

Indian Opinion

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RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT WITH CERTAIN 'RESERVATIONS'

DR. SUNDERLAND'S ANALYSIS OF R.T.C. SCHEME

THE name of Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the well-known American writer, is familiar to almost every Indian. In his book "India In Bondage" he has put the case of India's right to freedom so very strongly and explicitly that the British Government, out of fear that they might lose control over India, deemed it wise to proscribe the book. But the "wise" step proved really a blunder, for the book became more popular than it would have had it been left alone. Dr. J. T. Sunderland has now written an article in the *Unity* of Chicago in which he has vividly explained what responsible government to India with certain "reservations" as already planned by the Round Table Conference, which met in London last year would mean. The article which is very interesting and informative is reproduced below for the benefit of our readers:—

At the close of the London Round Table Conference, announcement was made by Premier MacDonald, that it is the intention of the British Government, as soon as a New Constitution can be framed and certain necessary preliminaries can be arranged, to grant India "responsible government," "self-rule," but with certain "reservations," certain "necessary reservations" as "safeguards."

If this means that India is to be given real self-rule, a government really and fully responsible to the Indian people, which she has long demanded as her right, then there seems every reason to believe that Indian discontent will cease, and the dark cloud full of thunderings and lightnings which to-day hangs over India and over the British Empire on account of India will pass away.

Why Reservations?

But is this what the proposed "self-rule with reservations" and "responsible government with reservations" really means? Practically all India is troubled. Why are reservations necessary for a great historic nation which in the past ruled itself for two or three thousand years without reservations, and occupied a place of honour and influence in the world second to that of no other nation? Cannot such a nation rule itself now? If not, why not? Has 170 years of British rule caused such degeneration in her that she cannot do again what she did for so long a period with distinguished success. India feels insulted by these reservations.

Smoke-Screen

She also distrusts their meaning. What can their real meaning be? Are they not another "smoke-screen" such as she declares she has experienced so often from her present foreign rulers? Is not offering self-rule with these reservations, on the part of Great Britain, another instance of professing to give without really giving? Of "giving with one hand and taking back with the other?" Under the name of granting India self-rule, does not Britain by her reservations really deny her self-rule, refuse to give her self-rule? If I may quote the language of the Editor of *New India* (Madras).

"In holding out to India so-called self-government with these limitations attached, are India's foreign lords offering her anything whatever but the trappings of self-government without self-government at all?"

What Reservations Mean

These are vital questions. Word comes that virtually all India is asking them with intense earnestness.

Just what are the reservations? The answer is as follows:—

1. Great Britain is to control India's "Defence," that is, India's "Army." India possesses, and is to continue to possess, a large army. What does control of it mean? If we, in the United States, had a large army and it was controlled by Germany, or France, or Japan, or Great Britain, and if we had not a single soldier under our control, could it be said in any true sense that we were free or possessed self-rule? This exactly illustrates what British control of the Indian army means. Does not all the world know that any nation whose army is wholly in the control of a foreign power, instead of being free and self-governing in any true sense, is under serious and dangerous bondage?

2. In the New Constitution which is to be offered to the Indian people, Britain is to control India's Foreign Political Relations. What does that mean? It means that India cannot officially communicate with any other nation, she cannot make a foreign treaty, or do any kind of foreign business. She cannot send to any nation an Ambassador, or a Minister or a Consul, or any official to represent her; nor can she receive any Ambassador, or Minister, or Consul, or official representing any foreign nation. She cannot be recognised as a nation by any other nation, she can have no place among the nations of the world. To all the world she is not to be a nation at all, but simply a subject province of Great Britain. Will this be self-rule? Will it be anything but unbearable bondage?

Economic Control

3. Britain is to control India's Foreign Finance, Foreign Exchange, Foreign Credit. That is to say, in financial matters India is to be in the absolute power of Great Britain. Indian financiers claim that one of the important causes of India's impoverishment has been the fact that in the past Indian finance has been under British control. They claim that by changing the value of the rupee and manipulating India's currency in the interest of Britain, and by creating artificial ratios of exchange between India and England, the British Government has drained from India untold millions of her wealth. Under the proposed New Constitution for India, all this is to go right on. It is an axiom in the statesmanship that economic power underlies and controls political power and that whoever controls the credit of a nation really controls the nation. Under such conditions, will the claim that India possesses self-rule be anything but a mockery?

Viceroy's Autocratic Power

4. While in the proposed New Constitution for India the Viceroy (or Governor General) is to be responsible in a measure to the Indian National (Federal) Legislature, and therefore indirectly to the people of India, 'he is to be given autocratic and arbitrary power greater than any past Viceroy has ever possessed.' In other words, he is to have power to dismiss Ministries at his will, which means that, in what he may claim to be a time of "emergency," he can control legislation, or even dismiss the Legislature, and rule the country by arbitrary edicts, or virtual martial law, exactly as Lord Irwin has done for nearly a year past—imprisoning tens of thousands of India's worthiest citizens and filling the land with unpardonable brutalities.

