

Indian Opinion

No. 28—Vol. XXIX.

Friday, July 10th, 1931.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
PRICE FOURPENCE.

THAT LOIN CLOTH

MAHATMA GANDHI'S loin cloth has lately come in for a great deal of criticism all over the world and South Africa too has played her part in it. We reproduce the following article by Mahatma Gandhi on the subject from *Young India* with the hope that it may clear any misunderstanding that may have been created:—

A critic has fallen foul of my remark made before the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Delhi that the Indian civilization must not be allowed to be wiped out by the inroads from the West. The critic has confused Indian civilization with the loin cloth and then condemned it.

Mr. Churchill has been kind enough gratuitously to advertise my loin-cloth to the whole world. It has therefore become the fashion to laugh at it as the said critic has done. Let me then explain what it means.

In 1921 Maulana Mahomed Ali was arrested at Waltair whilst he and I were going on a tour to the South. He was torn from Begum Mahomed Ali who was travelling with us. I was deeply moved. She bore the separation bravely and attended meetings in Madras. I left her at Madras and went as far as Madura. On the way I saw in our compartment crowds that were wholly unconcerned with what had happened. Almost without exception they were bedecked in foreign fineries. I entered into conversation with some of them and pleaded for Khadi. For I had no other way open to me to secure the release of the Ali Brothers save through Khadi. They shook their heads as they said, 'We are too poor to buy Khadi and it is so dear.' I realised the substratum of truth behind the remark. I had my vest, cap, and full *dhoti* on. When these uttered only partial truth, the millions of compulsorily naked men, save for their *langoti* four inches wide and nearly as many feet long, gave through

their bare limbs the naked truth. What effective answer could I give them, if it was not to divest myself of every inch of clothing I decently could and thus to a still greater extent bring myself in a line with the ill-clad masses? And this I did the very next morning after the Madura meeting.

Here then there is no question of loin-cloth civilisation. The adoption of the loin-cloth was for me a sheer necessity. But in so far as the loin-cloth also spells simplicity let it represent Indian civilization. It is a mingling of the cultures represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geographic and other environment in which the cultures have met. Thus Islamic culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India but it is itself influenced by the conditions of the respective countries. Indian culture is therefore Indian. It is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Eastern. I had in mind that culture. And every one who calls himself or herself an Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its trustee and resist any attack upon it.

European civilisation is no doubt suited for the Europeans but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it. The incessant search for material comforts and their multiplication is such an evil, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. Let us engrave on our hearts the motto of a Western philosopher 'Plain living and high think.'

ing.' To-day it is certain that the millions cannot have high living and we the few who profess to do the thinking for the masses run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of missing high thinking.

Notes and News

TRUCE between the British Government and the Indian National Congress was about to break owing to a high-handed action on the part of an official in the Raebareilly division of the United Provinces. The Deputy Commissioner, as the report in the daily papers says, addressed confidential letters to the important land owners displaying hostility to Congress and inciting land-owners to use violence for recovering rents from their tenants. Mahatma Gandhi had publicly charged the Government of the United Provinces with violation of the terms of Truce and the Congress Working Committee was to meet to consider the extraordinary situation developing in several Provinces and to consider a course of action. The danger seems, however, to have been averted by the timely action on the part of the Government of the United Provinces in ordering the Deputy Commissioner of Raebareilly to cancel the letters in question as "certain passages are not fully in accord with the attitude maintained by the Government regarding relations between landlords and tenants." The latter report is significant in that it explains that the Deputy Commissioner was an Indian and not a European, as much as to say that a European would never have done such a thing. It requires to be explained in this country that all such dirty work is being done in India through Indian officials who are given high posts or honors for their successes. Had the evil in question not been detected and the feat about to be performed by the Deputy Commissioner had not fallen flat, he would certainly have been hailed for his great loyalty and devotion to the British Government.

Not long ago it was reported that the Maharajah of Patiala was working against the federation scheme proposed by the Round Table Conference and that he had the support of distinguished States. Reuter now tells us from Bombay:

When the Indian Princes reassembled in camera, the Maharajah of Patiala modified the attitude he previously expressed regarding the possibility of a union of the Indian States, agreeing to the formation of a Federal House. In the course of a three-hours' keen debate, the Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore representatives took up a firm stand against the whittling-down of the Round Table scheme of Federation, and the Maharajah of Patiala's proposal found but little support. A later report states that the latter has withdrawn his alternative scheme so as to enable the States to attend the Conference unitedly.

