

Indian Opinion

No. 49—Vol. XXIX. Friday, December 4th, 1931.

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

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Rev. C. F. Andrews has sailed from London by the Kenilworth Castle last Friday for South Africa. He comes to take part in the negotiations between the Government and the Indians for the renewal of the Capetown Agreement made in January, 1927. "There could be no more critical work at the present time," Mr. Andrews is reported to have said, "because consequences of the trouble in South Africa added to India's other anxieties just now, might be extremely serious. Mr. Gandhi, realising the importance of the situation, agreed that I should go to South Africa this week at whatever cost." Mr. Andrews was expected to arrive here much earlier but he was delayed owing to the presence of Mahatma Gandhi in England. This is what Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's secretary, writes about Mr. Andrews in his London Letter in *Young India* :—

"One of the biggest things planned by Gandhiji's man, Charlie Andrews, was the meeting with the Very Reverend Dean Johnson of Canterbury. We had looked forward to a day of peace and repose in the very hospitable Deanery, but we, at any rate, had not measured the magnitude of the surprise the visit had in store for both Gandhiji and us in the Dean himself. That, however, is Charlie Andrews through and through. [As though he was doing nothing striking, he delights in bringing Gandhiji together with the greatest influences in England and then draws himself away, even as the sower of the seed throws the seed into the ground and afterwards watches it grow from a distance. I am tempted to liken the Dean's meeting with Gandhiji to a seed sown that will grow into a tree, whose proportions it is too early yet to gauge."

This explains, in a nutshell, what useful work Mr. Andrews has been doing in London. Apart from what he may or may not be able to do in solving the Indian question in South Africa, Mr. Andrews' visit to South Africa will be very useful generally in that he will be able to give to the people of this country some truth about the Indian Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi and the struggle in India. Not only Indians but those Europeans too who know Mr. Andrews, we have no doubt, will eagerly look forward to once again heartily welcome him in their midst.

THE Krugersdorp Whites are on the war-path. A petition to the Krugersdorp Town Council regarding the encroachment of Asiatics in the residential area had resulted in the chief sanitary inspector drawing up a list of stands owned or occupied by Indians near the residences of the signatories to the petition. The report, with a copy of the petition, will be forwarded to the Minister of Lands with the request that the Government take immediate steps in the matter. "We view with considerable alarm the invasion of Asiatics into the residential area of Krugersdorp," the petition reads. "Quite recently a number of dwellings in President Street have been either purchased or occupied. We earnestly desire the Municipal Council to take immediate steps in this connection, and, in the event of the occupancy being contrary to law or title deeds, to see that the existing menace be immediately removed."

ACCORDING to meagre reports from India, the Indian National Congress has declared that the task of securing fairplay and justice for the Indian community in South Africa will be very difficult, but they depend on Mr. Sastri and Mr. C. F. Andrews doing ever so much more than any official member of India's delegation; that the object of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill is to drive the Indians out of their place of business, without any adequate compensation, to restrict such few facilities for trading as they now possess and to clear them away from the gold areas; that nothing would please the Europeans better than that South Africa should be freed of the whole Indian community; that the essence of the Capetown Agreement was that those Indians who remained should be provided with all facilities that would enable them to become full citizens and that far from adopting measures of uplift, the Union Government has been following a policy of pinpricks; that the attempt to introduce a Liquor Act, the consequence of which would have been to dismiss all Indians employed in the liquor and catering trades, the passing of the Immigration Amendment Act, the replacement of the Indians employed on the railways and other public utility concerns by Europeans, are examples amply justifying the charge that the Union Government has been acting contrary to the spirit and letter of the Capetown Agreement.

THE Maritzburg City Council deserves the heartiest congratulations of the Indian community for the very considerate and generous step it has taken in granting a sum of £100 to the Natal Indian Congress Branch for the relief of distress among unemployed Indians. Might we not expect the Durban Town Council too to rise to the occasion and follow the very noble example of the City Council?

MR. S. R. Naidoo, the Congress Secretary, in an interview, said that the Congress was grateful to the Council for the grant it had made. The Relief Committee appointed had already commenced collecting funds and foodstuffs. The money voted by the Council came in at an opportune moment. He said that relief work would be commenced early next week, and only cases of acute distress would be first attended to. It had been definitely decided that only foodstuffs should be distributed to cases which required help. The Relief Committee intended to appeal to employers of Indian labour to take on as many unemployed Indians as they could. There were a number of waiters, cooks, gardeners, laundrymen, labourers, salesmen, painters, builders, bakers and bookkeepers awaiting employment. The total of unemployed men registered to date was 222. The appointment of Councillor D. C. Dick on the Relief Committee to represent the Council was welcomed, and every advantage would be taken of Mr. Dick's helpful suggestions in the work of relief.

