

Indian Opinion

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THE MASSES DO WANT SWARAJ

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

IN a carefully written article in a recent issue of the *Cape Times*, Captain B. L. Tankard explained what he conceived to be the Conservative view with regard to the future of India. He brought in my name and stated that I hold that the time is ripe for a change in the conduct of Indian affairs; that there is a new spirit of Nationalism abroad in India; that the sooner the British allow the Indian people to manage their own affairs the better it will be for India, the Empire and everybody concerned.

I would willingly take this statement to be a fair representation of my own position regarding India to-day. Summed up in one phrase, it means that the Indian people have decided, in spite of their differences and divisions, to rule themselves. It is not a matter of primary concern with them whether they succeed or whether they fail in the attempt; they are determined to try the experiment. As one of their leaders, in a memorable phrase, once put it, "Swaraj is my birthright, and I will have it."

If a referendum was taken to-day, it is my firm belief that the vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of Swaraj.

The difference between Captain Tankard and myself lies almost wholly in the difference between his conception of the Indian villager and my own. He regards the Indian villagers, who, as he rightly says, make up 90 per cent. of the population, as still deeply sunk in ignorance, and absorbed in the one vitally urgent matter of raising a living from the soil. He states that these villagers of India, "to his own certain knowledge", do not care who rules them as long as they are left alone to go on with their daily agricultural pursuits.

His own life in India, he tells us, has been spent in the Army, and, as far as his article shows, he left India 12 years ago this very month. Before that date he was in active service in that country for more than nine years. I would venture to suggest that such military service, though spent with evident devotion to the people of the country, would have given him only a glimpse of the life of the peasant in a section of the country. Furthermore, India 12 years ago was a different country politically and socially from the India of to-day. Therefore, however intimate his experience may have been, I would dare to question whether it has covered the whole of India and whether it is up to date.

From my own standpoint, knowing well the dangers ahead that confront these village people, it is my sincere conviction, after nearly 30 years in India, that the time is fully ripe for Indians to take the responsibility of managing their own affairs. If it is admittedly dangerous to go forward, it is still more dangerous to stand still or to attempt to go back to the placidity of the past.

Let me give some illustrations. They will show how strangely the village life of India has altered since Captain Tankard studied it 12 years ago. One day I was in the north of India close to the foothills

of the Himalayas, dressed in Indian dress and living among the very poor people of that remote country district. Word had gone ahead before me that I was a friend of Gandhi. If I remember rightly, the incident happened in the year 1917. I had fully imagined that villagers, so poverty-stricken and wrapt up in their own local village concerns, would have no interest outside their own area except perhaps with regard to the war, which had stirred India from one end to the other. But as they crowded round me, very eagerly indeed, they had one single question which they all wished to ask. It was this: "Sahib, when shall we get Swaraj?" This happened more than 14 years ago.

Let me pass on to the very same locality in 1930, and show how much further still this eager desire for self-government has now engrossed the minds of those villagers. What follows I have from Mahatma Gandhi's own statement. He had gone there to speak to them about Swaraj, and on his arrival the audience, which had come from all the district round in bullock-carts and also walking on foot, numbered over 200,000 people, including women and children. He stated that there were more than double the number present compared with those who had welcomed him during the non-co-operation movement eight years before. At such a vast gathering, in the very heart of the country, I also have been present with Mahatma Gandhi many times over. Merely to watch the faces of a village audience like this and to witness their absorbed enthusiasm is a sight that can never be forgotten. Truly this is a New India. The old apathy is gone.

Mahatma Gandhi's own strength and inspiration is almost entirely due to the fact that his appeal is not primarily to the intelligentsia, but always to the village people. Among the best of his lieutenants are those who have gained a similar attractive power in the villages rather than among town people. For instance, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has come perhaps nearest to Gandhi in his appeal to the villagers of India, had to divest himself entirely of his own town habits and become a villager again, living the simplest and hardest life, before he had any influence at all with the masses. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the new Congress President, had also to win his spurs among the village people of Gujarat, who were stricken by flood and famine, sharing their extreme misery, before he reached the highest Congress position as All-India President. It is just because these leaders have appealed to the villages rather than to the towns that they have won the day.

Let me take now an incident from last year's civil disobedience campaign. A whole series of villages in Gujarat, numbering in population nearly 90,000, decided to give up even their land itself, which their forefathers had handed down to them, and

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FOR OR AGAINST?

THE eyes of the thoughtful, the hopes and prayers of the world's well-wishers are presently focussed on India. 'Ex oriente Lux,' and hearts that have ached for humanity's self-created suffering and have nigh grown sick with longing that the darkneses bred of delusion might lift, are a-flutter with a new gleam of hope that the dawn of a brighter era may be breaking at last. All too long has poor cheated mankind bowed its head to Mammon and Brute Force. All too long has the omnipotence of these twin idols stood unchallenged. Another Arjuna had to be born, another Kurukshetra to be fought ere the false beliefs were exposed the false gods dethroned. Nor is the battle yet determined, the issue yet decided. As it was on the historic field of the Mahabarata episode, so would it appear to be, to-day, on the field of modern civilisation: powerful forces arrayed on each side; on the one, those of the spirit, on the other those of reaction. With, however, this important difference: Gandhiji is no *desponding* Arjuna, but an Arjuna well-versed in the lessons taught, by the immortal Charioter, to his predecessor of the Mahabarata epic. Therefore, Gandhiji and his warriors will fight, "heedless of issue", and in the spirit of 'dharma', without concern for victory or defeat, as wholehearted disciples of the Maha-Guru. If victorious, it will be well; if not immediately victorious, it will still be well, though perhaps not so well. It is all a question of desert. The New Day will dawn for us if our eyes can bear its brilliance; if we are truly finished with the idols of darkness and illusion. Hope and pray we must, but, also, the humblest soldier may contribute his measure of help, however modest. "Who is not for ME, is against ME", let us remember! If we cannot all of us give our physical presence to Gandhiji and his warriors, we *can* contribute our moral support, our strong thoughts, our earnest prayers, even our worldly wealth. In this war of righteousness against unrighteousness it were well to recognise the advisability of taking one side or the other, and to remember that they who are neither hot nor cold may be "spewed out." Let it also not be thought that because the actual battle-ground would seem to be India, that only India and Indians are concerned. In the subtler and

more real sense this war of Gandhiji is more truly a "world-war" than that of 1914-1918. The latter but led from one bondage to another bondage; this is a war of emancipation of mankind from the delusions that have enthralled it throughout the dark ages—the Kali Yuga. "Where do I stand?" should be the vital question each of us should solemnly ask himself, and having asked, should answer.