The Mysore Muslim Youth League which held its inaugural session, recently, resolved, among other things, to start clubs at which youths, of all nationalities and communities could come into closer contact. Holding that service of humanity, including the decrepit and the sick, was the best form of worship under the fundamental Islamic teachings, the League resolved to draw up a concerted programme of social work to remove illiteracy by organised voluntary efforts and to bring about the economic uplift of the community, opposing extravagance in unessential details during ceremonial functions. Would that the youth in this sub-continent too followed the noble example of their brethren in Mysore.

The following is one of the many instances of the prominent part played even by the Moslem women in the great National movement in India:—

About 200 Moslem women held a meeting at Sirajgang under the presidency of Syed Aagari Begum. Several Hindu women were present. The meeting was held with the object of arousing national consciousness among the women folk. Mrs. Ayesa Khatun, Miss Nurjahan, Mrs. Nurmahal Seraji, Mrs. Rejia Khatun, Mrs. Rabia Khatun and Ijjatali Talukdar addressed the meeting. An executive committee was formed with Syed Aagari Begum as president and Mrs. Ayesha Khatun and Mogambal Khatun as joint-secretaries.

Asked by an interviewer while he was at Simla if he would favour Simla as the seat of the Swaraj Government, Mahatma Gandhi replied: "We must go down 5,000 storeys to the plain, for the Government should be among the people and for the people."

During his visit to Simla Mahatma Gandhi had a long talk with Sir Fazl-i-Husain on the South African Indian question.

Loss of another misguided patriot is sustained by India by the execution at Calcutta on Tuesday morning of Dinesh Chandra Gupta, a young Bengali, for the murder of Lieut.-Colonel N. S. Simpson, Bengal inspector-general of prisons, in the Government secretariat buildings at Calcutta on December 8 last year. Gupta and two others raided the secretariat, firing at the officials with revolvers and killing Lieut.-Colonel Simpson and injuring Mr. J. W. Nelson, judicial secretary. Subsequently Gupta and another assailant shot themselves; the latter fatally and Gupta recovering. The third assailant died from poisoning. Protest meetings against the execution were held in the city on Monday night, and on Tuesday the majority of Hindu shops were closed.

The huge decline of 338,44,5000 square yards in the export of cotton goods from the United Kingdom to British India is shown by the Board of Trade statement, and only 139,917,000 square yards was exported in the first four months of 1931 as compared with 478,362,000 square yards in the same period in 1930.

"To enlist an army of 1,00,000 men pledged to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the Motherland is the work before me," declared Senapati (General) Bapat, addressing a largely-attended meeting at the Congress House, Bombay. Continuing, he said he would begin the work immediately and he might have to tour the whole of Maharashtra, and, if necessary, even the whole of India in order to get ready 100,000 soldiers and when he had got them ready he would offer them to Mahatma Gandhi to be used in the manner he likes.

Senapati Bapat, who was recently released from jail after serving seven years' rigorous imprisonment, in connection with the Mulshi Satyagraha, referring to the future constitution said India should be at liberty to establish her own form of Government, and personally he was for a republican form of Government. Concluding, he pleaded with the Hindu majority to concede everything to the Muslim and other minorities, and thus drive out suspicion.

The 10th anniversary of the Aryan Benevolent Home will be held on the Home Grounds at Magville, (on the main road to Bellair) on Sunday the 12th July at 2.30 p.m. His Worship the Mayor, the Rev. A. J. Lamont, has kindly consented to preside. Sir Kurma V. Reddi will also be present.

EUROPEAN PROPAGANDA

ONE of the reasons of the Transvaal Boer War, it was stated, was the ill-treatment of British Indians by the Boer Government. Natal has always been Imperialistic. During the South African Flag campaign it was Natal that shed crocodile tears at the Union Jack being replaced by the South African flag and fought bitterly against it. Even now Natal would like to be independent of all the other Provinces of the Union. The Dutch element in Natal does not count for much. The British element is predominant. One would have expected, therefore, that at least in Natal there would be peace for the British Indians. But we find instead that Natal is the noisiest of all in its agitation against the so-called penetration of Asiatics. The way some who call themselves Britishers are acting would give one the impression that all talk of loyalty and love for the British Throne is nothing but sham and hypocrisy. One finds frankness about the Dutch people—though at times it may be brutal—which is lacking in some of the English people who are agitating against Indians.