MAHATMA Gandhi left London last Wednesday for India. On his way he will stop at Geneva to

visit the famous Frenchman of letters, M. Romain Rolland and then go to Venice where he will reach on Dec. 12 and India on Dec. 26.

NEITHER "MAHATMA" NOR "MR."

ELSEWHERE in this issue we reproduce a leading article of the *Natal Advertiser* entitled "Gandhi—'Mahatma' or 'Mr.'?" We would not have been at all surprised if it had come from our morning contemporary and we would, in that case, not have troubled to give it any importance. But we have known the *Natal Advertiser* to have always taken a fair view of not only the Indian question in South Africa—which we have appreciated very greatly—but on all matters generally, and the article in question, therefore, took us by surprise and, indeed, shocked us. We can quite understand the man in the street completely misunderstanding Mahatma Gandhi, for he is fed by propagandists who have made it their business to prop up the Empire which is crumbling to pieces by spreading infernal lies. But we least expected the *Natal Advertiser* to fall a prey to these propagandists. We must take it that our contemporary has based its article on reports transmitted from across the seas which can be little relied upon for their authenticity, and not on a deeper knowledge of the man dealt with, for which there is literature in abundance placed at the disposal of the public. Unfortunately our contemporary seems ignorant of what Mahatma Gandhi claims to be. He has never claimed to be a mystic. What, indeed, he claims is to be a truthful, and God fearing man. That to some he appears to be a wily old fox is, very probably, because they try to act with him with the wiliness of the fox and, when they find their untruthfulness shattered before the light of truth, they think him to be what they have attempted to be.

Our contemporary does not wish to offend the genuine susceptibilities of anyone in taking sides in estimating the character of Mahatma Gandhi; but it says, "Saint or sinner, he is an Oriental; and the Oriental has ways of thought that are not our ways." We wish that this oft-repeated phrase would be defined more clearly by our contemporary. But in so far as the present instance is concerned we would say that we are very much amazed at the density of the Occidentals not to understand the simple truth.

Our contemporary, obviously, doubts whether Mahatma Gandhi has established a *prima facie* title to speak for India at the Conference. We regret to say that we are again surprised at the ignorance of our contemporary. If Mahatma Gandhi had not established a *prima facie* title to speak for India why, we would ask, was the Conference delayed and why was he persuaded to be present at the eleventh hour at the Conference? Why was he given an honoured position at the Conference and why was special consideration given to him by Lord Sankey at the beginning of the Conference and by the British Premier at the adjournment? If Mahatma Gandhi did not speak for India why did he figure so prominently in crying a halt to the bloody fight of 1930 in India and in the truce between the Government and the people of India? We could go on with this questionnaire indefinitely but time nor space will permit us to do so. But, above all, cannot General Smuts be relied upon to speak with some authority in this connection being on the spot and having personally seen Mahatma Gandhi? He tells us that, "Gandhi spoke for a large part of India and could deliver the goods as no other Indian

eader could." If this does not convince our contemporary of Mahatma Gandhi having established a *prima facie* title to speak for India, nothing in the world will.

Our contemporary has again blundered in judging as to who the followers of Mahatma Gandhi are. We would inform our contemporary that, had it not been for the great influence of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers violence would have reigned supreme in India in her present temperament and, where, at the present time, in a population of three hundred and thirty-three millions, three-quarters of which is lying in illiteracy—thanks to a hundred and sixty years' British rule—we find a solitary instance here and there of violence and the rest of the country fighting a non-violent battle, we would have found the position to be quite the reverse. With all that, Mahatma Gandhi has, times out of number, condemned in the most emphatic terms the action of those that follow the path of violence. Those that follow that path are not the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. If the intelligent world is not prepared to appreciate this from a people who are thoroughly sick of being any longer under the yoke of foreign rule which has proved to be an utter failure, then we might as well say that the world is going wrong.

If our contemporary expects miracles from Mahatma Gandhi we would say that Mahatma Gandhi has never professed to be a Christ nor to be able to perform miracles. He professes to be, and is, but a humble soul ready to die for the sake of truth and seeks guidance from one and only one and that is God Almighty. His followers who have thrown in their lot with him do likewise. If they have the support of the world, well and good, but it is *He* whom they trust to watch over them, to give them strength and to guide them on to the path of righteousness.

