

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

REPLYING a correspondent in *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi explains how India could contribute to the Kellogg Pact. He writes:—
.....The Kellogg Pact has great possibilities, the patent insincerity of many signatories notwithstanding.....But this insincerity does not trouble me. My difficulty is as to the suggestion made about India's part in promoting peace. India's contribution to peace must in the nature of things be different in kind from that of the Western nations. India is not an independent nation. And it may be inferred from her present position that she has not the will to be independent. The parties to the Pact are mostly partners in the exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa. India is the most exploited among them all. The Peace Pact therefore in substance means a desire to carry on the joint exploitation peacefully. At least that is how the Pact appears to me to be at present. India has never waged war against any nation. She has put up sometimes ill-organised or half-organised resistance in self-defence pure and simple. She has therefore not got to develop the will for peace. She has that in abundance, whether she knows it or not. The way she can promote peace is to offer successful resistance to her exploitation by peaceful means. That is to say, she has to achieve her independence, for this year to be known as Dominion Status, by peaceful means. If she can do this, it will be the largest contribution that any single nation will have made towards world peace.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Malan, speaking on the housing question in the House of Assembly, during the Budget Debate, is reported to have criticised Durban for not spending the £50,000 loan specially earmarked by the Central Housing Board for Indian housing, which was admittedly very bad in Durban. "I cannot help saying that the chief reason for that is the general attitude of the people of Durban, who certainly cannot be described as sympathetic," said Dr. Malan. "The position is such that I am considering whether loans which are not made use of within a considerable period should be withdrawn."

The executive of the South African Indian Congress which met during the last week-end in Johannesburg has decided to send a pressing invitation to Sir J. C. Bose, the distinguished scientist, who first propounded the theory of vegetable life and also Mr. C. F. Andrews to visit South Africa. We have no doubt the executive's proposal will be hailed by the Indian community throughout the Union.

We cull the following from *The Leader* (Allahabad):—

Mr. C. Jinarajadas writes in the *Adyar Bulletin*: 'Brazil is a remarkable country; the people are entirely free of colour prejudice, though about one-third of them are negroes and mulattos...The negroes are given white standards of living and seem to live up to them.' Is the same treatment meted out to the native races residing in the British Em-

pire? If Mr. Jinarajadas were to visit South or East Africa he would find prevailing in those countries a state of conditions, as regards the relation of the white and black races, very different from that in Brazil. No nation in the world has suffered such injustice at the hands of another nation as the natives of East and South Africa have suffered at the hands of their white masters. That such conditions should prevail in this greatest Empire that the world has known is even more deplorable. It should be easier for a strong nation to be just to others.

Lord Olivier condemning Miss Mayo's second attempt at traducing India in the book entitled "Slaves of Gods" observes that the present volume is not quite so handy as "Mother India" for political use as a weapon wherewith to smite Indian Swaraj parties of Mother India. Lord Olivier now reveals what was common knowledge at the time how generous English patriots bought numbers of copies of "Mother India" and freely distributed them, Lord Olivier, himself receiving four copies in this way.

"THE VIGILANT".—This is an interesting monthly journal devoted to sociological literature newly published at 38, Sir William Newton Street, Port-Louis and edited by Mr. A. R. M. Osman. We wish our contemporary a lengthy and useful career.

NATIVE RIOTS REPORT

THE anxiously awaited report on the recent Native riots in Durban has now been published. Among the direct causes of the riots traced is included the attack by civilians at the I.C.U. hall on June 17. Mr. Justice de Waal states that it was perfectly clear from the evidence that there would have been no disturbance during the afternoon and evening of June 17, and no damage done either to life or property had the civilian mob not gathered and attacked the I.C.U. hall.