Some M.P.'s are preparing their case against Indians for the forthcoming Round Table Conference. Mr. Frank Acutt is much perturbed over an Indian purchasing a property in Cato Road "in the heart of a very fine European residential area," and has stated, at a meeting of his constituents, that he has suggested to the Minister of the Interior that municipalities should be empowered to set aside areas for European occupation only. A similar protest against Asiatic encroachment was voiced at a meeting of Ward VI Burgesses Association. The Berea Branch of the South African Party could find none but so sacred a place as the Presbyterian Church Hall to vent its wrath against Indians. Mr. W. M. P. Henderson went to the extent of saying that the Union Government had adhered strictly to the provisions of the Agreement while Indians had been "extremely active in buying land throughout the whole of Natal." A resolution was passed at the meeting requesting the Government to introduce legislation enabling municipalities to make by-laws to prevent the penetration of Asiatics into European residential areas.

We hardly think Mr. Henderson at all cared, when he was addressing the meeting, whether he was stating actual facts or whether he was exaggerating. One would get the impression from what he said that Indians had bought the whole of Natal. Nothing of the sort however has happened. But we fail to see why Mr. Henderson or anyone, for that matter, should begrudge the Indians doing so if they could afford to do so and were prepared to pay the price for it. They are surely thereby violating neither man-made law nor God's law. We really do not know what will satisfy these people. With all the anti-Asiatic measures they have already succeeded in passing they are still lacking the adequacy of them. They cleverly talk of segregating the Europeans in order not to hurt the susceptibilities of the Indians. The opposition of the Indians against segregation is not due only because it hurts their susceptibilities, though that is indeed one of the causes for its object is to insult them and to treat them as an inferior race. But it is to the Indians also a question of principle. They are against the principle of segregation and therefore as a section of the population their protest against it would stand whether Europeans, Indians or any other race were segregated. But might we ask these friends of ours who would wish themselves to be segregated if they would be satisfied to be segregated in the same manner as they would wish to segregate Indians? In that case the first thing they would be called upon to do would be to vacate all the luxuriant quarters they are already in possession of and in which they do not wish the presence of even an individual Indian, and be prepared to be segregated where they would have the Indians segregated. If they do that then indeed there would be some sincerity in their talk of segregating themselves. If not, is it not all so much tomfoolery? And pray how long is it still to go on? It will have to come to an end some day. Will that day, perhaps, be when India can hold her own and make herself felt like Japan. If so we pray that that day may come soon.

Repatriates From South Africa

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—

Pandit Benarasidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi have prepared a well reasoned report of an independent enquiry they held into the condition of emigrants repatriated to India under the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa. This report and the Swami's telegram dated 16th ultimo, asking me to comment on it, telling me, 'Condition worst, many starving, women half naked, children begging,' have lain with me ever since. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with the report earlier. The telegram from which I have quoted is an epitome of the report. The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a disgrace alike to us and to the Government, but more to us than to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such cases. Governments can only support to a limited extent voluntary public effort in such cases. It is really up to the merchant princes and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

But the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the cause that has reduced those repatriates to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed repatriation at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to ensure proper occupation for them, and in any case there should never have been any consent to the repatriation of colonial-born Indians, of whom there are fully thirty-three per cent. In the Calcutta depot. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. The labours of the framers of the report will not have been vain, if at the time of the Capetown Conference, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bartered away for doubtful concessions to the other Indian settlers. The position taken up by the latter is unassailable, and should depend on its own merits. The settlers themselves should therefore refuse to be party to any bargain, which would compromise the rights of their less favourably situated brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the existing Indian population.

South African Party

Up Against Asiatics

Strongly worded resolutions against the penetration of Asiatics into European areas were passed at a meeting of the Berea Branch of the South African Party last week.

The meeting, held in the Presbyterian Church Hall, Manning Road, was attended by both men's and women's section of the branch. Miss H. A. Coates presided.

Mr. W. P. M. Henderson moved that in the interests of the people of the Union it was desirable that the "gentleman's agreement" between the Indian Government and the South African Government should be abrogated and that in any future legislation provision should be made to prevent the penetration of Indians in European areas.