"Gandhi—'Mahatma' or 'Mr.'?"

Under the above heading the *Natal Advertiser* writes the following leading article:—

When a man is, or claims to be, a mystic, there can be no arguing with him. His terms are not the world's terms. His jargon is not the world's jargon. His method of dealing with matters is not the world's method. His inner light is not the inner light of ordinary, work-a-day humanity.

There have been mystics right through the ages. In the main, however, they have been content to deal with mystical matters, and have left severely alone the humdrum politics of a practical mankind. Where they have touched these—as in the notable case of Joan of Arc—they have ended by getting their fingers burnt and have not always ended by getting their own way.

Mahatma Gandhi claims to be such a mystic; a man difficult to argue with; a man difficult to comprehend, a man who, to some folk, is a saint and to others little more than a wily old fox. We are not going to offend the genuine susceptibilities of many very good folk by taking sides in this estimate of his character. Saint or sinner, he is an Oriental; and the Oriental has ways of thought that are not our ways. It may be he is all that his disciples claim on his behalf. For his soul's peace in the hereafter we hope he is. In the meantime, the one matter that is of real account is whether he has established a *prima facie* title to speak for India at the Conference that is heading to an abortive end in London at the present time.

The Path Of Assassination

In this issue one is on firmer ground than the nebulae of mysticism. If Mr. Gandhi wants his title

to leadership to be accepted, the first thing he must do is to demonstrate that his followers are going where he bids them go. If he wants to speak with authority he must show that he has authority over his disciples. If he wants to impress the Western world that he is a fit and proper man to speak for depressed India, then he must reveal some power to bind and to loose over the people on whose behalf he claims to take part in the very urgent matters that to-day keep the future of India in the balance. Walking about in a loin cloth in the November fogs of London and revealing his mysticism in long flashes of silence will get the world nowhere. Holiness of this sort any man might disclose did he think it worth while to put his mind to it.

No! The first thing Mr. Gandhi should be able to do, if he really speaks for India, is to bring to a summary close the brutal, wanton and senseless reign of violence that his disciples in India have inaugurated and which has all but destroyed any British desire to find a solution to the perplexities of the hour. In the last few months, men and women, white and brown alike, in India have been butchered with cold ferocity for no other reason than that they were trying to carry on the difficult task of ordered administration in a country where nothing but the prestige of the Central Government maintains any peace at all. This white-robed Mahatma, with the shibboleth of non-violence perpetually on his lips, has seen life after life foully cut down for no other reason than that it was dedicated to the public service and was striving, according to the best of its capacity, to hold the balance between warring sections that would cheerfully slit one another's throats in a church or temple were the peace of Britain not imposed on all alike. Mr. Gandhi has purred about passivity with the plain-tiveness of a pacifist. Nor do we doubt he means it all. He probably would not himself step on a toad, or to take the life of the lowest creature God ever made. But men claiming to be his disciples do not hesitate to paralyse the work of government by moonlighter methods. They do not shrink from the bomb, the infernal machine, the pistol shot, the knife of the assassin. He raises his finger and claims that half a continent will march behind him from shore to Indian shore; but not the raising of all his fingers at once, or the impressive uplifting of his emaciated arms; or his lips burning with the prophet's fire or silent with the penitent's self-abasement, seems able to stem the march of murder and rapine that is all-but paralysing the work of the Government in India to-day and is putting in deadly peril Indians who are every whit as dedicated to their land as ever he has been.

Which?

The parade of holiness is not an entirely new device in the age-old game of politics; though men with most claim to holiness of character usually are those least likely to mention their titles. But always, and rightly, the challenge has been put to men who claim to hear "voices," or to be better than or different from their fellows that they should demonstrate their titles before they expect grosser people to recognise them. Is Mr. Gandhi really from God? Then one has a right to ask that, if he discountenances violence in India, he should not only say so and keep on saying so, but he should also be able to get his disciples to obey him. "Put up again thy sword into his place," said Christ to Peter when that impetuous disciple struck off the ear of a servant of the high priest on the night the Master was taken, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Up to now one has waited vainly to hear Mr. Gandhi say something similar; the more so as he has talked so engagingly for so long about the folly of violence. Why does he not speak? Is it because he does not really disapprove of his people "marching through rapine to the dis-

of India?" Or is it because he knows in his heart his people will not obey him? If it is the former, surely he stands self-condemned as a political hypocrite. If it is the latter, let him cease the Mahatma pose. If those people who have seen and heard him do not respect his wishes, how can he expect the world at large to take him at a tenth the value he would put on himself?