VICTORY OF REPUBLICANISM
IN SPAIN

THE Crown of Spain has fallen on the ground from the head of King Alfonso and he is compelled to leave his dear country. The King of Spain deserves congratulations from every peace-loving man for one reason that he accepted the great principle that a King cannot continue to govern without the consent of the governed. When the King saw that in the Municipal election the republicans had achieved complete victory he immediately abdicated and decided to leave the country. He could have remained as King until he was compelled by force to leave. A portion of the Army was loyal to him; he could have easily counted on the support of the wealthy class of people and peasants of the country, and yet he wisely decided to abdicate. He did not desire to pour blood of innocent people on the ground of Spain. He bowed before the public opinion and left the country. We have read many instances in the history of European nations that when the people revolted against the rule of the Kings they have clung to power till the last moment and at the end they had to pay the heavy price for it. Charles I of England, Louis XVI of France and Nicolas IV of Russia opposed the will of their people and they had to give their lives for it. King Alfonso ascended the throne in 1902 at the age of 16. In the year 1906 he married the sister of King George. On the day of their wedding a bomb outrage was directed against the Royal procession. The King and his bride were uninjured but 15 persons were killed. The first attempt on his life was made in Paris in 1905, when a bomb was thrown under his carriage. In the year 1926 a plot to assassinate the King was discovered. Another attempt was made to seize Their Majesties who were visiting Catalonia Province. A movement to secure independence

for that Province was on foot there and it was nipped in the bud in 1927 by the joint action of the French and Spanish Governments. It is seen from this that the head that wears the Crown is always in danger. Sixty years ago a Republican Government was established in Spain. It lasted for one year. The father of the present King was then ruling. He was also compelled to leave the country but had to be recalled. King Alfonso has saved Spain from civil war by willingly leaving the country. This action of the King is patriotic enough. When the King was leaving his Palace his staff shouted 'Long live the King'. King Alfonso raised his hand and said, 'No, not that, 'Long live Spain'. After the great European War we have seen that monarchy is gradually disappearing from Europe, and wherever monarchy is still in existence the King has no real power in his hands.

India And The Empire

Gandhi Changes His Mind

A message from London states:—

Gandhi, interviewed by the *Manchester Guardian's* Calcutta correspondent, said that he would not now be satisfied with Dominion status like Australia's. Asked if "equality of partnership meant a national status within the British Commonwealth, Gandhi replied: "No, it does not mean that. Until a short time ago I thought such a status would be suitable for India, but now I see that certain things stand in the way.

"The nations in the British Commonwealth are essentially British or, as in the case of South Africa, closely identified with British ideas and culture," said Gandhi. "Their people are British and their institutions are British. We cannot say that of India. We do not aspire to identity of culture with Britain and the West. We want to retain and develop our own culture, so there can be no real analogy between, say, Australia's status and India's future status.

"But there can be a partnership between Britain and India for mutual assistance and reciprocal obligations," said Gandhi.

The correspondent asked if that meant a kind of semi-contractual alliance intended to cover several other things besides war. Gandhi replied: "Yes, that's it exactly."

He admitted that he would be open to conviction at the Round Table Conference that Dominion status would be suitable for India, but could not conceive that it could be possible.

Regarding safeguards, Gandhi would not admit that British troops were necessary in communal disturbances. "If our own troops are found wanting we might have to put up with civil war for a time," he said, "but it is better that we should have communal strife and fight our own battles than to appeal to another country to set our house in order with troops over which our people have no control."

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camp out in the open country in utter destitution, rather than pay the Government land revenue. They took this extreme action unitedly in order to bring pressure upon the Administration by their sufferings and sacrifices, so that Swaraj might be granted to them at last. Surely an act of devotion such as this carried through without a single deed of violence by village people under their own leaders, represents a changed India, the reverse in almost every aspect of that stolid, indifferent, unintelligent peasantry, absorbed in its own agricultural pursuits, which Captain Tankard knew so well.

Another scene may be recorded which I have from many eye-witnesses. Throughout large areas of rural India singing parties of young boys and girls march together, starting long before daybreak and awakening the villagers from their sleep. These songs are the outcome of the national movement. They are either religious songs directed to God, with prayer for their motherland, or patriotic songs which have taken in some way or other the form of religion. This religious enthusiasm appears to be the spontaneous creation of the villagers themselves, untaught from outside. Those who have witnessed these singing parties stated to me that the movement had spread from the villages to the towns rather than vice versa.

India, as Captain Tankard well knows, is the most deeply religious country in the world. Therefore politics, when it takes the form of religion, spreads among the peasant people of India with a rapidity which is unintelligible to the modern Western mind. Within the last ten years a fresh religious cult of Mother India (Bharat Mata) has been established in India. The passionate explosion of indignation which greeted Miss Mayo's book was largely due to the sacrilegious use which she made of the sacred name of "Mother India."

I have seen in hundreds of homes, not only in students' rooms, but among villagers themselves, the picture of Mother India in colours, with her arms outstretched, her feet touching Ceylon as a kind of footstool, and her head crowned by the Himalaya Mountains. The picture, in its little shrine, has had the flowers of worship placed before it and sticks of incense and camphor lights burning in honour of the great Goddess, Mother India. To-day this is one of the most living and potent religious factors among millions of Indian villagers.

Women In The Lead

In Captain Tankard's time I would fully have agreed with him if he stated that the political and national ferment had penetrated only a very little way into the zenanas of India, where the women-folk abide with their young children; but the outlook has become almost wholly changed since that time. The women of India have shown in the recent passive resistance struggle even greater resolution and endurance than the men. Altogether there were over 50,000 persons put in gaol for offering civil disobedience, and I have been told on the best authority that during the latter part of the movement the women of India took the lead in every direction. They not only managed entirely the picketing of liquor and opium shops, but also organised fully most of the forward steps that were taken. This is a novel feature in Indian village life, big with consequences.