Mr. Henderson declared that the Union had adhered strictly to the provisions of the agreement passed five years ago. On the other hand, Indians had been extremely active in buying land throughout the whole of Natal.

They had penetrated into areas hitherto reserved for European occupation, buying large tracts for conversion into farms. It was a most undesirable aspect of the Indian question.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Miss Coates moved a resolution that the Government should be approached with a view to the introduction of legislation to enable the Municipalities to make by-laws to prevent the penetration of Asiatics into European residential areas.

She emphasised that the penetration of Asiatics into European residential areas had shown a big increase, particularly in Durban. She advocated the institution of some form of supervision to counteract Indian encroachment.

This was also passed. Both resolutions will be submitted to the forthcoming Congress of the South African Party for affirmation.—*Natal Mercury*.

Indian Repatriates

Pandit Bhawani Dayal's Inquiries

Pandit Bhawani Dayal has arrived at the following conclusions as a result of his inquiry into the conditions of Indians repatriated from the Union under the Assisted Emigration Scheme referred to in our last week's issue :—

1. The scheme of repatriation has failed because it has brought untold miseries on the repatriates—specially on those who are colonial, and they number more than 33 per cent of the total. They are accustomed to a different standard of living and find it most difficult to adopt the old methods of the land of their father or grandfather. They cannot be happy except in the colonies.
2. With the exception of those who belong to very low castes others cannot be assimilated by their respective communities. The caste system still holds its sway in India and the question of marriage of the colonial children, who are often born of inter-caste marriage raises insoluble difficulties.
3. The Government of India has been able to help only a very small number of the returned emigrants in South India, while they have done practically nothing to those who have returned to North India.
4. Foodstuffs in India cost much more to-day than what they used to do thirty or forty years ago and colonial Indians are financially much better off there than their compatriots here at home.
5. It has been most difficult for returned emigrants specially for skilled workers to settle happily in India. A good many offers have been refused by them some on account of bad climate, others on account of the lower wages that are offered. I have not met a single repatriated emigrant who will not like to return to South Africa if he had only the means to do so.
6. Even from the point of view of the Union Government the scheme has failed.
7. It is morally quite indefensible to try to reduce the Indian population in this artificial manner. To encourage unsuspecting and ignorant Indians from the colonies to return to India to lead a miserable life in the hope that others, more fortunate who are left behind, will be *uplifted* is at once selfish and immoral—selfish on the part of the leaders of the remaining colonial Indians and immoral on our part, when we have not got the moral courage to take these returned emigrants back into our society and into our castes.

Indian Boy Scouts

Two Weeks' Camp In Durban

We welcome the Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney and the Indian Boy Scouts who arrived from Johannesburg last week for their usual trip to the seaside. They will be under canvas in the Indian recreation grounds for at least two weeks.

Thirty boys marched from the station carrying the Union Jack, the Union Flag, presented by General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, and the Indian National Flag, which came from India through Mr. A. I. Kajea.

The Scouts are in charge of the Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney and Mr. E. Bristow. Accompanying the Scouts is Miss Smith, their cab mistress. They were met at the station by the president of the Natal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Teachers' Society, and officials of the sports association.

During their stay they depend upon the hospitality of the Indian community, who gladly supply them with the necessary daily requirements. The Rev. B. L. Sigamoney gladly welcomes any gifts for the camp in the way of fruit and other groceries.

Quite a number of boys are making their first trip to the seaside, and none but these lads can only realise the joy and pleasure this trip will mean to them.

It would not have been possible for the Rev. Sigamoney to have brought these lads if it were not for the generous and large-hearted support he had from many leading Europeans and Indians, for many of these lads were not in a position to pay their train fares.

The following are the people who contributed:—The Bishop of Johannesburg, Messrs. Teikandas and Co., A. Pratt, Arthur E. Harris, M. Hassim, L. W. Ritch, Kallenbach and Kennedy, L. B. Mahurajb, Councillors D. Anderson, D. Corlett, Taafe, Hancock, Mosenthal Bros., Heyman and Gordon, Rev. W. C. Terril, Country Club, 'The Star', J. A. Hobkirk, H. Polliack and Co., Orient Silk House, T. Kash, Bruce, Wolfson, H. Goldberg, S. Wilkinson, G. K. Patel and K. Narainsing.