Nor is this all. Since the Governors of the Provinces (as well as the Governor General) are to be appointed by Great Britain without India having any voice or power in the matter, there is no way in which India will be able to prevent great Provinces from being governed by tyrants like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or to prevent British Generals like General Dyer from being forced on communities with power to perpetrate future atrocities like those of the Punjab or future massacres like that at Amritsar. Will this mean Self-Rule for India?

Such then are the four main "Reservations" (there are others but these are the most important) which Great Britain makes an indispensable part of the New Constitution which she graciously offers to the Indian people.

In Chains Still

Under such a Constitution, will India in any true sense possess "responsible government"? On the contrary, will she not be a subject nation as really as in the past? The chains with which she is to be bound will be somewhat different in form, and they will be slightly longer in this direction and in that so as to allow her a little more liberty of movement in her bondage, but are they not to be chains still, chains of steel essentially as strong and as bitter as those of the past have ever been?

Notes and News

IN the course of his evidence, on behalf of the Government of India, before the Joint East African Parliamentary Commission in London, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have stated:—"The question of overseas Indians in the Empire had not yet been settled to the satisfaction of India, who wished that her status in the Empire should not be inferior to any other community."

Mr. Arthur G. Barlow, reviewing the work done in the Union Parliament, writes to the *Rand Daily Mail*:

"At the end of the year India will send her delegates to the Union for a Round Table Conference to discuss the lot of the Indians in South Africa and the various Bills our Cabinet has on the order paper. This will be a momentous gathering. The result may mean a very friendly India, with a big trade for our exports, or a hostile India. The anti-Indian view, which was one of the subjects which helped the Pact into power, has been much modified of late, and is likely that Dr. Malan will be able to negotiate a lasting "peace" with India, which will strengthen both countries. It is probable that Mr. Fourie, Minister of Mines and Industries, may himself visit India within the next twelve months so that he may be able to judge what the chances for South African trade are in that country. It is understood that a large and ready market awaits our

fruit there. I discussed the matter with Mr. Fourie a few weeks ago, and he then told me he was anxious to investigate the position for himself, but was far too busy at present to be able to leave the Union. The Rev. C. F. Andrews, the friend of Mahatma Gandhi, who is persona grata with the Nationalists, has supplied the Government with a good deal of useful information about India."

The last Round Table Conference which resulted in the Capetown Agreement, too, was considered a momentous gathering and the Agreement was hailed as the Gentleman's Agreement that had settled, once for all, the Indian question in this country. But we fail to see that matters have changed for the better, in the slightest degree, since that Agreement. If at all there has been a change it has been perhaps for the worst for Indians. For their position has become a little more insecure than it was before the Agreement. It is now being said that the forthcoming Conference will be a momentous gathering and that the result may mean a very friendly India, or a hostile India. The anti-Indian view, it is said, has been much modified, and that Dr. Malan will be able to negotiate a lasting peace with India which will strengthen both countries. We wish we could take such an optimistic view. But we find no grounds for doing so. Surely, there is no reason why the anti-Indian view should not be modified after two anti-Indian Bills were brought before Parliament of which the Immigration Bill, depriving Indians in the Transvaal of their vested right, has been passed and the other—the Land Tenure Bill—is still hanging over Indians. It is surprising how South Africa can even expect India to be "friendly" when the former can treat the latter's nationals with contempt. We have no hope at all of any peace resulting by any Round Table Conference unless there is a real change of heart in the South Africans themselves and that, unfortunately, is not to be found.

"As natives we are getting 'fed up' with Commissions," declared I. B. Mb'elle before the Native Economic Commission in Pretoria. "It had been their experience," he added, "that the reports of these Commissions were usually shelved, and that, in the long run, nothing came of them." We do not wonder at this protest on the part of Mr. I. B. Mb'elle. Past experience has shown that such commissions have been nothing more than eye-wash commissions.

Dr. John T. Godfrey M.B. Ch.B. of Edinburgh who has practised in Lancashire for 15 years has recently returned with Mrs. Godfrey and family to reside in Durban and has opened a practice in Prince Edward Street. Dr. Godfrey is the son of the late Mr. Godfrey, the well-known and still remembered Indian schoolmaster and the brother of Advocate J. W. Godfrey. We join with his many friends in wishing him success.

Lecturing at the Society of Friends recently in London on Mahatma Gandhi's views on missionaries, Mr. C. F. Andrews is reported to have said that he was convinced that Gandhiji had been misunderstood since he exemplified in his life Christ's spirit and it was impossible, therefore, that he could take exception to missionary activities provided they were carried on in that spirit. On the other hand, compulsory Bible teaching, as a condition for imparting education and furnishing medical treatment, and also missionary enterprise carried on in an arrogant and aggressive manner, did not accord with the spirit of Christianity and were legitimately resented.