A Reply

Mr. H. Kallenbach, the closest associate and staunchest follower of Mahatma Gandhi when he was in South Africa, has addressed the following reply to the *Natal Advertiser*:-

Sir,—I read your leading article, "Gandhi—Mahatma or 'Mr.?' " Though you say that you are not going to take sides in the estimate of Mr. Gandhi's character, your leader leaves hardly any doubt in one's mind what you think of his character, and the ways and means of his leadership. You have doubted the latter notwithstanding that same has been accepted by England, why otherwise the insistence that Mr. Gandhi had to be present at the Round Table Conference in London? The very position given to him there leaves, I believe, no doubt of his recognised position and that "he has established a prima facie title to speak for India at the Conference."

You say: "Mahatma Gandhi claims to be such a mystic; a man difficult to argue with, a man difficult to comprehend, a man who to some folk is a saint and to others little more than a wily fox,"

I think I may lay claim to have been personally in closer and longer companionship with Mr. Gandhi than any European; I think even any Indian outside the members of his family.

I have not met a simpler or more humble man, one who himself has never laid claim to be more than "clay in the potter's hand." I believe that he is indeed a man you can argue with on any point, and one not difficult to understand.

You say further: "If he wants to speak with authority he must show that he has authority over his disciples."

"The first thing Mr. Gandhi should be able to do if he really speaks for India, is to bring to a summary close the brutal wanton and senseless reign of violence that his disciples in India have inaugurated."

"One has a right to ask that, if he discountenances violence in India, he should not only say so and keep on saying so, but he should be able to get his disciples to obey him."

"Up to now one has waited vainly to hear Mr. Gandhi say something similar."...Why does he not speak? Is it because he does not really disapprove of his people "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of India?"

Has there been at any time in the world's history, or is in existence one leader who carries unanimously the whole of his people with him?

Those who believe in "the path of of Assassination" are not only not Mr. Gandhi's disciples, but are his strongest opponents, even so far that friends have feared for his very life from this source. Over and over again he has met and sought out leaders and the rank and file of these misguided youths, and by speech and pen he has never ceased to condemn their methods of violence. He has repeatedly expressed that if not for them India would gain the aims he and other leaders are striving for their people, earlier, and more completely, and he has repeatedly mentioned that any reforms, how far-reaching they may be, with the continuance of these violent methods, will be of no avail to the Indian peoples.

The papers edited by Mr. Gandhi in English and the vernacular are at your disposal in order to bear out above statements.

General Smuts On India

General Smuts, who is returning to South Africa by the *Arundel Castle*, in a statement he made to *Reuter* before sailing from London, made reference to the problem of India.

What troubled him in regard to the Empire, he said, was the Indian position, which at present was by far the most important and, perhaps, the most dangerous problem facing the country. Great Britain must make up her mind to go pretty far in satisfying India and the sooner the better, as the present favourable situation for a settlement might not last long.

He was convinced that Gandhi was sincerely anxious to come to a fair settlement and, while it lasted, his power was an enormous asset to Britain in her efforts to arrive at a settlement. Gandhi spoke for a large part of India and could deliver the goods as no other Indian leader could.

Every effort should be made now to prevent further misunderstanding and disorder in India, with all the misery to which it might lead. Force was no remedy. The Round Table Conference, if it was unable to come to a conclusion of its labours now, should adjourn in such a spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill that its work could almost immediately be resumed and pressed to an early conclusion.

Neither the communal question nor reservations appeared to him to form an insuperable bar to an early grant of an Indian Constitution, but, perhaps even more important at present was the spirit of mutual trust and understanding and the avoidance of any action which might create suspicion between Indian and British leaders.

He was convinced that both sides honestly meant to come to a settlement and that was a priceless asset in dealing with a very difficult situation. He was sure British people regarded with goodwill every effort to accelerate a settlement and keep India a contented member of the Commonwealth.

Immigration Appeal

Decision Of Board Reversed By Supreme Court

Judgment was given in the case between Dhamibai and others and the Principal Immigration Officer by the Judge-President, Mr. Justice Feetham, after an argument that had lasted nearly two days. Mr. Justice Hathorn and Mr. Justice Lansdown were also on the Bench.

The stated case was that appellants, the wife and children respectively of one Hasaram Rijhoomal, an Indian born in India, arrived in Durban from India on Dec. 10, 1930, and were declared prohibited immigrants on arrival under Section 4 (1) (a) and (b) of Act 22, 1913. They appealed to the Immigrants Appeal Board, which dismissed the appeal.