Rev. C. F. Andrews' Activities

[FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT]

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, on an invitation from certain members of the Society of Friends in Lancashire, paid a visit there which is likely to continue for some time. He hopes to be able to live among the working men who are engaged in the cotton industry at the centres where Indian cloth has been manufactured for many generations past; and to learn by living among them the conditions under which they live and the distress which has been caused by the economic boycott in India. He gladly accepted the invitation when it was offered and has already begun his enquiries in many directions. It is not unlikely that he will be able to meet the members of the Chamber of Commerce in Lancashire who are engaged in the Indian trade. It is his great hope that some means may be found whereby the blow which has come so suddenly on Lancashire may be lightened and the distress among the poor may be relieved. After visiting Blackburn and Darwen and other centres of the Indian trade, he will go to Manchester itself. The work that he went out to do in South Africa was

successful as far as the immediate issue is concerned, but it is likely to require his presence there again when the next Conference meets at Capetown to renew the Agreement with India in December next.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

(By L. W. RITCH)

"And man who lives to die; dies to live well
So if he guide his ways by blamelessness
And earnest will to hinder not, but help
All things both great and small which suffer life."

(*Light of Asia*, Book VI).

In the pseudo-infinite diversity of the manifested universe, from the minutest atom to a solar system, there exists no unit of Life, Energy, or Force that is not an integer of some greater unit, a fraction of some larger whole, which, in turn forms part of some still greater unit.

Evolution is the process of unfolding and expressing the erstwhile latent qualities, characteristics, or powers of any given unit, in its growth to the likeness of its ascendant. It is a "becoming like unto its father". Involution would seem to be, logically and necessarily, a condition precedent to evolution. *Ex nihilo nihilo fit*. The "creation" of the seed is at least, as mysterious a process as the seeds unfoldment,

Consciousness or "aware-ness," in greater or lesser degree, obtains in every Kingdom of Nature. (If consciousness include the capacity to respond to stimuli, Professor Bose has demonstrated its presence in the mineral Kingdom.)

Consciousness awakened, expresses itself as "power" (*shakti*). Consciousness functions as "cognition," "desire," "action." The powers developed are 'Will' (*Ichha*), 'Wisdom' (*Gnyana*), Work, Creation or Action (*Kriya*). Consciousness is present in every form of life.

The several Kingdoms of Nature are but differentiated aspects of the One-Life, functioning through appropriate forms, contacting environment and unfolding powers commensurate with the respective stages of their growth. Function precedes organism; the degree or measure of the unfoldment of the Life-Consciousness determines its forms, the forms best adapted for its adequate expression. Expressed in form it is the "creature," "the outcome of him"—or it—on the Universe.

Each Kingdom of Nature has its appropriate Dharma (Law or Rule). In the sub-human Kingdoms, the entities that constitute those Kingdoms are, as it were, carried along with the wave of the Dharma that rules them. It operates *through* them, so to say, rather than that they act consciously according to it. Conduct is instinctual as compared with the self-conscious, calculated conduct of man.

What however is lawful, i.e. conduct rightful, in the life of the sub-human Kingdoms, is not necessarily righteousness or even right conduct in man.

In the sub-human Kingdoms, the evolutionary sweep is outwards; its trend all towards differentiation, individualisation. Genera subdivide into species; species into still more specialised groups or families, the dominant urge being to break away from group-consciousness and to "become" a relatively independent individual, an "I."

In the vegetable and animal Kingdoms the strong survive at the expense of the weak. Vitality, brute strength, animal cunning are the qualities whereby survival is there ensured.

In the Man, individualisation has been attained. Man is *an ego*, a self-conscious entity, a thinker. In

the man-stage, the consciousness has evolved something more than the mere capacity to cognise generally (manasa), something more than the capacity to individualise (chitta). The most pronounced characteristic of the man-consciousness is "I-ness" (ahamkara). It is this egoism—the notion of "I" in contradistinction to "Not-I"—that is the hallmark of our human Kingdom. Having "become" Man, the individualised unit of Life-Consciousness, the Ego, is dependent for its further progress upon its own self-conscious, deliberate effort. Each step upwards on the ladder of progression must be won. The Man-stage marks, so to say, entry into majority; assumption of responsibility for things done, thoughts had, the character of the "self" woven.