The following interesting clipping has been taken from the *Irish World* of New York:—

We think we can with a fair amount of accuracy predict just what will happen in London a few months from now. Gandhi will be given a royal welcome. He may be as modest, as retiring and as frugal as he wishes, but he will, nevertheless, be the recipient of wild public acclaim from the moment he sets foot on English mud. There will, too, be the official reception, at which the Indian leader will be the centre of attraction. There will be official banquets, which Gandhi may decline to attend. Then, when all the laudation has been attended to, Gandhi and his comrades will be conducted into the conference chamber and, in smooth English accents, appealed to, reasoned with, cajoled, flattered, threatened, if need be. Finally, he will be given a few small concessions, each one of which will be hailed by the English press as a great victory for India and Gandhi, and sent home empty-handed so far as any real freedom for India is concerned.

The Irish world has already passed through the bitter experiences that India is passing through at the present moment. The *Irish World* of New York is therefore speaking from past experience. But India will no longer be betrayed. She has her eyes wide open. The politicians in London will be committing the biggest blunder if they will indulge in any of their past trickeries in dealing with India.

Under the heading "Congress Threats" the *Natal Mercury* publishes the following message from its Calcutta correspondent:—

"Interpreting the Congress attitude towards the sanction accorded to Gandhi to attend the resumed Round Table Conference in London, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasises that Gandhi will go to London, not to beg or argue for freedom, but only to present the Congress demands, which the British Government may accept or reject. Jawaharlal Nehru attaches little importance to the Conference. If "war" is unavoidable, he says, the nation will not be found unprepared."

It will be well for the *Natal Mercury* to learn that the Congress no longer hurles vain threats.

It appears from the latest exchanges from India that there is a new move on foot to settle the Moslem differences. Dr. Asstari and Mr. Shaib Quershî met Mahatma Gandhi while he was in Simla and informed him of the provisional pact arrived at between the Ansari and Shaikat Ali schools of thought on the question of electorate. It seems the formula favoured is a mixture of both separate and joint electorate, till joint electorate is established all round in about a decade. It is reported unanimity would be reached shortly and that another meeting either in Simla or Bhopal would be held in the first week of June to put the final seal of approval of both sides. If a united Muslim demand is thus evolved, the Muslims would directly approach the Congress leaders for acceptance of the scheme.

A committee of prominent Nationalist Mussalmans has been formed with the object of securing the signatures of all Mussalmans in favour of joint electorates. Small deputations have, also, been formed to visit different wards and villages to carry on vigorous propaganda on Nationalist lines.

Giving a message to an Indian talkie film company recently, Mahatma Gandhi said:—

"People ask me why I am Khaddar-mad. There are 7 lakhs of villages. A large number of these villagers are living in a condition of semi-starvation. There is no employment for them for nearly six months in the year. It is necessary to find for them some supplementary occupation. We must give

them an occupation they are used to. Such an occupation is hand-spinning. If hand-spinning is to be introduced in all villages, it is but natural that we should be expected to wear Khaddar. Hence it is that I have become Khaddar-mad."

DURBAN INDIAN MARKET

ELSEWHERE in this issue we reproduce a report on the Durban Indian Market, submitted to the Markets and Abattoir Committee of the Durban Town Council by the Town Treasurer, Mr. E. B. Scott.

While holding no brief for the Indian Market Stallholders, there are a few points that have occurred to us on reading the report, which we would like to take note of here with the hope that they might perhaps be of some little help in considering a solution of the question.

We note that while all the advantages derived by the Indian Market stallholders have been taken note of in the Town Treasurer's report, no heed has been paid to the disadvantages suffered by them. That vegetable sellers occupying sites on the street are, by their payments helping to pay the rent of the occupiers of the stalls within the Market is pointed out by the Town Treasurer. But the other side of it is this that by allowing the vegetable sellers to carry on their trade on the street outside, the stallholders inside the market have to suffer a considerable loss, since the sellers on the street can afford to sell at a much lower price than those within the market and hence most of the purchasers get their daily requirements from the former, thus causing much loss of trade to the latter. The sellers on the street, it may be mentioned, by the way, are a distinct advantage to the Town Council, since they fill the Council's coffers without the latter having to pay a farthing for the comfort of the former. The street sellers who pay so much revenue to the Town Council have to sleep all through the night, in all weathers, outside in the open street.

In view of the above facts is the advantage derived indirectly by the stallholders—although we call it no advantage at all—to be grudged?

The other point is that while the Borough Market is situated right in the heart of the town the Indian Market is in a far corner of the town. Is that not a disadvantage to the Indian Market stallholders and

does that not entitle them to lower rentals than those charged at the Borough Market?

The third consideration is: Has the Town Council ever been running the Indian Market at a loss? No, on the contrary, it has always been profiteering from the Indian and the Native Markets. On what grounds then could the Town Council ask for increased rentals from the Indian stallholders?