While it is very gratifying to note the impartiality of Mr. Justice de Waal we do believe that this is far too mild a rebuke for the brutality displayed by the civilians during the riots, the proper punishment for which it is impossible to be meted out by the worldly courts of justice so long as they belong to the ruling race, but it will be meted out by the Higher Court which

eternally holds the scales of justice evenly for the high as well as the low. One who has witnessed the scenes of treachery during those riots on the part of the white civilians can never forget nor forgive the culprits. Our contemporary the *Natal Mercury*, in defending the white civilians, as is very natural for it to do, blames for their misdeeds, "without a trace of political bitterness" (?) the utterances of the Prime Minister and leading members of his Cabinet who preached to the white population of the Union the serious danger of white civilisation being overthrown by the Kafir menace. It is strange that our contemporary does not realise the flimsiness of this excuse. It does not hold much water in Durban, at least, where notwithstanding the mischievous utterances of the Nationalists the white population without being scared voted solidly for the S.A.P. If the white population were to consider this advocacy on the part of the *Natal Mercury* as an insult to their intelligence rather than a favour, it would not be in the least surprising.

Mr. Justice de Waal, according to the summarised report, has further found that the Natives were not solely or even primarily to blame for the riots. Among the definite recommendations made are (1) that the townships should be equipped with playing fields, (2) the appointment of an advisory board, (3) that no alteration be made in the present system of brewing kafir beer by the borough for sale to the natives, (4) that the borough should restore, as an act of grace, the togt badge taken from the native Mcijelwa, (5) the establishment of a native location or village, (6) that if any more natives are charged and convicted in connection with the riots that clemency "in generous measures be shown to all."

In so far as these recommendations go they seem to be satisfactory but Natives themselves are the better judges. A suggestion, however, is made according to reports published in the daily papers that the police should be supplied with firearms for display on such occasions, which suggestion has been welcomed by the Chief Constable. We do not know, in the absence of a full report on the riots, whether this suggestion is part of the recommendations of Mr. Justice de Waal. We hardly think it could be, but if it is, we do not think it is a wise suggestion. It is sufficiently evident from the treatment of the black man in the past that his life is

not considered of much importance in this country and the slightest provocation on his part would prompt the police to draw his pistol and shoot him dead and then to defend himself by saying he did so in self-defence and his word would naturally be given preference more often than not to that of the black man. We think it is an evil which should be the least encouraged.

Position Of Repatriates In India

Reply From Government Of India

At the ninth session of the South African Indian Congress held at Durban in January last, a discussion which created a good deal of interest took place on the question of alleged neglect in India of the welfare of Indians repatriated from the Union. A resolution was passed authorising the Executive of the Congress to institute investigations in India. As a result of correspondence sent to the Government of India, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association and prominent leaders of India, the following communication has been received from Sir Mahomed Habibullah by the Imperial Citizenship Association, Bombay, which has forwarded it to the Secretaries of the S.A.I. Congress.

A full text of the letter is published herewith for the information of the Indian public. Anyone having in his possession specific instances of grievances concerning the welfare of the Indians who went to India under the Repatriation Scheme may forward same, duly substantiated, to the Congress for attention.

D.O. 382—Os.

Simla, the 9th May, 1929.

Dear Mr. Petit,—Many thanks for your letter of the 19th April 1929. I have taken a little time over replying to it as I was anxious to get together all the information available to enable me to answer your inquiry. As you say, the Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress have also addressed to my Department a letter similar to the one copy of which formed an enclosure to your letter of the 19th April. We shall send a reply to the Congress either direct or through our Agent in South Africa. Meanwhile, I am communicating to you in brief the steps that we have taken to carry out our obligations (1) to advise and, so far as possible, protect returning emigrants against squandering their cash or losing it to adventurers; and (2) to help them, as far as possible, in settling in occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitudes and resources. I have textually reproduced the provision in the Annexure setting forth the terms in the Capetown Agreement so as to enable you to judge for yourself what the Government of India undertook.