The dharma applicable to the life of—to the Life as—Man, likewise makes for his survival, but that of life which alone can survive must be that the nature of which is immortal. *That which is human may "become" God-Man if the Man-Consciousness, the pronoun self, be renounced for the Noun Self; all that makes for separateness be abandoned in favour of what makes only for One-ness (yoga).* To achieve this, the "natural" must be transcended, the man of ambitions, wants, lusts, passions and angers lost in the Man of spiritual enfoldment, the Man wise in knowledge of the "essence of things." Perceiving, "by his own similitude," one Life and Essence everywhere, loving all alike, evil or good; filled with compassion for all beings still bound to the wheel of life and devoting his powers to sacrificial service, that Man ceases to be bondman and "becomes" Master; escapes from the wheel of birth and death, and attains immortality. The dew-drop has "become" at-one with the ocean; the Spark at-one with The Flame; the self with The Self. "He has wrought the purpose through of what did make him Man."

A Plea For Joint Electorates

Madras Muslim Leader's Statement

Mr. S. A. Shafi Mohamed, honorary secretary, Madras Provincial Khilafat Committee, and councillor, Corporation of Madras, in the course of a statement to the press on the question of electorates, says:—

"That separate electorates, as so ably and clearly expounded by Sir Ali Imam in his presidential address at Lucknow, are a negation of Nationalism will be conceded by all who have studied history to any purpose. To those who doubt the truth of the above self-evident proposition, I shall cite a few concrete instances which would convince them that what I say is correct.

My Muslim brothers may be reminded in this connection of the successive elections of the late Nawab Syed Mohamed to the then Imperial Legislative Council defeating powerful, well-tried Hindu politicians by a predominantly Hindu electorate; the election of the then Khan Bahadur Mohamed Habibullah Sahib (now Sir Mahomed Habibullah) to the Madras Legislative Council defeating a very influential Hindu zamindar of Vellore in a joint electorate, mainly Hindu, under the Minto-Morley reform scheme, the election of Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan to the Madras Corporation defeating one Hindu leading lawyer, editor of the *Local Self-Government Gazette* who represented that division of the Corporation for over 20 years.

Mr. Shafi Mahomed concluding, refers to the three successive elections to the Corporation of

Madras on the basis of joint electorate in which he was returned with overwhelming majorities by a mainly Hindu constituency and says:—"Muslim leaders of India are now under trial, and I hope they would realise that while joint electorates would promote unity, brotherliness and concord, separate electorates would perpetuate and promote distrust, disunity and discord in India."

American Church Tribute To Mr. Gandhi

'More Christ-Like Than Most Christians'

At the American Church in the Quai d'Orsay there was a special Palm Sunday service with appropriate music conducted by Doctor Joseph Wilson Cochran who spoke from Matthew 21:9. "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

Dr. Cochran spoke of the triumph of the spiritual over the material, choosing incidents from the life of Jesus in illustration. And then he spoke of Gandhi saying that we are too near the event to be able truly to appraise it in all its scope.

"A year ago I mentioned Gandhi to the wife of a British civil service officer in India and she replied, 'That rotter!' And such was the popular verdict pronounced upon him by the rank and file of Anglo-Saxons in India, and not Scribes and Pharisees either. The average mind, be it Christian or non-Christian, is simply unable to grasp the idea that God is not necessarily on the side of the heaviest battalions.

'Incredible Situation'

"It is too fantastic that one man armed with nothing but courage and faith and capacity for untold suffering could make headway against the entrenched forces of an imperial dominion, alike powerful on sea and land. But that, my friends was the astounding thing, the incredible, impossible situation that had to be faced by the wisest colonial power the world has ever seen. It simply broke the back of British rule in India.

"Whatever we think of Gandhi prophet and saint, or clever politician, he has shown to mankind the validity of an other than the old method of the 'Sermon on the Mount.' I have no mysterious notions about him as a re-incarnation. He is not a Christian in the accepted sense. But he is more Christ-like, a thousand times more, than most Christians know."—*Chicago Tribune*.