Still further, one phenomenon of great significance has to be noticed to-day, which runs through the whole of Asia. It is as marked in the Near East and in the Far East, as it is in Siberia in the North and in India in the South. The youth of both sexes, which before had been strictly subjected to domestic control, has now taken the initiative in every direction and become one of the greatest

creative forces in the rising national life. In certain ways the modern instinct of the youth of Asia is far sounder than the old conservative instinct of bygone days.

In India, for instance, the youth of the country has made up its mind to bring about at the earliest possible date the abolition of "untouchability". There are clear signs also that the Hindu-Moslem impasse will not be suffered to remain as a deadly obstacle to national progress any longer, when those who are young to-day have come into power. In an Indian newspaper I recently saw the fact recorded that a large gathering of Mohammedan students at Delhi, numbering over 300, from different universities, had passed a unanimous resolution that the country demanded joint electorates. They voted for a national rather than a religious franchise. I am aware that at certain times of excitement students have joined in communal riots, but these have been rather the exception than the rule. At the same time, I would frankly face the fact that this one difficulty looms almost supreme at the present time, and I can understand the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi's task before he goes to London.

A New World

All these illustrations which I have taken almost at random, have revealed a new world with a suddenness that has upset every calculation. This Young India of the national movement cannot possibly be cowed by force. Every single act of force, especially from the outside, only drives the enthusiasm more deeply inward.

Here, then, is the one commanding feature of modern Indian life which Lord Irwin has had to face. The villages themselves are now actively and passionately awake. The Viceroy has confronted this with a dignity and patience, combined with wisdom and prudence, that has won the world's highest admiration. Mahatma Gandhi, on his side, has also had the amazing courage to hold suddenly in check the unruly passions which had swept India from one end to the other. With two such remarkable personalities—one representing rural India in its countless villages, and the other representing the British rule throughout the world—the future before us is not so doubtful and hazardous as at one time it appeared to be. I, for one, am ready to face all the alarms, while discounting none of the adverse features of the situation; for I firmly believe that out of this heroic struggle new life and freedom will come to India at last.—*Cape Times*.

East African Native Delegation Proceeding To England

London, April 18.—Over 10,000,000 Natives in East Africa will be represented by a party of 10 Natives who will arrive in England next week and will stay until May 14 to give evidence before the Joint Committee on East Africa.

The party comprises three representatives each from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and a representative of the Native Government of Buganda.

An extensive programme has been prepared for the instruction and entertainment of the party, including all the sights of London and the Football Cup Final on April 25. The party will visit the Colonial Office, the Navy at Portsmouth, Croydon Aerodrome, Manchester, Bolton, Oxford, Windsor Castle and Eton College.—*Reuter*.

New India Assurance Company

First Anniversary Celebration And Welcome To Mr. Millard

The main hall of the New India Assurance Company, Durban, was the scene of a brilliant function on Wednesday afternoon the 15th instant.

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, the New India's Principal Representative for the Union, was the host to the party of over two hundred guests, including the chief citizen of Durban, Mayor Lamont, and a representative gathering, which had met to welcome Mr. W. Millard, sub-manager of the New India Assurance Company, who is on his way to England.

After justice had been done to the excellent fare provided at the table, the Mayor, Rev. A. Lamont, welcomed Mr. Millard and wished him a happy stay while he was here.

Speaking of the Company's South African agent, the Mayor said that Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee was not only honoured by Indians but by Europeans also. He was a son of the late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and that further endeared him to the community.

Mr. Lamont humorously referred to the company providing an endowment policy for old age. He was sure to apply for it. (Laughter.)

After further felicitous remarks the Mayor proposed the toast of Mr. Millard, which was accorded musical honours.

Mr. J. W. Godfrey reminded his hearers that South Africa was a young country and that the Asiatic population was only 160,000. Though small, he went on in lighter vein, it was the prolific cause of causing a great deal of irritable legislation. But they, he said, always found a way of getting round it, and Indians were still here and flourishing. Indians always depended on the fairmindedness of South Africa's Europeans, who always had helped when they knew the cause was just.

Confidence Shown

The New India Company, proceeded Mr. Godfrey, had shown they had confidence in South Africa when they opened a branch here. But it could not have achieved the success it did, if it did not have at its head Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee.

"We know the part his father played," he said, "and as long as his endowment to schools and library exist, so long his name will live."

"In Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee we have a first class organiser and the company in selecting him has not misplaced its trust. Mr. Jalbhoy Rustomjee is also responsible for a good deal of the spade work."

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee said that South Africa always welcomed sportsmen among them and when he saw Mr. Millard with his golf sticks on board the steamer, he was sure that the welcome would be general. He himself, though born and bred in South Africa, shared in the country's feeling of honouring sportsmen.

Mr. Millard's association with the company, went on the speaker, was from its very inception.

In welcoming Mr. Millard that afternoon the day was coincident with the first anniversary of the establishment of the South African branch at Durban.

It was exactly a year ago that day when the fee of £20,000 was lodged with the South African authorities for commencing the operation of New India.

The success of the venture, declared Mr. Rustomjee could not have been possible without the support of the community and this came ungrudgingly. They stood by the first Indian concern in South Africa, which he hoped was the forerunner of many others. Trade, and trade alone, he believed, would kill racialism and bitterness.

In conclusion, he hoped that New India would not only remain in Durban but spread itself outside of it.

It has been a pleasure and a surprise, said Mr. Millard, in returning thanks to Mr. Rustomjee for the pleasant function arranged to welcome him.

Speaking of his Company he stated that it was the first Indian concern which was started in South Africa. Its progress was wonderful, which he attributed in its entirety to Mr. Rustomjee.

