco smoking was also responsible for an increase in kidney disease. A normal heart beat 72 times a minute, but tobacco caused it to beat from three to five times more rapidly. Cancer and blindness were largely due to smoking.

The Least And The Greatest

Smoking harmed women much more than it did men as their nervous system was more highly organised, and so the reaction was more intense. Cigarettes were the least harmful form of smoking and the pipe the worst. This conclusion was the result of an analysis carried out by "The Lancet."

"Let all those who prize their God-given powers of mind and body taboo absolutely the tobacco habit," said Dr. Ingle. "They will fair far better and will not influence others to degrade themselves by a useless and expensive health-destroying habit."

After debate, the motion was carried by a narrow majority.

M. K. Gandhi Library

A farewell reception in honour of Mr. B. M. Patel, Hon. Secretary of the M. K. Gandhi Library, who is leaving for India, will be accorded at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, 140 Queen Street, Durban, on Saturday December 29, at 3 p.m.

All are cordially invited to attend.

O. H. A. JHAVERI,
Chairman.

S. J. FRANDERIA,
Acting Secretary.

M. K. Gandhi Library.

વેચવાના વાંચવા લાયક પુસ્તકો

વિવિધ વિષયનાં ઉત્તમ પુસ્તકોમાં ધાર્મિક, અર્થતિહાસીક, બોધદાયક, કથાઓ, વાતવિઓ, લગ્નકાવ્યો વીચરેનો સમાવેશ થાય છે. દરેક સ્ત્રી, પુરુષ, અને આખા કુટુંબ માટે અત્યંત મનોરંજક અને બોધદાયક છે અને પ્રત્યેક ભારત સંતાને અવશ્ય વાંચવા અને સંપ્રદ કરવા લાયક છે. અમુકમાં અનેક ચિત્રોનો પણ સમાવેશ થાય છે.

મળવાનું ઠેકાણું: Manager, INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

વીર વલ્લભભાઈ

(પાને ૪૨૪ થી ચાલુ)

હું આમજ રહી મરો કે તિલક મહારાજની અમાધ વિદ્વાનો, તેમના અપાર જ્ઞાનજ્ઞાનનો, અને વલ્લભભાઈમાં જે બંનેના અભાવનો વિચાર કરીએ તો એ તુલના અયોગ્ય હાગે. પણ તિલક મહારાજ લોકમાન્ય બન્યા તે તેમની અમાધ વિદ્વાત્તે નહિ કે અપાર જ્ઞાનજ્ઞાને નહિ. પણ જ્ઞાન્યાની સામે યુગ્મવાની તેમની અપાર શક્તિ લીધે, તેમના અપુર્વ લાગને લીધે. બોધના દુઃખ ભણી બોધના અંતરમાં પ્રવેશ કરવાની તેમની બહુશક્તિને લીધે. આ ત્રણે વસ્તુઓ વલ્લભભાઈમાં એટલીજ ભરી છે એમ યુગ્મવાતે આરોહીની જડનમાં સવિશેષે ભણ્યું. લોકમાન્ય પણ જ્યારે આમવર્ગ આમજ ઉભા રહેતા આરે તેઓ તેમની વિદ્વાતા ન કાલવતા, પણ આમવર્ગનાજ એક માણસ તરીકે ઉભા રહી તેમનીજ ભાષા બોલતા. આરોહીનાં અનેક ભાષણો. જોશું તો તિલક મહારાજનાં અદમદનઅર અને બેભાગમનાં પેલાં ઐતિહાસિક ભાષણોના તેમાં બહુકારા સંભળાશે :

"સરકાર આપણને અધિકાર આપે છે તે કુંડામાં આપણે છોડો શેપીએ છીએ તે પ્રમાણે. પણ મોટાં વૃક્ષ કરવાં હોય તો તે ખીજ બહાર મોકળી જમીનમાં વાવવાં જોઈએ. કુંડાનાં આડ રૂપાળાં હાગે, પણ તે નાજુક, બાબા દિવસ ટકનારાં નથી. ફેશ પામે કર ફેટલા વસુલ કરવા, આવકના પ્રમાણ માં ખર્ચ ફેટલો કરવો, એ અમને સમજાય કે તમને વધારે સમજાય? વડાજ ઉપર ફેટલા પૈસા ખર્ચવા એ બાદશાહ નથી કરાવતો પણ મુખ્ય પ્રધાન કરાવે છે. કે તેની જુલ શાય છે તો તે રાજનામું આપે છે, અને તેને રાજનામું આપવાની દરજ્જ પાડવામાં સરકારનો યુદ્ધો નથી થતો. આપણને સ્વરાજ મળે તેથી અંગ્રેજનું રાજ છોડે એમ નથી અમારે જે જે દરવાજે અદાર નીકળવું હોય તે તે દરવાજા શેષીને નોકરશાહી ઉભી છે, તેને ધક્કા મારીને અમારે અદાર નીકળવું છે, એની આડખીલી અમને ન જોઈએ. આડખીલી તો ખરીજ અને તે ઉપરાંત પાછા મોટા મોટા પમાર! 'તમ રે મારે વિશ્વામતની ઠંડી દવા છોડીને અહીં આપ્યા છીએ' એમ અંગ્રેજ અમલદાર કહે છે. પણ તને અહીં બોલાવ્યો હતો કેણે?" તિલક મહારાજના આ ઉદ્દગારે વલ્લભભાઈના કાઈ પણ બંધુમાં મુઠી દહએ તો બહારથી મુકામલા ન હાગે

હવે વલ્લભભાઈના આ શબ્દો લો: "સરકાર એટલે શાણ? સરકાર એટલે કલેક્ટર? સરકાર એટલે મામલતદાર? કે ફોજદાર કે તલાટી? આ બધા મળીને સરકાર બનેલી છે એટલે એનો ક્યા પ-તો હાથે? કોઈ એક વ્યક્તિ નથી એટલે આપણે કોને સરકાર માનીએ? આપણે પોનેજ બમથી અમુક જણને સરકાર માનીએ અને તેનાથી ડરીએ છીએ. તમારે દરવાનું કશું કારણ નથી. તમે કોઈની ચોરી કરી નથી, તમે છુટકાટ કરી નથી. મારામારી થી નથી, ડરવાનું શું

(અનુસંધાન ૪૬૧ પાને)

The white clothes the naked shall be clothed by God which the black robes of paradise. - Mohammed

The highest exercise of charity is charity towards the