2. I returned from South Africa in February 1927. In April 1927, I paid a special visit to the Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal in order to enlist their personal interest in any arrangement that might have to be made for dealing with emigrants returning from South Africa in terms of the Capetown Agreement. From all these Governors I received assurances of cordial co-operation. In Bombay, the Commissioner of Police was made responsible for arrangements connected with the return of emigrants from South Africa. In Bengal, the duty was entrusted to the Protector of Emigrants at Calcutta. In the United Provinces, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies was selected for this purpose; in Bihar

and Orissa the Director of Industries. In Madras which is the port of entry and home of the majority of emigrants returning from the Union, we took steps to appoint a special officer who has no other work than to look after the returning emigrants. I enclose a statement showing the number of Indians who have returned under the Capetown Agreement and their provinces of destination. Column 4, which shows the repatriates bound for Madras, includes all those who returned to places in the Madras Presidency. Column 5, which gives the number of repatriates bound for Calcutta, covers repatriates whose homes are in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa or the United Provinces. You will observe that there is no column for Bombay. This is due to the fact that the Bombay element in the Indian population of South Africa consists mainly of traders, hardly any of whom takes advantage of the assisted emigration scheme.

3. Now as to the action taken by us to safeguard the monies which returning emigrants bring back with them. The Bengal report is that the one anxiety of the returning emigrants is to realise all their savings and bonus as soon as they land and make for their homes. In the circumstances it has not been found necessary to make arrangements for these people to bank their savings. It would, you will recognise, be unfortunate if any impression were given that we wished to compel any returned emigrant to deposit his money with a Government Agency or a Bank. The Protector of Emigrants, however, has so far as we know, done everything possible to prevent these fellows losing any money to the human sharks who are always found in the bigger towns ready to prey upon the unsophisticated, and we have not received a single complaint of any returned emigrant passing through Calcutta having been molested with regard to his money. In Madras which claims a large majority of returned emigrants, arrangements have had to be made at the request of emigrants for banking their monies. According to the report submitted to us by the Special Officer during the half year ending 31st December, 1928, this officer received Rs. 342,361, in cash from assisted emigrants and assisted them to deposit Rs. 186,139 in the bank. During the same period he paid out Rs. 341,755 in cash and authorised withdrawal by those who had deposited money with the banks of a sum of Rs. 147,484.

4. As regards finding work, the position during the first six months or more of the working of the Agreement was that returning emigrants did not communicate to the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs in South Africa a statement of their requirements. We were informed that this was due to the mistaken impression that, if they expressed any desire for work on returning to India, they would be compelled to work. We soon took steps through our Agent to have this misunderstanding dispelled. In spite of that, as you would note from the statement which is enclosed, out of 3259 people who had returned to India by the end of 1928, only 256 had expressed any wish to be found work. The Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta, reports that he finds it impossible to get any replies from the people who on reaching Calcutta expressed a desire to be found work by him. The number affected, however, as you will observe, was only 22. In Madras, the Special Officer has been approached with requests for work and has endeavoured, so far as possible, to find for applicants work suited to their capacity and aptitude. In his report for the quarter ending 31st December 1928, it is stated that 35 people applied for work and were recommended to suitable authorities or individuals. Mr. Sastri, who was recently in Simla, told me that during his stay in Madras he paid a visit to the office of the Special Officer and was satisfied by his discussion with him and by inquiries which he

privately made that what the Government of India undertook under the agreement was being done for those returned emigrants.

5. I hope that, from the account which I have given you, you will see that no time was lost by us after the conclusion of the agreement in setting up the necessary machinery at different provincial centres to deal with returned emigrants from South Africa and that where any call has been made upon this machinery it has worked satisfactorily. I made a special point of inquiring from Mr. Sastri whether, during his term of office as Agent in South Africa, he had received complaints from Indians who had returned to India under the assisted emigration scheme about their lot in this country or whether any complaints had been made to him in South Africa by the friends or relations of persons who had come back. He said to me that during his term the only complaint he heard of was from some one in Port Elizabeth who alleged that the Government of India neglected these repatriates, but that on inquiry he had found that none of these charges could be substantiated. Whether, therefore we draw our deductions from authoritative information which comes from South Africa or from similar information which is available in India, I find the allegation that the Government of India are not doing what they undertook to do towards emigrants returning from South Africa has no real foundation. If either your Association or the South African Indian Congress would only oblige me with specific instances in which neglect is alleged and which can be investigated, you may rely upon me and my Department to do everything possible to remedy defects in our organisation which such investigation may bring to light.