Among those present were: The Mayor, Rev. A. Lamont, the Deputy Mayor, J. K. Murray, Councillors G. Reyburn, W. Wanless, H. H. Kemp, and Captain Rennie, Mr. E. Holness, Mr. P. Lewis, Mr. C. Cowley, Mr. Chasmore, Mr. S. J. Smith, Mr. L. W. Ritch (Johannesburg), Mr. A. H. West, Rev. Metcalf, Rev. W. H. Satchell, Dr. Seedat, Messrs. A. Christopher, J. W. Godfrey, I. I. Hazaree, A. I. Kajeer, M. I. Kajeer, A. M. Lockhat, Abdool Hack Kazi, I. M. Haffejee, Mahomed Ebrahim, Omar Jhavery, Moosa Mamoojee, A. D. Bassa, B. M. Patel, M. B. Naik, Carrimkhan, V. M. Jooma, Mahomed Abed, R. Rajcoomar, Jalbhoy Rustomjee, Volek, E. M. Ally, Rooknoodeen, M. A. H. Moosa, Mahomed Ismail, I. A. M. Shaikh, Mamoojee Moosa Lockhat, B. M. Singh, K. Ramchand, R. B. Chetty, V. S. C. Pather, P. G. Naicker, M. A. Jaiwat, G. H. Meer, Yusuf Meer, Moosa Meer, M. D. Motala, E. G. Paruk, V. M. Amod, K. Ginwala, M. A. R. Khan, A. H. Amra, R. K. Kapitan, Aboobaker Hjee Ismail, A. A. Mahomed, Osman Dala, A. M. Omar, Shaik Himed, P. R. Pather, D. Bramdaw, I. M. Bobat, A. E. Shaikh, Ahmed Sadeck Kajeer, F. M. Ally, G. A. M. Mayet, Ismail Bayat, A. D. Motala, S. J. Randeria, E. G. Bassa, Jeewa Essa, M. A. Fazilodeen, Hoosen Amod, Patel, G. M. Mayet, I. C. Badat, S. A. Mahomed, A. M. Kathrada, M. M. Paruk, E. C. Coovadia, Mahomed Dawood Mall, Ismail Amod Essack, Sayed Fakroodeen, and others.

Stranack's orchestra was responsible for the music at the function, while Cafes Limited were the caterers.

Mr. Millard Interviewed

Results more than justifying original expectations was the comment made in an interview, by Mr. W. Millard, associate manager of the New India Assurance Company, when referring to the amount of business done by the Durban branch which was started a year ago.

The New India Assurance, which is an Indian concern with its head office in Bombay, is the first undertaking of its kind to establish a branch connection in Durban. The South African manager is Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee.

Asked if the success of the assurance business would not attract other ventures in this country, banking for instance, Mr. Millard, though reluctant to express an opinion, being without sufficient information of the Union banking laws and the need of an Indian bank in South Africa, admitted that he was requested to report on the desirability or otherwise of a bank in East Africa.

Other than a large trade in gold, Mr. Millard did not think that there was a big market for South African products in India—like wool, maize and fruit.

The possibilities of further trade between the Union and India appealed to Mr. Millard. "I shall see now that I know something of South Africa, of new markets for trade development," he added.

Mr. Millard had some interesting information of insurance in India. At present, he said, there was

one-tenth of one per cent. of the population who were insured.

Motor and bus traffic were responsible for a scheme of third party compulsory insurance; this was adopted long before it came into force in South Africa.

"Insurance is going ahead in India, and there is still tremendous scope for it."

Mr. Millard referred to the activities of the New India. It has branches in the far East, with offices in London, New York, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hong Kong, Batavia, Penang, Nairobi, Teheran and many other places.

The company was inaugurated in 1919, and since then it has gone on spreading its business to get law of averages in assurance.

To-day, he said, the New India was one of the largest Indian companies in the world.—*Natal Witness*.

A Plea For Internationalism

Dr. Tagore's Speech In London

The following report of Dr. Tagore's speech at the reception given to him by the All People's Association at the Hyde Park Hotel, is taken from the *Manchester Guardian*:—

He spoke seated in his chair in a low, even melodious voice—that of a man talking quietly among sympathetic friends. Standing round him and eager to hear every word was a diverse and interesting company representing the East and the West. It was strongly international in character. Mr. Benard Shaw, the apotheosis of Western common-sense, was deep in converse with the leader of Indian idealist philosophy. There were in the room Indian princes, official representatives of a dozen foreign countries, publicists like Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Evelyn Wrench, scholars like Dr. Bevan and Dr. Edward Thompson, artists and literary men, and the unique artist both in line and in words, Mr. Max Beerbohn.

Dr. Tagore spoke of the difficulty of cultivating the international mind of the West, where a militant aggressive individualism had been so much pursued and made into a cult. The tendency was apparent also in Western politics and was the cause of divisions between the nations. Although the same spirit of collective egoism existed in the East still the spirit there was more that of a community life than the exclusive spirit of individualism.

Inspiration Of English Poets

He went on to describe the growth of the spirit of internationalism in his own life and mind. He spoke of the influence upon his own family in his youth of the great personality of Rammohan Roy—the first man who had this great background of humanity for all his teaching and who had intense love for all mankind.

Dr. Tagore went on to say that Western literature and culture came to them (he was speaking of his own family) through the poems of the great minds of Europe, who were filled with sentiment, universal in its character, of the love of humanity and freedom. Some of these great poets were not now held in the same honour as in their own homes, "but they still remain as our ideals and our sources of inspiration, and we still remember how intense was the love for Shakespeare, Byron, Keats, and other classical poets of the West."

As an example of how the inspiration of the English poets went to the heart of that generation in India, he told how a young man roused him at mid-night when he was asleep and said that he had just read a wonderful line in Keats and must repeat it, which he did. "Since then things have changed, but that was a great thing for us. We often tried to repudiate the West, but deep in our being there is a real reverence and admiration for the great things, which truly represent Western humanity and we have within us from the beginning of our lives that cultural meeting of East and West."

"But," Dr. Tagore went on, "the nationalism of to-day, which has become too rampant and self-assertive, that, too, we got from Western sources. We borrowed the spirit of nationalism from the West, and that is another sign of our deep admiration for Western civilisation." This cultural mingling was going on more strongly in the East than in the West because the people in the West were too proud and exclusive in their own cultural surroundings and limitations. The West had borrowed from the East its religion, but it had been greatly modified in the process by the Western temperament, and had lost much of its Eastern colour and sentiment. In spite of that the religion of the East had been a factor in moulding the Western character and giving it richness and light.

He himself had gone through the stage of aggressive nationalism, but he had lost it now, and had therefore incurred the displeasure of his own countrymen very often. This abstract nationalism often smothered the higher spirit of man, which was found in the individual. In this connection he spoke of the spirit of bragging and boastfulness which he found in Japan in 1916, and contrasted it with the beautiful human relationships among the people. Humanity was often obscured behind the passion of nationalism.