Then we come to the question as to who the complainants are. They are those who are out for profiteering; not those who have to open their purses viz., the consumers. The latter will always look for a cheaper market and will naturally go there. But the Borough Market stallholders will not have that. They want to profiteer and want things to be so arranged that the consumers would be compelled to pay more for their requirements. Thus the policy is to torment the consumer. Should any extra tax be imposed on the Indian Market stallholders, either in the shape of licences or increased rentals, the result will perhaps be that a few Indians will be ousted from the market. We doubt if the complaining party will gain anything more than that. But the party that will really be hit by it will be the consumer and how long the consumer will stand that state of affairs will remain to be seen.

True Growth Of Man

(By L. W. RITCH)

"for countless wealth
To lay up lasting treasure
Of perfect service rendered, duties done
In charity, soft speech and stainless days:
These riches shall not fade away in life,
Nor any death dispraise.

The Light of Asia.

Concern for the advancement of man's true welfare should not preclude appreciation of the educational value of present experiences be they ever so disagreeable. Ordinarily, what folks desire most of all is to be left, as they would put it, "in peace," that is to pursue the even tenor of their way untroubled and undisturbed. That for their soul's sake it is well they should be aroused from the animal-like satisfaction they enjoy, does not appeal to them at all. Comfortable bondage is preferred to the trouble incidental to achieving freedom and to shouldering its responsibilities; a full belly or a comfortable bank balance, even at the price of stagnation, to enduring the discomfort of growing pains.

Happily the physical man contacted by us from day to day is not the *whole* Man but only a portion or aspect of his being. Happily, behind the grubbly little personality "I" we are accustomed to regard as THE MAN—the "I" that is typical of most of

us here on earth—there is a larger, fuller consciousness which is sometimes referred to as the Soul or Ego. This it is that evolves, gathering up the fruitage of each incarnation "as wind gathers scents blowing above the flower beds." This it is that is the real ego with which the "man in the flesh" having grown wise seeks to identify himself, rather than with the mortal personality.

To that end there must be a change in what is termed polarity i.e. the life of the man must no longer be centred in his personal needs, wants and appetites. There must be an expansion of horizon, a correction of perspective, a recasting of values. He who would find "the true life kept for him who false puts by" must abandon the perishable for the imperishable, the impermanent for the everlasting. Evolution has been defined as "the process of becoming," this in ordinary parlance is "growth." In order that he may grow the man has to be awakened to his possibilities, and this often necessitates his being shaken out of the lethargic contentment characteristic of the average. "Four kinds of mortals know 'ME,'" says Sri Krishna in The Gita. First of these is "he who sweeps." Sweet are the uses of adversity, since adversity drives the sufferer to find within himself the eternal Source of Strength, Endurance and Comfort. Friend indeed is the persecutor and disturber of the worldly-minded and self-satisfied, the sluggish who ask only to be allowed to stew in their own juice. The inner-self of man impels him to seek freedom, liberation from *all* bondage. The outer-self is, however, oftentimes unresponsive. The "enemy" who, malgré soi, supplements the efforts of the inner-man does better than he knows. God's ways are not man's ways, and the foolish who would mock God's law, only find that they are mocked instead. They will have helped where they intended to injure; have injured where they thought to profit.

"By this the slayer's knife did stab himself;
The unjust judge hath lost his own defender:
The false tongue dooms its lie; the creeping thief
And spoiler, rob to render.
Such is the Law which moves to righteousness,
Which none, at last, can turn aside or stay."

Durban Indian Market

Town Treasurer's Report

In the course of a report submitted to the Markets and Abattoir Committee of the Durban Town Council by the Town Treasurer Mr. E. B. Scott, the latter has alleged that stall rentals imposed in the Indian market are inadequate.

Street Stalls

"It will be wondered how such uneconomic rentals can be charged and the Indian market carried on without apparent loss," he says. "The reason for this is that the market earns a sum of between £3,000 and £4,000 from owners of baskets and carts who use street space for the sale of their goods in the early morning market, and this income goes into the general revenue. Indirectly, the vegetable sellers occupying sites on the street are, by their payments helping to pay the rent of the occupiers of the stalls within the market.

"To sum up the position generally, it is this: The Council has created a market in that area of the

town and by its policy of giving the stallholders the advantage of cheap rentals, which have been made possible by the letting of street spaces and crediting to the market, has in a sense subsidised the stallholders to the extent of approximately £3,000 a year, enabling them to sell at prices considerably lower than can possibly be charged in the European market.

"A personal inspection of the stalls and an investigation of the class of business that these stallholders are doing has been most illuminating. Greengrocery and produce stalls not only carry stocks of produce, but also grocery stocks; other stalls are confined to groceries only.

"It is surprising what quantity and quality of grocery stocks are carried in these stalls, and, having regard to all the facts, the rentals of most of the stalls are totally inadequate.

These stallholders, particularly grocery, greengrocery and meat stalls, cater for and do supply largely Europeans; while this is the case, in fairness to the European grocers, butchers and greengrocers in the Borough market, and for that matter in Durban, the rentals charged should be increased considerably.

While I agree that certain classes of trade cannot be expected to pay equal rentals with others, the rentals as a whole should be substantially increased.