6. Thanking you for your courtesy in writing to me and for giving me an opportunity of explaining to you the position as we know it.

[The table of figures referred to in this letter has been omitted.—Ed.]

Health Boards And Indians

Indian Ratepayers Have No Representation

A plea for more equitable treatment of the Indian ratepayer under the present health board system was put forward by Advocate J. W. Godfrey, acting vice-chairman of the Indo-European Council, Durban district, which he addressed on Friday last.

"Indians are ratepayers, and as such ought to know what is being done with their money," Mr. Godfrey said. "Under present arrangements they cannot as a matter of right ask for a financial statement of assets and liabilities of their respective health boards. This would be rectified if the ratepayers' position be raised to that of a voter for health board purposes."

Mr. Godfrey said the Indian could not even select a European to represent his interests. In Durban, where Indians were educated, they could in Ward IV. easily support an Indian candidate, but they had not done so, showing that the Indian would take no foolish advantage of their majority in the country districts. If the boards were elected by ratepayers, as distinct from voters, the Indian would have a fair opportunity to ventilate his grievances. The Capetown Agreement and the housing scheme foreshadowed advisory boards, but nothing had been done.

Mr. Godfrey criticised the system of assessing rates. The notices of assessment advertised in the "Government Gazette" and the Press were above the

intelligence of the illiterate Indian. Later they were told their rates were due and had to pay the additional interest.

It was the duty of the health boards to fix a definite date for the payment of rates and allow all persons who made inquiries within three months to be told of the assessment levied against them. "This arrangement would simplify the work of the boards and obviate much of the difficulty and heart-burning which is now felt by Indians."

Mr. Godfrey said that since 1926 things had somewhat improved. There was a slight desire to acquire knowledge of Indian interests, and the time had arrived when the Indians would welcome the health boards discussing any problem with their representatives before embarking on questionable legislation. They did not ask for preferential treatment or lower taxation, but fair, equal and reasonable treatment.

In conclusion, Mr. Godfrey suggested uniform procedure, similar by-laws, voting by ratepayers, rates payable at a fixed time, rates on the valuation of house and land, no super-tax, the appointment of Indian inspectors and the printing of health board notices in the three Indian languages.—*Natal Mercury*

Indians In East Africa

Position Related By Pundit Kunzru

Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru made the following statement regarding the position of Indians in East Africa as a whole to *The Times of India* on his return from East Africa:—

"The most important question before the Eastern African Indian National Congress was the consideration of the report of the Closer Union Commission and the steps to be taken to represent the Indian case properly to Sir Samuel Wilson, who had been deputed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to ascertain on the spot the opinions of the communities concerned regarding the recommendations of the Commission.

The memorandum which was submitted to Sir Samuel Wilson on behalf of the Congress dealt mainly with the common electoral roll, the composition of the Kenya Legislative Council, political and economic federation and the employment of Indians in the higher services. The Congress deputation learnt with profound astonishment and disappointment from Sir Samuel Wilson that the Conservative Government had decided not to reopen the question of a common electoral roll, as it had been decided as recently as 1923 and there was no chance of securing European consent to it. His Majesty's Government might reconsider the matter, if Sir Samuel Wilson recommended reconsideration, but he was unable to report in favour of it as he had satisfied himself that Europeans were strongly opposed to a common roll.

Important Question Shelved

"It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the Conservative Government were themselves against the introduction of a common roll. They took no steps to bring about a settlement as suggested by the Commission and Mr. Attery, by his statements in Parliaments encouraged the European community to refuse to agree to an alteration of the present system. The solution of the most important question in Kenya has been allowed to be blocked by the obstinacy of a small population of Kenya.

"If this cardinal question had been prejudiced by His Majesty's Government why did the Secretary of State for the Colonies invite the Government of

India to send an agent of theirs to East Africa to meet Sir Samuel Wilson, thus creating a false impression both in India and Kenya that the British Government had kept an open mind on the subject of joint electorates?