His own experiences in the West had helped him to cherish the ideal of internationalism, and he was also greatly helped because when he became known to the Western world he found it easy to occupy a warm corner of their hearts. He felt it his duty to try to utilize this feeling, which he had been fortunate to win in the West, and to bring it to his own country, so as to try to bridge the gulf which was widening every day between East and West.

Attack On Politicians

"Your politics here," he went on, "represent the same aggressive individualism. We cannot altogether obliterate national temperamental differences. There must be separateness between peoples. When it is merely on the surface, it doesn't hurt, but when it becomes selfishness, greed, and antipathy which cause separateness, then it is not the separateness of national demarcations but darkness and the bottomless abyss."

"You have seen the mischief of this, and have tried to bring about peace through the agency of the League of Nations, but there the nations are represented not by their dreamers and idealists but by their politicians. I can't think that this is right in any work which is meant to establish peace. It is like organising a band of robbers into a police department. I have travelled in different countries lately, and everywhere I have seen signs of sufferings caused by these very politicians—how they have bungled their peace conference and to what an end they have brought this great civilisation."

Finally Dr. Tagore spoke of his attempt to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy in his own institution at Santiniketan. He had done his best to keep his work outside political entanglement and

turmoil. That was the one institution in India where the students were absolutely natural in their relationship with visitors from the West. He had created this atmosphere with the help of some great scholars from Europe. This work he was trying to carry on in the midst of this great cyclone of political restlessness in India. To counteract the evil of nationalism there should be other channels of communication where East and West could meet in the pure spirit of sympathy and co-operation: "I have often wished that some great minds from England could come to India not merely as members of the ruling class but to spread their human love among our people."

South Africa And The Far East

What We Have To Fear From Japan

The following appears in the *Star* above the signature 'J. M.':—

Japan's geographical position in the East corresponds to that of Great Britain in the West, and it is apparent to those who have visited Japan and studied the Japanese race, how similar characteristics to those possessed by Britons have taken root and are developing as a natural result of their similar physical conditions.

The present world economic struggle, and more particularly the acute competition in the Pacific with which she is faced through the phenomenal expansion of the United States of America in the last decade, is forcing Japan, as an island race, to recognise her greater dependence on the law of self-preservation. In this respect Japan is to-day beginning to feel the effects of a similar phase of economic pressure in her particular appeal to that with which Britain has had to contend as the result of her proximity to the highly competitive countries of Europe.

Peaceful Penetration

Although the Japanese are not allowed to acquire land in the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, they rent land and have the right to trade. By this means of peaceful penetration they have created a field for the development of a great influence.

In the island of Oahu, of the Hawaiian group alone, the Japanese number 66,000, comprising much more than half the population. Only those born in the island—barely 4,000—are allowed the vote. The islands are governed by an executive sitting in Washington. A further case which emphasises the different methods followed by the British and United States Governments towards their colonies, was the latter's recent decision to place prohibitive duties on certain commodities which were exported from the Philippines in competition with similar articles of local production.

These are examples of how the United States carries out its much flouted principles of equality, democracy and self-determination.

The Japanese were long suffering and it is not too bold a prophecy to state that they will in the not too distant future take a prominent part in the much needed changes which are imminent in the Pacific. The race has tradition and a high standard of national life.

From all the circumstances herein cited has come into being a strong Japanese navy, second in efficiency to the British Navy only. If the Japanese do unto others as they have been done by when they seek to use the power they are destined to wield, South

Africa would be well advised to avoid incurring their wrath by widening, rather than narrowing, the relations which exist between the two countries.

With a population of 77,000,000 occupying an area of 260,000 square miles, Japan is desperately seeking colonial expansion. The reasons which swayed Great Britain to develop her Empire are much more pressing in Japan to-day.

No Match For The Japanese

The Japanese are a progressive, artistic, energetic and proud race, who have shown a welcome appreciation for the directing influence of the British power in the East, and their partiality to British institutions is apparent to the extent that the English language is taught in their schools and an Englishman is made to feel at home in their country.

Is it wise that we should take the risk of offending their susceptibilities by encouraging them even under a gentleman's agreement to come to this country, where we are not used to the finer courtesies the cultured Japanese expect and, above all, where colour prejudice is so rife and our native problems already so involved as to be almost insoluble?

Our Ministers may pride themselves on their astuteness, but let them be assured they are no match for the Japanese in this quality.

They were smart enough to defeat the law in the United States for a long time, where, rightly or wrongly, they ended by being bitterly disliked. Is the experience of this country likely to be different even with supposed safeguards, and is our power sufficient to stem the tide of immigration once it begins to flow? The answer is in the negative.

The Japanese are now excluded from the United States of America—with a grievance.

Canada would like to exclude them, and imposed a heavy immigration fee, recently raised to an almost prohibitive figure.

Amateurs Meddling In Foreign Affairs

In view of these facts one might ask, in what undisclosed intelligence lies our Government's superior wisdom? It is scarcely conceivable that our Prime Minister can be guilty of such ignorance as to state, as he is quoted to have stated in Parliament, that "the Japanese will understand the position and will show no desire to stay here."

Since the S.A. Government has so emphatically proclaimed its independence and its rights to take up the attitude of neutrality in case of Great Britain being at war, the Crown might also exercise its discretion in the event of South Africa becoming involved, which is the real danger of amateurs meddling in foreign affairs. Is it not surprising that we have heard no protest against the proposed treaty by the Labour Party?

The development of trade with a country where the cost of production is as low as in Japan, apart from the question of settlement of Japanese in this country, would have the effect of rendering the Industrial Conciliation Act practically nugatory. Surely our white labour advocates are alive to this.

One with any knowledge of the Japanese cannot fail to cultivate a great admiration for their many sterling qualities, but we should surely be guided and warned by the experience of other countries and be satisfied to avoid similar experiments, leaving the Japanese race to develop, as we believe they deserve to develop, in a more natural and suitable environment than exists for them in South Africa with more than its share of complications.

J. M.

Co-Operation Not Repression

Prof. Brookes & Native Problem

"You cannot escape the inevitable mingling of white and black as citizens of South Africa in the future. You can only delay the process," said Prof. E. H. Brookes in his address on "The Political Aspect of the Native Question," at a meeting of the Workers' Educational Association in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Johannesburg. Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones presided.