Mr. Scot gives the area of the Indian market as 53,000 square feet.

"The land for rating purposes is valued at 15s. per square foot as against a valuation of 37s. 6d. per square foot at the Borough market," he goes on.

"The total value of land and buildings is £60,810—£1 3s. per square foot for rating purposes. The annual relevant expenditure as at July 31, 1930, is £11,621. This works out at approximately 4s. 5d. per square foot."

Mr. Scot appends figures showing the economic minimum rental and the rental charged. In every case the rental charged is under the economic figure suggested.

In addition, Mr. Scot says, these stallholders in the Indian Market have a distinct advantage over stallholders in the Borough market and over Durban shopkeepers in that they are not called upon to take out licences.

The Capetown Agreement

"Should Assure Honourable And Progressive Existence"

How India Views The Question

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes as follows:—

In an interview with the *Pretoria News* on the eve of his departure from South Africa to England, Mr. C. F. Andrews observed regarding the feeling about Indians there amongst the Whites: "I think on the whole the atmosphere has immensely improved. There is far greater respect for India as a great country which is engaged in gaining its freedom." Probably Mr. Andrews was led to notice this "immense" improvement because of the postponement by the Hertzog Government of the notorious Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill. But the statement made by Dr. Malan in the South African House of Assembly regarding this postponement has naturally evoked grave apprehensions amongst the Indian community. He said that the postponement was "at the request of the Government of India to

enable it to be discussed at the proposed Round Table Conference which would be held in South Africa probably before the beginning of December with the object of revising the Capetown Agreement." This desire to revise the Agreement does not, so far as we are aware, emanate from the Government of India. They know, in fact, that the Indian community in South Africa has, on the contrary, repeatedly emphasised that the Agreement does not need revision but straightforward implementing of its terms by the Hertzog Government.

If what appears to be extolled in the anti-Indian South African Press as a "concession" to the Indians in the matter of postponing the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill is only a prelude to a systematic effort on the part of the Hertzog Government to go back on the Agreement and initiate a policy which will squeeze the Indians out of the country, the latter will have to strain every nerve to agitate strongly against such a manoeuvre. At the forthcoming Conference they must make a strong and united demand that if the Capetown Agreement is to be revised, the revision must be in the direction of enlarging its "uplift" clauses. It must assure them an honourable and progressive existence in the country of their adoption. They can count upon the support of their countrymen here in their demand and we expect the Government of India to stand by them in facing the new menace.

Was Mahatma Gandhi In The Firing Line?

Boer War Reminiscence

At St. Edmund's Church, London, last week, the Rev. C. F. Andrews said that Mahatma Gandhi helped Lord Roberts's son, who was mortally wounded, from the battlefield to a camp some miles away.

In a letter to *The Morning Post*, Sir J. T. Gallwey described Mahatma Gandhi's "heroism" as "a myth."

Mr. Frank French, of St. James, in an interview with the special correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* said:—"I agree with every word of Sir Gallwey. Gandhi was a member of the volunteer stretcher bearer corps and was a non-combatant. He did not carry arms at Colenso."

"No stretcher bearers were anywhere near Lieut. Roberts when he was shot down. I was a little behind Lieutenant Roberts and was one of those who picked him up. One of the officers who went with me was shot, and is buried alongside Lieut. Roberts at Chieveley."

"Gandhi and the other stretcher bearers were five miles away with General Buller's army. They arrived after the battle."

Mr. French was a Staff Sergeant at the time and holds the Queen's Medal with seven bars.

Mahatma Gandhi Explains

Interviewed by Renter at Borsad (Gujarat) in regard to the controversy in connection with his services in the Boer War, Mahatma Gandhi said:

"The Indian Ambulance Corps, numbering over 1,100, reached Chieveley Camp, near Colenso, after dusk just after the battle in which Lieutenant Roberts was killed. I received orders from Colonel Gallwey that the lieutenant's body had immediately to be removed. We had then hardly pitched our tents.

"I sent seven men, not Coolies, but educated men. They returned late at night and I received special thanks from Colonel Gallway for my prompt action and was next day invited, through Dr. Booth, to meet him in his tent.

"It is quite true that on this occasion there was no question of being in the firing line, hostilities having been suspended for the collection of wounded.

"It is also true that, despite our desire to work under fire, we were told we would not be allowed to do so; but, after the reverse at Spion Kop, the situation became grave.

"General Buller came to my tent and said he would be grateful if we would enter the firing zone in order to remove the wounded from the foot of Spion Kop. My companions and I were delighted to have this privilege and, led by Major Babbie, we crossed the pontoon, entered the firing zone and removed the wounded, including General Woodgate, Major Scott-Moncrieff and other officers, and carried them on stretchers 25 miles.

"We were again within the firing zone at Vaal Krantz, soon after Spion Kop.

"For these and general services I was mentioned in General Buller's dispatch and with over 20 others was the recipient of a war medal."