Lancashire And Indian Nationalism

Lancashire is on the war path. It has changed its tactics and abandoned its pretence of being totally unaffected by the Indian boycott. For some time past it has been trying to appeal, as it thought, to the economic commonsense of the Indian people. From appeals, persuasion and cajolery, it is now passing on to threats and intimidation. (The manufacturers of Lancashire might be assumed to know their own business, and their methods of salesmanship are entirely their own concern. But it is open to us to question the effectiveness of those methods and to ask if the sort of half-blustering, half-whining propaganda that is at present being carried on in England, is going to help to sell Lancashire cloth. It was reported recently that a meeting of over 4,000 people, representing employers and operatives

in the cotton industry in Blackburn District protested against the economic policy of the Government of India and the boycotting and picketing policy directed against Lancashire goods by the Congress Party. Mr. S. H. Grey, Chairman of the Cotton Employers' Association of Lancashire, declared that the result of Lord Irwin's policy had been calamitous for Lancashire. A system of political prohibition against Lancashire goods ought immediately to be removed. If not, he was convinced that there was nothing but ruin facing Lancashire. If Alderman Grey had devoted a little more thought to the subject, if he had viewed the whole question in a calmer and more detached spirit, he might have realised that what has proved calamitous to Lancashire is not the result of Lord Irwin's policy, but the attempts of the British diehards to obstruct that policy. If Lancashire has suffered, it has suffered in spite of Lord Irwin's policy, not because of it. And the reasons for this are extremely simple. India's political discontent found expression, in the absence of other equally effective methods, in a deliberate refusal to trade with England; and India's nationalism has found a legitimate objective in the determination to encourage the development of Indian industry. The political discontent can only be removed by dealing, in a straightforward way, with the grievances which are its root cause.—*The Indian Daily Mail.*

Declining Trade Between Lancashire And India

Some Interesting Figures

The *Tariff Recorder* gives some interesting figures of imports into India of Lancashire cotton piece-goods to show how heavily they have fallen. In 1913 India's takings from Lancashire reached the huge total of 3,057,305,600 yards. In the year 1922 they amounted to 1,307,644,100 yards. Since then up to the time of the boycott they averaged 1,416,216,000 yards. In 1930 they came down to 778,079,500 yards, which was one-fourth of the 1913 total. In 1913 India took 43 per cent. of all the cotton piece-goods exported from Lancashire. Between 1913 and 1930 imports of cotton piece-goods into India decreased by 1,574,000,000 yards, and Indian mill production increased by 1,192,000,000 yards. It is estimated that Lancashire's loss of trade with India is equivalent to permanently placing out of work 227,000 looms and 10,958,000 spinning spindles. It is expected that within a few years India will become practically self-supporting in the matter of supply of cloth. Six new cloth mills are to be floated in Ahmedabad. Four or five of these new mills are shortly to begin work. Extension orders have been placed for two existing mills. So great is the competition among British textile machine makers that according to Mr. C. C. Entwistle, the Manchester mill valuation expert who came out to India during the last cold weather, machinery is being supplied to India by some firms at prices below the cost of manufacture. This violent competition is no doubt due to lack of orders in Britain itself. The new mills will thus be started under very favourable conditions. Ahmedabad is rapidly forging ahead and has become perhaps the most formidable competitor of Bombay.

What Is Satyagraha

(Continued from last week)

Satyagraha is thus a process of moral civilization. It has been the misfortune of woman to be under the domination of her less civilized partner,—man. And she has been eternally trying to civilize him by her mute suffering and sacrifice. She did not succeed in this because she was not conscious of the strength of pure love. She failed therefore, to cultivate pure love. Similarly it is the misfortune of India to be under the sway of an uncivilized Government. Not only have we to educate our masters but we have to civilize them. Their superiority consists mainly in their material efficiency and organising power. All that our rulers can say in self-defence is that they could easily be worse than what they are. We have to tell them through our Satyagraha that it is open to them to be much better than what they are, and that not only without any real loss but with infinite gain to themselves and to the whole world.