A Dangerous Proposal

"As regards the Kenya Legislative Council the deputation strongly opposed the recommendation of Sir Edward Hilton Young for the creation of a non-official European majority. It also made it clear that it was not in favour of the proposal of the majority that four non-officials, presumably Europeans, should be substituted for four official members and that this process should be continued in future. There is no reason for increasing the influence of non-official Europeans.

"The deputation had no objection to the selection of natives to represent themselves, but if non-natives are to represent native interests it is necessary that they should be selected in equal numbers from the Indian and European communities, in order that the Indian position may not deteriorate further in comparison with that of the unofficial European.

"It is true that self-Government has been declared to be out of the question, but this gives us no real security. We are still threatened with the danger that the recommendations of the majority or of Sir Edward Hilton-Young which will considerably enhance the power and influence of the whites and are bound to lead to self-Government in the near future, may be accepted.

The Federal Council

"The Congress memorandum had been drafted on the assumption that in order to bring about closer co-operation in economic matters the establishment only of an advisory council for East Africa was contemplated. It appeared, however, that a federal council with full legislative powers might take the place of an advisory council.

"The deputation knowing as it did the opinions of Indians not merely in Kenya, but also in Uganda and Tanganyika on this subject, expressed itself against the establishment of such a council. The council, though dealing in the beginning with economic questions only, would in the end draw all power into its own hands as it would from the start be in a position to control the most important sources of public wealth and revenue.

"If in disregard of non-European interests a federal council is established it is necessary that the equal representation of unofficial Indians and Europeans from each territory should be definitely provided for. There is no guarantee without specific provision for Indian representation that Indians would not be ignored as they have been, for instance, in the matter of the Kenya-Uganda inter-colonial Railway Council.

Indian Mission To India

The following official communication has been issued by the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress Executive Committee's offices, Nairobi to the *Kenya Daily Mail*:—

"The executive of the E.A.I.N. Congress have definitely decided to send an influential Deputation to India for intensively educating Indian public opinion at home on the position in Kenya.

"The Deputies will travel at their own expense to India and the Mombasa Indians and Nairobi Indians are arranging for £250 and £150 respectively for incidental expenses relating to the Deputation's propaganda work in India. The Deputies include Mr. J. B. Pandya, ex M.L.C. (Leader), Mr. I. Dass, Hon. Gen. Sec., Mr. H. M. Kunzru, M.L.A., President of E.A.I.N. Congress (now in India); and

others. Zanzibar, Uganda and Tanganyika Indians have been requested to nominate their members on the Deputation. Mr. Anantani who is in India, will also be asked to join in.

"The Deputation will visit various centres in India, addressing public meetings and will arrange to interview the Government of India on the questions of Franchise, Land Policy, Immigration, Segregation, Trades, Education, Civil Services and other problems affecting the community as a whole."

America's Insult To The Poet

Dr. Tagore Explains

Not A Question Of Personal Grievance

Explaining the Carlifornian incident, Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore, in an interview with the Associated Press of India, said there was a great deal of misunderstanding about the incident. He had been asked by the Immigration authorities of Vancouver to go to their office in person with the papers at a time appointed. He went to their office and waited at the door for half an hour when an officer came to the door and saw him but took no notice. Some time later, the officer beckoned to him to come into the room and pointed to a chair with a nod of his head.

"I was then asked the usual question about my ability to pay my passage, whether I had independent means of livelihood as long as I remained in the States and I was warned of the penalty I shall incur if I overstayed the period by the officer." The Poet added that he had visited the States before, but never had had such an experience. He felt he should not stay in a country on sufferance.

It was not a question of personal grievance or ill-treatment from some particular officer. He felt the insult was directed towards all Asiatics and made up his mind to leave a country where there was no welcome. He was a representative of the Asiatic people and could not remain in a country where Asiatics were not wanted.

The Poet made it clear that he had no antipathy or bitterness against the American people but said that the immigration regulations and the manner of their application towards Eastern and coloured people were uncivilised, barbarous and more befitting Tibetan or Central Africa.