Many remedies had been suggested for the native problem in the past, stated Prof. Brookes, and of this segregation was one of the most popular and most futile in its implications. Up to the present politicians had only begged the question. It was time to face the facts.

As a solution to the problem, Prof. Brookes stressed the importance of co-operation instead of repression, and suggested a system of universal suffrage by which white and black should have one common roll but different qualifications. This might be opposed by those who believed in the shortsighted policy of oppression or a benevolent autocracy, but in the long run it was the only feasible solution to the problem.

The native himself was prepared to go through anything, if the possibility of political representation were held out to him as a hope that might one day be realised. The only alternative to this was force, and if the European were not prepared to meet the native on this point, it might be possible that the blacks would resort to arms instead.

Once it had been agreed to give the native a voice in his country's affairs, the difficulty was not entirely done with. The question remained, "How was this to be done?" To extend the franchise regulations of the European with his centuries of tradition and civilisation behind him, to those just emerging from barbarism would be foolish.

On the other hand the native Bills of General Hertzog had suggested what was virtually a system of parallel institutions with two Parliaments or alternatively, native representation in the House of Assembly. As a result the representatives of European constituencies would feel relieved of all responsibility of the native question; the few M.P.'s for the natives would be hopelessly outclassed; and the last state of the aborigines would be worse than the first.

Segregation A Smoke Screen

Segregation had also been suggested as a solution. "It is a smoke screen that obscures the whole question," declared Professor Brookes, "and those who suggest it have never faced the real facts." Where was land to be allocated for this purpose? Although people were manifestly generous with other people's property, they disliked interference with their own. As a result segregation with all the implications of loss both in land and in cheap labour would never be able to pass through Parliament.

Segregation is only really popular as an election cry, declared the speaker.

After having fully discussed the feasibility of these measures, Prof. Brookes urged that the only reasonable solution to the whole question was by giving the native a relative right to vote on a common roll with the European but with a qualification.

It was impracticable to take away the vote from the less-qualified part of the European population. It was foolish to give the native franchise on the same conditions, as he was only emerging from the

darkness of barbarism, and did not possess that sense of tradition and custom which was one of the great safeguards of civilisation. The right to vote should, therefore, be extended to them, but on stricter condition than for the European.

Prof. Brookes finally summed up the position in the following five points:—

1. The rights of the native to be recognised as a citizen should be recognised, and the hope given to him of one day having a voice in his own affairs and those of his country.

2. Native interests did not clash with European interests.

3. The argument of fear was a confession of cowardice. No nation had ever become great as a result of such a weakness.

4. Co-operation and not repression should be the rule.

5. Those who pleaded for the fair treatment of natives were the best friends of South Africa.

"History has shown that the oppressor suffers more than the oppressed," said Prof. Brookes in conclusion. "If you do not face the facts fearlessly, nor deal justly with the natives, you are laying up trouble for the future. In the long run your children will reap the bitter harvest of such a sowing."

Appeal For Race Unity

Wesleyan Methodist Conference

Capetown, April 21.—A stirring appeal for racial unity in South Africa was made to-day at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference by the President of the Conference, the Rev. E. Titcomb.

Mr. Titcomb said: "Drink, gambling and lust are the three great enemies of the Church. The main problem of South Africa is not the Native or political question—behind all our problems is the low tone of public opinion. Unless the opinion of the people is right, tolerant and human, there is no hope of any large-hearted legislation.

"South Africa has room for only one White race. The rivalries and animosities between Dutch and English are childish and squalid. We neither want an English nor a Dutch nation, but a South African people, born of the union of both these peoples. We must accept the facts of the situation, including two languages, and set ourselves to heal the wounds and establish every sort of fraternal relation, till these two warring peoples become one flesh.

"Another question is the relation between the White and Black races. We must insist that there is no room in South Africa for the Black nation, not merely for the Black people to be our servants but to be exploited and suppressed."

The President said that he was not pleading for equality, but he contended that it was their business to elevate public opinion until the Whites recognised the Black man as a human being.

A great rally was held for the purpose of consummating the union between the work of the Transvaal and South African Conference. The speakers included the Rev. W. Meara and the Rev. H. Hlabangana from the Transvaal, the Revs. Frank Noble (Rhodesia), D. B. Davis (Transkei) and Messrs. Wallis Dyer (Durban) and D. T. Jabavu (Fort Hare).

An invitation was extended to the Conference to meet in Johannesburg next year, and this was accepted.—Reuter.

India Welcomes New Viceroy

Lord Willingdon Appeals For Co-operation

Bombay, April 17.—The new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, and Lady Willingdon arrived this morning and received a civic welcome at the "Gateway of India." They drove amid cheering crowds to Government House.

Replying to the civic address of welcome, Lord Willingdon appealed for co-operation so that India "may move rapidly towards the goal of Responsible Government and a position of absolute equal partnership with the other Dominions.

"I shall endeavour to carry on the great work done in the past five years by Lord Irwin," he said.

Irwin's Last Speech In India

Bombay, April 18.—Lord and Lady Irwin sailed for England to-day. They were cheered by crowds as they drove in state through the city.

Two hours after Lord Irwin's departure Lord Willingdon was sworn in as Viceroy of India at the University Convocation Hall by the Chief Justice of Bombay in the presence of a distinguished gathering.

A salute of 31 guns announced the new Viceroy's assumption of office.

Lord Irwin, in his last speech in India, replying to the Municipality's address, described his five years' Viceroyalty as a "labour of love." He expressed the opinion that the only way of achieving "the end which I believe we all desire" was the synthesis of the best statesmanship of the East and of the West.

Lord Irwin declared that the end, however, was not yet, and the "stiffest part of the hill is to come."

The King cabled to Lord Irwin an appreciation of his "great services as Viceroy."

Within 24 hours of the time Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, was due, a bomb exploded near the Main Station. Four Indians were seriously injured.—Reuter.

Wage Claims A New Evil

The estrangement between employer and employee as a result of the rigid and arbitrary enforcement of the wage determination is described as a new evil that has arisen in business in the annual executive report of the Cape Peninsula Commercial Employers' Association, submitted at its annual general meeting.

"We have had depressions previously," the executive reports, "when commercial business was as difficult to carry on as it is now, but merchants in Capetown and throughout the country considered not only their own interests and carried out their obligations, but the interests of the employees were also a part of their policy.