Advocate R. K. Khan Corroborates Mr. Gandhi's Story

Advocate R. R. Khan well-known in the legal profession in Durban was one of the Indian Bearer Corps' leaders under Mahatma Gandhi during the Boer War. In the course of a statement to the press Mr. Khan described the actual incident at the battle of Colenso and drew attention to a point which he thought Mahatma Gandhi had forgotten, and that was Major Babbie's calling for volunteers to rescue the wounded at the base of Spion Kop as the Red Cross was being fired upon.

Mr. Khan says: "Mahatma Gandhi was the senior leader of a corps of Indian ambulance men numbering about 1,000, and I was one of the leaders under him. I volunteered with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. We offered to work without pay and to supply our own equipment and pay expenses.

"As I was present at the time, I can say Mahatma Gandhi is perfectly correct in so far as the carrying of Lieut. Roberts is concerned. It is quite true that we were not as a corps employed in the firing line, but we were at the time somewhere near Obisvalley, from where we were carrying the wounded to the base hospital at Ereere. At Spion Kop Major Babbie, who was then A.D.C. to Col. Gallway, the chief medical officer, addressed all the leaders of the Indian Bearer Corps and told us that the Red Cross was being fired upon and he wanted volunteers to rescue the wounded from the base at Spion Kop. Seven stretchers, he said, with their leaders, would be sufficient as a trial.

"Mahatma Gandhi was the first to offer himself, and I was among the seven who volunteered. Major Babbie, on horseback, led us with a big Red Cross flag in his hand. We followed and saved all the wounded. Although we feared firing there was none. I believe this was one of the services for which Major Babbie, who afterwards gained the V.C. and was promoted to higher rank, was decorated.

"I can endorse in every way Mahatma Gandhi's account of his services at Colenso, Spion Kop and Vaalkrantz, and I have no hesitation in bearing out his statement that he was in the firing line."

Review Of Lord Irwin's Regime

(Continued from last week)

Increased Poverty

The Currency policy of the Government of India was carried out in a manner harmful to the indigenous industries. The Textile Industry of Bombay was almost paralysed. More than sixty per cent. of the workers in the Mill-industry had to remain idle for over eight months. Railway workers on the G.I.P. Ry. had to go on strike for want of living wages, and at last had to yield to the dictates of the Member in charge of the Railways. Cotton prices fell by over 50% and the Jute prices by over 60%. In this proportion, the farmer's resources were reduced and he had to lay his hand on his meagre savings. The farmers not only had to part with the ornaments of their women-folk but in some cases to undergo worse indignities for the purpose of paying the land revenue. The Government had already enhanced the land revenue on the plea of high prices, and there being hardly little to pay the unjustifiably high assessment, he had to seek the way of passive resistance. With a view to recover the dues, the Revenue authorities took up the help of the Police. The harrowing tales of the Bardoli and Karnatak peasants are fresh in the minds of our readers and they need not be mentioned. The Bardoli Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government themselves pronounced a judgment in favour of the poor agriculturists! The agriculturists from several parts demanded a revision of the Land Revenue Code. But it was postponed on the plea of future constitutional developments. The poor villagers have neither education nor any hand-craft industry to fall back upon in the hour of distress. Again, in these days of distress, the country was taxed to the extent of about 19 crores to meet the deficit. Out of these 19 crores, taxation of about 15 crores is of a permanent nature. But the tragedy does not end here. The era of surplus budgets ended and the deficit of 13.5 crores was met by floating loans in England. India was also saddled with a public debt of about 125 crores. This was how the interests of the farmers and peasants are guarded!!

Notwithstanding the peoples' demand made through their representatives in the Legislative Assembly, "to take early steps to revise the Government of India Act with a view to establish full Responsible Government and to convene a Round Table Conference to frame the Constitution" Lord Irwin pinned his faith to the constitutional inquiry by Parliament. The Conservative Party was in power then and Lord Irwin became a party to the appointment of an All-White Commission to make an inquiry into the question of Indian constitutional progress! This shows that he was ignorant of the Indian aspirations. The Statutory Commission was boycotted by all political parties. Even the Muslim League was not an exception.

Simon Commission And After

All political leaders had declared that they had nothing to do with it at any stage and in any form. The Indian Legislative Assembly voted for the boycott with a large majority. Still Lord Irwin's Government persisted in appointing a committee of Indian Legislators to associate with the Commission. This spirit of disregard of public opinion added insult to the injury. In the meanwhile, the All-Parties Conference prepared a scheme of Dominion Constitution with certain safeguards. The Con-