Indian Womanhood

"I am sure there will be many a Miss Margaret Bondfield in India who will occupy a place in the Swaraj Cabinet with distinction thanks to the movement of women's education and advancement which took its birth with institutions like the Seva Sadan." This was the compliment paid by Mr. Justice Madgonkar presiding over the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Seva Sadan Society which was celebrated with great *eclat* in the Malabari Memorial Hall, Bombay. The function was witnessed by a brilliant gathering of ladies representing various women's institutions in Bombay as well as gentlemen. Among those present were Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, Lady Laxmibai Jigmohandas, Mr. Lilavati Munshi, Mrs. D. N.

Shirin, Mrs. Chandaverkar, Mrs. Shafi Tyabji, Mrs. Paddidri and numerous lady workers.

Mrs. M. D. Cama on behalf of the Society then welcomed the Chairman and guests. The progress of work done by the Institution, she said, was satisfactory and the high standard of efficiency was maintained. She called attention of the sympathisers of the Institution to the main handicap that was felt owing to the want of a Marathi Primary School of their own to serve as a practising school for their Training College. The growing needs of the institution required money and a good deal of it and she appealed to the public to help the Institution.

Champion Of Women's Emancipation

Mrs. A. P. Sabavalla then delivered a speech on the life of the late Mr. Byramji M. Malabari who was the founder of the Seva Sadan. She described Mr. Malabari as a compassionate soul, an ardent social reformer, a brilliant talker, a sound journalist and above all a champion of women.

From his childhood he took great interest in the amelioration of women's condition and sympathised with the tragedy of their lives. After recounting the various obstacles which he successfully crossed, the speaker said Mr. Malabari started the work of amelioration of women in India. He was a staunch advocate of widow re-marriages and women's education. "The Seva Sadan stands as a living monument of his work," she concluded.

Report Of Society's Work

Reading the report of the work of the Society, Mrs. Engineer said:—

"All the activities, educational, industrial, social and medical undertaken in the past year were continued."

This Institution caters to the need of women of poor and middle class families. The women attending our classes are drawn from all communities, Hindus, Parsis and Mahomedans, Indian Christians and Bene Israel. As they come from poor families and have not a high mental calibre our work is all too harder, and at the same time it is an added stimulus to those in charge to feel that they are lifting up those who specially need social, moral and intellectual uplift.

The number of pupils on our roll is at present almost 400, of whom 90 are in the training college with the Vernacular Final Class, 160 in the Home Education Classes and the remaining in Industrial and other special classes. There are 185 Hindus (170 Deccanis and 15 Gujaratis), 47 Parsis, 5 Mahomedans and 10 Indian Christian and Beni-Israels. In these two educational departments alone, the subjects taught are Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, English, Elementary History, Geography and Arithmetic, Fancy Embroidery, Cutting and Sewing, Cooking, Laundry, Drawing, Painting, Singing, Flower-making, First-aid, Home Nursing and Hygiene. The principle hitherto followed is to leave to the pupils the choice of subjects. There is no compulsion. Moral and religious instruction is also given and special attention given to the building up of character. Pupils are not allowed to cultivate the mind at the expense of the body and provision is made for games such as badminton, etc., and other physical exercises. We have also a band of girl guides.

Pressing Needs

After acknowledging donations received from sympathisers the report went on.

Our wants are many and varied but the two most urgent and pressing are a Marathi Primary School as a Practising School for our Marathi Training College and immediate extension of the Hostel

accommodation. We trust that our friends and helpers will not let our work suffer as it would otherwise and continue the full measure of their generous support.

A Cosmopolitan Institution

The Chairman in his concluding remarks paid a tribute to the work of the Seva Sadan. A noteworthy feature of the institution was its cosmopolitan character. He was glad that the institution admitted pupils of every caste and creed and remarked that in the days of communalism the need of a wider outlook had to be stressed. The progress of women's education gave him the hope that women were slowly taking their right place in the life of the country. He humorously remarked that if a Margaret Bondfield were to be required in the Swaraj Government there would be no lack of them.

Continuing he emphasised the need of more and more work in the field of women's education and highly praised the work done by the Seva Sadan. He appealed to the public to help the institution in its good work.

With a vote of thanks moved by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas the function terminated.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

Part V. Chapter XXIV.