"Employees in those times were not discharged. They were expected to, and did, recognise that they were part of the commercial machinery, that if trade did not warrant high wages they could not be paid, and that while the employer continued to carry on his business and fulfil his obligations, employees were retained and they were paid wages which in the circumstances were satisfactory to them.

"Much of this friendly relationship has been lost through the wage determination and the claims which have been made by employees to the wages

prescribed have had to be refused merely because the state of trade and the business offering did not allow for the high wages to be paid. We therefore hoped that as a result of the Government's experience we should see some relief in the new determination. It would have been so if the Wage Board had realised the position of affairs to-day.

"None of us wishes to discharge employees, neither do we wish to discourage the employment of juveniles in commercial life, but the last determination, which was made in a time of comparative prosperity, has been impossible to carry out."—*Star*.

Labour Not In Danger

London, Monday.—Despite alarmist rumours of a crisis in connection with the Conservative vote of censure on the subject of unemployment in the House of Commons on Thursday, the Prime Minister will find the political situation on the reopening of Parliament to-morrow unchanged.

The position is in the hands of the Liberals, and as Mr. Tom Johnston, the new Lord Privy Seal, has progressive ideas as regards improving the unemployment situation it is expected that he will give such assurances of a more active policy that the bulk of the Liberals will support the Government on Thursday, and thus prevent their defeat.

The defeat of the Government would mean a general election.

"Foolish Talk"

The *Daily Herald*, referring to the "foolish talk" about a new crisis involving the defeat of the Government and a general election, says that the relations between Mr. Lloyd George's followers on the one hand and the Government on the other are better to-day than they have been in the lifetime of this Parliament.

The *Sunday Referee* said yesterday that dramatic moves were taking place behind the scenes in Parliamentary circles, which, it is confidently believed in certain quarters, would result in the downfall of the Government this week. The paper stated that a conservative-Liberal pact was being secretly engineered to defeat the Government when the Conservative vote of censure in regard to unemployment was discussed on Thursday.

The Commons by 308 to 251 rejects Conservative vote of censure on the Government for failing to fulfil its election pledges as to unemployment.—*Reuter*.

A Living Wage

"I want to put this direct challenge to Christians: can we, with clean consciences, eat food, wear clothes, and enjoy comforts which have been produced by labour paid less than a living wage?" writes Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., in the *Congressional Quarterly*.

If we do, we are living at the expense of the life of others. None of us ought to rest content for a day whilst these unchristian economic conditions continue. It is manifestly wrong to kill a man in order to rifle his pocket. It is equally wrong to kill a man by degrees, by paying him a wage insufficient to keep him alive, and then to accept the results of his labour.

As a very young man, I was one of a small group of Socialists whom Mr. Benard Shaw once addressed on the purpose of life. At the end of his talk I

put this question to him: 'We are youngsters and we want to make something useful out of our lives. What is your advice to us?' He replied: "Try to find out what the Life-Force is making for, and make for it, too.' The 'Life-Force?' Call it God, or the Eternal Spirit of Progress, or what you will. It does not seem to me to matter."

The essential thing is to realise that we are a part of a Great Life, that we can consciously give ourselves to its fulfilment, that we can lose ourselves in it and find ourselves in the realisation of its purposes.

Such is the challenge of World Problems to Christians—and to all men and women for whom life means something more than an idle passing.—*Indian Review*.

News In Brief

"We either want to win political power within the next six months or fight a fierce battle. We are prepared for it and don't trust the Government," was the theme of addresses delivered by Vallabhai Patel, President of the All-India Congress, on a tour in the Broach District. He added that the troops had given them an opportunity to prepare for the future fight, which would be "a fight unheard of in history." Patel advised those who were afraid of death and gaol to sell their property and migrate to foreign countries.—*Reuter*.

Bombay, April 18.—Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, accompanied by his private secretary, Mr. P. K. Rao, sailed to-day for London where Mr. Sastri will give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Closer Union in East Africa.—*Reuter*.

Pretoria, April 17.—The Dutch Reformed Church Synod has decided to appoint a commission to inquire into the working of the Wage Act. While the Synod agreed with the Wage Act, the commission was instructed to investigate whether or not the application of the Act by the Wage Board had not tended to increase unemployment. The motion was proposed by the Rev. O. D. Murray, of Pretoria.—*Reuter*.

Lucknow, April 20 (*Reuter*).—The Moslem Nationalist Conference has concluded. The Conference passed resolutions that the constitution of India should be federal; that Sind and the North-West Frontier Province should be separate Provinces; that the representation of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be based on universal adult suffrage, with joint electorates and the reservation of seats on a population basis for minorities of less than 30 per cent., with the right to contest additional seats.

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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

હિંદની સમસ્ત જનતાને સ્વરાજ્ય જોધયે છે

(લેખક—સી. એફ. એન્ડરસ)

‘કેપ ટાઇમ્સ’ પત્રના એક અંકમાં કેપ્ટન બી. એલ. ટેકોઈ અમલ સંબંધીયુક્ત એક લેખ લખ્યો છે. હિંદના ભાવિ વિષે વિભાવતાના કન્યાવેદીય પક્ષનું લક્ષ્યબિંદુ શું છે તેનો એ લેખમાં ઉદ્દેશ્ય કરવામાં આવ્યો છે. એમણે પોતાના લેખમાં માફ નામ પણ યુક્ત કર્યું છે. અને જણાવ્યું છે કે હું એવા વિચાર ધરાવું છું કે હિંદના રાજ્યવહિવટમાં ગ્રામીણ સરકાર કરવાનો સમય પરિપક્વ થયેલો છે. હિંદમાં રાષ્ટ્રસ્વરૂપ એક નવું મોલુ સંસ્થા રહેલું છે અને અંગ્રેજ પ્રભુ જેમ અને તેમ જલદી હિંદી પ્રજાને તેમના હક્કનો વહિવટ તેમને સોંપી દે તેમ તે હિંદ માટે અને સાધારણને માટે વધુ સારું છે.