gress accepted that scheme and demanded immediate grant of Dominion Status. On the 30th of October, 1929, Lord Irwin after his return from England, made a declaration that the Indian and the British delegates would meet in a Conference. But the announcement was incomplete and only partially satisfactory. Congress leaders along with others demanded a clear statement. Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi before asking the Congress to declare "Independence" as its goal, put forth their demand and asked for the fulfilment of the terms embodied in the Manifesto issued by the Congress and the leaders of all parties, with a view to inducing the Congress to participate in the Round Table Conference, Lord Irwin and the Labour Government which was then in power once again refused the olive branch held by Mahatma Gandhi and the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. And there being no other alternative, the Congress had to declare 'Independence' as its goal and work hard for its achievement. Mahatma Gandhi started the campaign of Civil Disobedience for the repeal of unjust laws. The people were peaceful and with full faith in non-violence, suffered inhuman hardships, with undaunted courage. To kill this movement, Lord Irwin, by his first Ordinance, took away the liberty of the Press! Martial Law was declared in Sholapur and Peshawar! Women joined the struggle for freedom started by Mahatma Gandhi. Prohibitory orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P. Code were issued in almost all the places. The Gandhi cap was banned! Even ladies from high families were victims of the brute-force.

Reign Of Repression

Lathi-charge became a bi-weekly function for some days in Bombay. Hundreds of them were jailed. During nine months of Satyagraha movement more than a dozen Ordinances were issued. Repression reigned supreme. It was unprecedented in the history of India since the days of Mutiny. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Labour Government were convinced that if the Government continued the rule in India by repressive measures, civil Government would come to a standstill and Martial Law would have to be proclaimed in the whole of India. The discontent and dissatisfaction spread all over India, clearly show that there was no spirit of democracy in his heart and his Government always thought that any sort of national awakening could be trampled under the heel of ruthless repression, under the pretext of maintenance of Law and Order. In his zeal to maintain His Majesty's Government, established by the so-called Law, he surpassed Lord Curzon in carrying out repression! And in his spirit of revenge and contempt of public opinion, he can safely be compared with Aurangzeb. The hanging of Sholapur citizens and sending to the gallows of the three patriots of Lahore and the martyrdom of Jatin Das can never be forgotten by the people of this country.

Lord Irwin An Imperialist

However, Mahatma Gandhi proved powerful in the end and Lord Irwin and his Government realised that it was practically impossible to carry on the Government without the co-operation of the Congress,—the dominant political party in India. How can these memories of Lord Irwin's black regime be forgotten? It can be said that, had Lord Irwin not taken such repressive steps, the national awakening would not have risen to such a high pitch. In this sense, he can say that he has acted as a friend of India, and he deserves that much

credit. Lord Irwin was no doubt firm in his opinion and emphatic in his expression. He was anxious to win the goodwill of the people of this country at the time of his departure, and in the end at least he showed a friendly spirit in his discussions with Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from the actual gains, or losses, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact is no doubt an object of pride to both of them. The efforts that he made to bring about peace and the spirit of conciliation and friendliness that he showed to Mahatma Gandhi go to show feebly, no doubt, that his spirit was willing for peace and co-operation, but his flesh was weak. He was a victim to the steel-frame, which had made him helpless. But with all his good intentions and spirit of friendliness, exhibited only a few days ago, we cannot but say that he was actuated more by the considerations of the Empire than the interests of India!

Patiala Inquiry A Farce

The Princes found a soft corner in the heart of Lord Irwin. He always upheld the individual rights of the Princes and helped them in their efforts at securing their protection. Without proving the guilt against the Maharaja of Nabha who was an eye-sore to some of the leading Princes in the Punjab, Lord Irwin's Government interned him at Kodaikanal! He ought to have been given an opportunity to defend himself before the highest judicial tribunal, if need be, *in camera*. But the story of the Patiala Enquiry is tragic and staggering. The whole inquiry was simply an eye-wash. The Maharaja of Patiala demanded that Mr. Fitz Patrick, the Agent to Governor-General, the Punjab States, should make an inquiry, and Lord Irwin's Government appointed Mr. Fitz Patrick to make an inquiry and the Maharaja was acquitted of all the charges made by the authors of the "Indictment of the Maharaja of Patiala"! The inquiry was a farce and nothing but a farce. Some of the witnesses who were in Patiala jail were not even transferred to the British jail; then, how could they tender evidence in their possession freely against the Maharaja himself? This inquiry was in no way independent or judicial. To our mind at least, it was a farce to deceive the subjects of the State and the world opinion.

Advice To Princes

However, it can be freely admitted that he always showed anxiety for the good administration of the State. Lord Irwin's Government impressed upon the Princes the need to cast off the evil on the door of the Princes' Chamber. Till 1929, discussions in the Princes' Chamber were not even open to the Press. The Princes were very thin-skinned and afraid of public criticism. Now they have become more thick-skinned and they played their part at the Round Table Conference unexpectedly well. The credit of this, in some respects at least, goes to Lord Irwin. He can claim that he infused in them courage and consciousness of their own rights and privileges and the necessity of contentment of their States' subjects. His address at the time of the investiture ceremony of the Maharaja of Jalpur, goes to show how deeply he felt for the welfare of the subjects of the States. In his address, H. E. Lord Irwin said:

"There must be a reign of law based, either expressly or tacitly, on the broad good-will of the community. Taxation should be as light as circumstances permit, easy of collection and proportionate to the means of the tax-payers to pay. The personal expenditure of the Ruler should be as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity so that as large a proportion as possible of the State revenue may be available for the development of the community..... And last but not least, is the need to choose and put good Councillors."