'THE ONION THIEF'

Champanan being in a far-away corner of India and the press having been kept out of the campaign, it did not attract visitors from outside. Not so with the Kheda campaign, of which the happenings were reported in the press from day today.

The Gujaratis were deeply interested in the fight which was for them a novel experiment. They were ready to pour forth their riches for the success of the cause. It was not easy for them to see that Satyagraha could not be conducted simply by means of money. Money is a thing that it needs least. In spite of my remonstrance, the Bombay merchants sent us more money than necessary, so that we had some balance left at the end of the campaign.

At the same time the Satyagrahi volunteers had to learn the new lesson of simplicity. I cannot say that they inhaled it fully, but they considerably changed their ways of life.

For the Patidar farmers too, the fight was quite a new thing. We had, therefore, to go about from village to village explaining the principles of Satyagraha.

The main thing was to rid the agriculturists of their fear by making them realise that the officials were not the masters, but the servants of the people, inasmuch as they received their salaries from the taxpayer. And then it seemed well nigh impossible to make them realise the duty of combining civility with fearlessness. Once they had shed the fear of the officials, how could they be stopped from returning their insults? And yet if they resorted to incivility, it would spoil their Satyagraha, like a drop of arsenic in milk. I realised later that they had less fully learnt the lesson of civility than I expected. Experience has taught me that civility is the most difficult part of Satyagraha. Civility does not here mean the mere outward gentleness of speech cultivated for the occasion, but an inborn gentleness and desire to do the opponent good. These should show themselves in every act of Satyagraha.

In the initial stages, though the people exhibited much courage, the Government did not seem to be inclined to take strong action. But as the people seemed not to waver in their firmness, the Government began coercion. The attachment officers sold people's cattle

and seized whatever moveables they could lay hands on. Penalty notices were served, and in some cases standing crops were attached. This unnerved the peasants, some of whom paid up their dues while others desired to place safe moveables in the way of the officials so that they might attach them to realise the dues. On the other hand, some were prepared to fight to the bitter end.

While these things were going on, one of Sjt. Shankarlal Parikh's tenants paid up the assessment in respect of his land. This created a sensation. Sjt. Shankarlal Parikh immediately made amends for his tenant's mistake by giving away for charitable purpose the land for which the assessment had been paid. He thus saved his honour and set a good example to others.

With a view to steeling the hearts of those who were frightened, I advised the people, under the leadership of Sjt. Mohanlal Pandya, to remove the crop of onion from a field which had been in my opinion wrongly attached. I did not regard this as civil disobedience, but even if it was, I suggested that this attachment of standing crops, though it might be in accordance with law, was morally wrong, and was nothing short of, looting and that therefore it was the people's duty to remove the onion in spite of the order of attachment. This was a good opportunity for the people to learn a lesson in courting fines or imprisonment, which was the necessary consequence of such disobedience. For Sjt. Mohanlal Pandya, after his heart. He did not like the campaign to end without some one undergoing suffering in the shape of imprisonment for something done consistently with the principles of Satyagraha. So he volunteered to remove the onion crop from the field, and in this, seven or eight friends joined him.

It was impossible for the Government to leave them free. The arrest of Sjt. Mohanlal and his companions added to the people's enthusiasm. When the fear of jail disappears, repression puts heart into the people. Crowds of them besieged the court-house on the day of the hearing. Pandya and his companions were convicted and sentenced to a brief term of imprisonment. I was of opinion that the conviction was wrong, because the act of removing the onion could not come under the definition of 'theft' in the Penal Code. But no appeal was filed as the policy was to avoid the law courts.

A procession escorted the 'convicts' to jail, and on that day Sjt. Mohanlal Pandya earned from the people the honoured title of *dungli chor* (onion thief) which he enjoys to this day.

The conclusion of the Kheda Satyagraha I will leave to the next chapter.

His many friends will deeply regret to learn that Mr. V. R. Nambood Moodley, a prominent resident of Port Elizabeth, has passed away on August 2 after a short illness at Mayavaram, Madras, where he had been on a visit. Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to the bereaved family.

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