And what comes in the way of this realisation? Nothing but their love of power and comfort. They call it the higher standard of life. For the sake of this standard they are carrying on an eternal warfare, not only against what they term 'backward nations' but against their own kith and kin, who have the misfortune to belong to the class of the 'have-nots.' Their standard of life is not a moral standard. In fact they have during the last century lowered the moral standard of life in order to enjoy greater material comforts. Man does not see to-day the undignified and senseless search after material superiority at the cost of moral well-being. You and I have no hesitation in selling our intellect and souls for securing comforts and social prestige. What we call self-respect is nothing but social respect. Self-respect we have long lost. Our masters and teachers must perforce be relieved of the vast mass of wealth and the uncontrolled power they possess over us that they might realise what healthy life is. Unless they are relieved of all superfluous income and, therefore, superfluous powers they can never come to see what wrong they are perpetrating against the very brotherhood of humanity. Man is prone to error both intellectually and morally. These lapses can be tolerated; but when organised Governments, or a whole people whom they represent, lower the very standard of moral life it becomes a curse and all the energy of mankind has got to be directed against this evil. This energy must be moral if it is to succeed in eradicating evils. Physical power, we have discovered, succeeds in punishing the wrong-doers but doubles the total amount of wrong in the world. The heart of humanity is undoubtedly hardened, vulgarised and rendered more criminal by the law ordering the execution of a murderer. The same may be said of all coercive punishments. Satyagraha, therefore, is the real beginning of a true civilization.

The Satyagrahi simply says, "I will so cultivate my soul that it shall be impossible for me either to commit any wrong myself or to meanly submit to any wrong. I will simply suffer so that I may be in the right." He would submit to any amount of pain or suffering. It is like holding fast to our own corner of the frame and making it a right angle with the perfect belief that if we succeed in righting one angle the frame will take care of itself and see that the other three angles also are equally right. It is a spiritual faith. It is also the ever growing experience of mankind.

A true Satyagrahi is prepared to be converted

even while he is trying to convert his fellows; because he loves and respects the person whom he wishes to convert. He recognises that his brother too is a custodian of Truth equally with himself, knowing that Truth manifests itself in various forms. He is not anxious to force any one to accept his own 'doxy'. He who worships the form can never attain to the spirit. The Satyagrahi knows that antithesis is not a curse; but that it is a stepping stone to the realization of a higher synthesis. All process of conversion, therefore, is more or less a mutual conversion through self-purification.

Friends, I have so far placed before you a general idea of Satyagraha. I know there can be nothing new for you in all that I have said so far. Gandhiji himself has often explained his idea of Satyagraha for the past forty years. A patient scholar may profitably collect all his various disquisitions on Satyagraha and write a scientific treatise. But I have taken the humbler and perhaps the easier path, and put before you what I know as Gandhiji's method of Satyagraha and the main ideas underlying it. It now remains for me to analyse the way in which he applied the method of Satyagraha in his own life.

It was most unfortunate that Satyagraha was in its initial stages confused with passive resistance. The passive resister used no weapons of war for the simple reason that he possessed none. The orthodox passive resister has no objection to utilising destructive weapons. Passive resistance, therefore, is admittedly a weapon of the weak. The Indians in South Africa among whom the first experiment on a mass scale was made were both unarmed and numerically weak. They were for the most part uneducated. Satyagraha, therefore, could not but be regarded as the outcome of the necessity of the situation. Satyagraha was, therefore, taken to be but an Indian name for the passive resistance movement inaugurated in Europe. Satyagraha had to battle, therefore, with misunderstanding and opposition from its very inception. A railway strike of the white employees in South Africa gave Gandhiji his first opportunity of proving to the authorities that his opposition was not based on ill-will, that Satyagraha really arose out of the imperative call of love to do good to those that hurt you.

Even as a boy Gandhiji had learnt the moral saying of a poet,

He truly succeeds in life who renders good in return for evil. He is the real Conqueror.

Now, the unique element in Gandhiji's life consists in this that he always tries to live what he believes. This drives him to intense thought and cogitation on the one hand and it gives him an abiding inward peace on the other. This intensity and this peace are responsible for the rapid development and complete accord of his thought and life. Life in India has been based, for thousands of years, on a recognition that Truth manifests itself in an infinite variety of forms. Intolerance, therefore, is foreign to the Hindu view of life. The Hindu has an instinctive sense for the realization of unity in all variety. It is natural, therefore, for him to accept the equality of status for all the different views of life. Acceptance, and not mere sufferance, is the Hindu response to the various outlooks and inlooks

evolved by man in different climes and ages. The Hindu, therefore, is as ill-disposed to disturb the faith of his neighbour as he is to give up his own. This does not arise out of any indifference or cynicism, but is the result of a higher understanding. He does not care for a mere exchange of labels or mechanical allegiance to a doctrine. He believes in the intensity of a life lived for the realization of an ideal.

(To be Continued)

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