Wrong Done To States' Subjects

He deserves congratulations for his frank speech, even though it was too late. However, we cannot forget the wrong done to the subjects of the States, in flatly refusing to recognise their individuality at the time of the Butler Inquiry and the Round Table Conference which has declared that the future India is to be a Federation, and the Indian States are to become autonomous units of the Federation! The subjects of the State constitute a component part of the State. States generally mean the Princes and their subjects. If one is the soul, the other is the body. Princes without subjects are nothing but a body without soul. In these days of democracy, hereditary sovereign rights cannot be held supreme. Recognition of their sovereign rights is nothing but a denial of their liberty to the subjects of their States. It is not too late to undo the wrong done to them. Lord Irwin may go to his farm to take the plough, but it is for Lord Willingdon now to do justice to the subjects of the States.

What Should Irwin Do?

Lord Irwin's name may go down to posterity as that of a great Imperialist. But as the Viceroy of India his regime was a dismal failure from every point of view. He showed wisdom for a few days, before his departure, but it was too late. And now even though he has placed the reins of Viceroyalty in the hands of Lord Willingdon, his task is not yet finished. He has yet to strengthen his bond of friendship and let us hope he will fulfil that object by helping Mahatma Gandhi in the realisation of the nation's goal. He must help the cause of India as if he has taken her brief and it is for him now to weather the storm that will be raised in England by Churchills and Beverbrooks. When he came to India he came as a representative of the Conservative Government and now he is returning to England as the champion of the Labour Government. After his return to England he should secure a seat in Parliament in some by-election and complete the task that has left unfinished.

The opportunity is there for him to undo the wrong done to India. He must take it up. The least that is expected of him is that he should not become a traitor to India and join the O'Dwyer, George Lloyd & Co. He has promised to remain a friend of India. Will Lord Irwin at least keep his promise? Let us wait and see.

Estcourt Sporting News

(BY A CORRESPONDENT)

HAFEEJEE STAFF V ABDOORAHAM STAFF

The Haffeejee Staff F.C. played the Abdooraham Staff F.C., on Sunday the 31st. May 1931 on the Indian Sports Ground. The game was fairly fast. Abbas for the Abdooraham Staff netted the first goal. Haffeejee's Staff then pressed and Essop Jhazbhay scored the equalising goal. The ball was centred and Ishae scored from about 20 yards for the Haff-jejee Staff. Half time score was Abdooraham Staff 1, Haff-jejee Staff 2. After half time Abdooraham staff tried hard to score but failed. Haffeejee Staff again scored. Abdooraham staff lost hope and Haffeejee Staff had an easy win by five goals to one. The following represented the Haffeejee Staff: Joseph Augustine, Goolam Hoosen Dhan, Essop Jhazbhay, Saleman Timol, Y. S. Mamod, Goodhan Krippan, James Augustine, H. M. Timol.

BELLS WIN NARROWLY

The Mooi River F.C. played the Bells F. C. at Estcourt and the Bells won narrowly by 3 goals to 2. Grand Five A Side Tournament

OFFICIAL OPENING BY HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR

The Annual Five a side Tournament was held on the Indian Sports Ground Estcourt on the 25th May (Empire Day). The Mayor of Estcourt Mr. A. A. K. Dewaal was invited to perform the opening ceremony. At 8.30. a.m. the Mayor and Mayoress accompanied by the Deputy Mayor arrived on the Ground. Mr. Naraidoo spoke and thanked the Mayor for responding to their invitation. The Mayor in the course of his reply said that Indians of Estcourt had proved themselves gentlemen and law-abiding. He further remarked that the Town Council had received many requests for recreation grounds and the ground given to the Indians was a very fine one situated in the finer part of the town. In conclusion he thanked the officials of the League for their kind invitation and said, "To-day, gentlemen, you are here for a days' sport and play it in the right way. Let the better team win, and that better team, I hope, is Estcourt." (applause).

Mr. E. M. Haffeejee then garlanded the Mayor and presented beautiful bouquets to the Mayoress and the Deputy Mayor. The Mayor then opened the Tournament by kicking the ball in the ground.

The Tournament then began. The first match was played between Maritzburg A and the Bells A. The result was in favour of the visitors. Mooi River played a fine game throughout. Maritzburg B was heading the log. A fast game was played between the Nestles A and Mooi River A. In the afternoon the play was getting more exciting, Royals of Estcourt who met the Maritzburg A in the final won the match after a very exciting game. The spectators had very exciting moments. Royals had 17 points and Maritzburg B 16 points. The Trophy presented by Mr. A. G. Garaidoo is a very handsome one, and is well worth competing for.

The following teams entered: Maritzburg 'A, B and C', Mooi River A, Bells A and B, Nestles A and B, Royals A and B. Next year the Tournament should comprise of more teams

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