હિંદ સમગ્રી આજે હું આવા વિચારો ધરાવું છું એમ કેપ્ટનના લેખથી જણાવવામાં આવ્યું છે તે બરાબર છે એમ મારે ખુશીથી કહી શકું છું. એ જોઈને વાક્યમાં હું કહી શકું છું કે હિંદી પ્રજામાં ભલે મતદેર હોય અને ભાગલા હોય તો પણ તેમનો એક હવે પ્રક નિશ્ચય છે કે તેમણે પોતાને પોતાના ઉપર રાજ્ય કરવું. આ પ્રયત્ન માં તેઓ સફળ થાય તો તેમને નિષ્ફળતા મળે એવી સાથે તેમને પ્રુપ્ત સંબંધ નથી. આ અખવરો કરવાનો તેઓએ પ્રક નિશ્ચય કરેલો છે. હિંદીઓના એક મર્યાદિતાએ એક વાર કહ્યું હતું ‘સ્વરાજ્ય એ મારો જન્મ સિદ્ધ હક છે અને તે હું લઉં છું.’

આજે જો એ વિષયમાં હિંદમાં સ્વરાજ્ય—આખી પ્રજાના મત લેવામાં આવે તો મારી એ ખાતી છે કે સ્વરાજ્યને માટે ભારે બહુમતથી મતો મળે.

કેપ્ટન ટેકોઈ અને ખાશ વિચારો વચ્ચે જે તફાવત છે તે આમડાના સ્વરૂપ વિષે તેમની જે માનવતા છે તે વિષે છે. હિંદની વસ્તીનો હવે ટકાનો ભાગ ગામડામાં વસે છે એ તેમની વાત બરાબર છે. તેઓ હજી અજ્ઞાન જગ્યામાં છે અને જમીનને ખેડી તેમાંથી પોતાનું શુભરાજ કરી રીતે મજાવવું એજ તેમને માટે પ્રુપ્ત અમલનો પ્રક છે. અને જ્યાં સુધી તેઓ કાલિથી પોતાની ખેતીનું કાર્ય કરી શકતા હોય ત્યાં સુધી તેમના ઉપર કોઈ રાજ્ય કરે છે તેવી તેમને પરવા નથી એમ કેપ્ટન સાહેબ કહે છે.

કેપ્ટન સાહેબ કહે છે કે હિંદમાં તેમણે પોતાનું જીવન સરકારમાં માળુક છે. અને તેની લેખ ઉપરથી મહુમ પડે છે કે તેમણે બાર વર્ષથી હિંદુસ્તાન છોડેલું છે. આ સમયે પહેલાં તેમણે નવ વર્ષ સુધી સરકારમાં નોકરી કરી હતી. હું

એવું કહેવાની દિગ્મન કરું છું કે આવી રીતે સરકારમાં તેમણે નોકરી કરી હોય તેને દેશના અમુક ભાગના ગામડામાં રહેવા લોકોનું જીવન જોવાનો પ્રસંગ મળ્યો છે. આ ઉપરાંત બાર વર્ષ ઉપરનું હિંદુસ્તાન અને આજના હિંદુસ્તાનના સામાજિક અને રાજકીય જીવનમાં ભારે તફાવત પડેલો છે. તેથી કેપ્ટન સાહેબનો અનુભવ ગમે તેટલો હોય છતાં તેમનો અનુભવ એ આખા હિંદનો નથી અને તે બાર વર્ષ પહેલાના હોય આજની સ્થિતિ સાથે સરખાવવામાં તે ઉપયોગી થઈ પડે. હિંદમાં ગામડાઓમાં વસ્તી પ્રભવી મુશ્કેલીઓ શું છે તે હું જાણું છું અને હિંદમાં મારા ત્રીસ વર્ષના અનુભવને પરિણામે હું કહી શકું છું કે પોતાના હક્કનો રાજ્યવહિવટ ચલાવવાની જોખમદારી તેમનાં હાથમાં સુકવાનો સમય પરિપક્વ થયો છે. જો હિંદમાં આગળ વધવું એ જો જોખમકારક હોય તો પાછળ હાલું યો જ્યાં જીએ ત્યાં જમા રહેવું એ વિશેષ લખ્યું કરે છે હું કેટલાક કામલા આપું. બાર વર્ષ ઉપર કેપ્ટન સાહેબે હિંદમાં વસ્તી મામડીઓનું જીવન જોયું હતું. આજે તેમાં કેવું પરિવર્તન થયેલું છે તે એ ઉપરથી જોઈ શકાય. હું એક વાર ઉત્તર હિંદમાં હિમાલય પહાડની પાસે રહેતો હતો. તે જગ્યામાં જે મામડીઓ વસ્તા હતા તેમની જ વચ્ચે તેમના જેવાજ પેવાઈ પહેરીને હું ફરતો હતો. તે લોકોને અમાઉથી ખબર પડી મધ હતી કે માંધીઓને હું મિત્ર હતો આ બનાવ સન ૧૯૧૭ ની સાલમાં બન્યો હતો એમ મને માલ છે. ‘મે’ પોતે એમ કહ્યું હતું કે મરીજીમાં સંપાદક રહેલા આ ગામડીઓને પોતાનાં જામને લગતા પ્રમ્નો સિવાય માત્ર યુરોપીય મહાન ધુલક કે જીને વિષે હિંદના એક ખુબથી ખીલ ખુબ સુધી બજાજનાટ થઈ રહ્યો હતો તે પ્રક સિવાય ખીલ કશા પ્રક વિષે તેઓ કંઈ જાણતા ન હશે. પરંતુ જ્યારે તેઓ મારી આસપાસ વિટળાઈને હલાં હતાં ત્યારે તેઓ એકલ પ્રક મને ધુલવા ધુલતાં હતાં. તે સવાલ આ હતો. “સાહેબ, અમને સ્વરાજ્ય ક્યારે મળશે.” અને આ વાત થોડ વર્ષ ઉપરની હતી.

એજ જગ્યામાં સન ૧૯૩૦ ની સાલમાં શું બની રહ્યું છે તે તરફ હવે ધ્યાન. આ વસ્તી મામડીઓ સ્વરાજ્યના પ્રકમાં આજે જોઈ પ્રાપ્ત થઈ રહેલા છે. હું હવે જે કહું છું તે મહાંતમાં માંધીઓને પોતાના સ્વરાજ્યમાંથી દૂર કરવું છું. ગંધીજી સ્વરાજ્યનો સરેશી સંભળાવવાં આ કોઈ પાસે ગયા હતા. ગંધીજી જ્યારે આ પહેલાંના ત્યારે તે જગ્યામાંથી બજાઈને