The Board found that Hasaram Rijhoomal, who had obtained a certificate of domicile under Act 30, 1930 (Natal) on Sept. 9, 1904, from the Principal Immigration Restriction Officer, Durban, had gone to India in 1915 or early in 1916 for the purpose of rejoining his family in Hyderabad, Sind, and of attending to his business in India; that he had not before leaving made application for a certificate of identity under Section 25 (2) of the Act; and that his headquarters were at Hyderabad, where he purchased a residence for himself.

The appellants contended that Rijhoomal was domiciled in Natal up to the date of his departure in 1915 or early in 1916, and that from 1915 to 1929 he had never abandoned his Natal domicile, which was his permanent home. They further contended that in 1929 and 1930 the Principal Immigration Officer had certified

that he was domiciled in Natal, as is reflected from a certificate of identity issued by him and that the issue of such documents amounted to an exemption of the appellants by the Minister under Section 25 (1) Act 22, 1913.

"Misinterpretation"

The Principal Immigration Officer contended that Rijhoomal's home was and always had been India and that by reason of his long absence in India between the years 1915 and 1929 he had lost any domicile he may previously have had in Natal. In regard to the issue of the certificates in 1929 and 1930 he stated that they had been issued under a misinterpretation of the law which had been made apparent by a subsequent case heard in the Transvaal Supreme Court.

The Board accepted this explanation and after hearing the evidence found that Rijhoomal's place was India and not Natal.

At the instance of the appellants the following points of law were reserved and the ruling of this Court under Section 3 (2) of Act 22, 1913, was sought on them:

(a) Whether Rijhoomal was in law domiciled in Natal on his departure in 1915 or early in 1916.

(b) Whether in view of the provisions of Section 30 of Act 22, 1913, as amended, Rijhoomal could after an absence of approximately 14 years be deemed to have retained his domicile in Natal.

(c) Whether in the circumstances of this case the Minister has in the exercise of his discretion under Section 25 of Act 22, 1913, either before or by means of the issue of the certificate of identity exempted Dhamibai and her minor children from the provisions of Section 4 (1) (a) and (b) of the Act.

Judge's Ruling

In giving judgment, Mr. Feetham outlined at great length the facts of the case and also considered all the authorities. His Lordship was of the opinion that the certificates granted to Hasaram, the husband of Dhamibai, under Act 37, 1903, were *prima facie* evidence that at some date between 1896 and 1904 he had lost his domicile of origin in India and had acquired a domicile in Natal.

In the absence of proof to the contrary that certificate was sufficient to establish that Hasaram became domiciled in Natal at some date between 1896 and 1904 and, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that certificate was sufficient proof that Hasaram still possessed such domicile in 1930. It seemed to the Court that Hasaram in view of the fact that he had acquired property in Durban and had spent a great deal of time in Durban developing his Natal business, had never intended to abandon his Natal domicile. The first question would therefore be answered in the affirmative, and it would be held that Hasaram was domiciled in Natal at the time of his departure therefrom in 1915 or early in 1916.

In regard to the second question reserved, his Lordship was of opinion, after reviewing the facts available, that they were not sufficient to establish an abandonment by Hasaram of his Natal domicile and that the onus of proving such abandonment, which under the circumstances lay on the Immigration Department, had not been discharged. This question would therefore also be answered in the affirmative.

His Lordship added that in view of the answers given to questions (1) and (2) it was necessary to enter into question (3) at any length.

His Lordship then dealt with the facts of this question and stated that it would be answered in the negative.

As the appellants had succeeded in their contentions on questions (1) and (2), the costs must be paid by the respondent.

Mr. Justice Hathorn and Mr. Justice Lansdown concurred.

Mr. A. E. Carlisle, K.C., with Mr. E. S. Henochsberg (instructed by Messrs. Goodricke & Son) appeared for the appellants, and Mr. F. R. Shaw (instructed by the Assistant Government Attorney) for the respondent.

Pietersburg Indians Welcome Indian Round Table Conference Sir Kurma

They Have No Grievances

A number of representative Indians assembled at Pietersburg Station last week to welcome Sir Kurma V. Reddi, Agent of India in South Africa and Lady Cromer (mother of the Hon. Mr. E. Baring, the Agent's secretary), who, with their suite were en route to the Zimbabwé ruins.

The visitors were also welcomed by His Worship the Mayor (Cr. C. P. Andrew) and the Mayoress (Mrs. P. van der Lith), the Chief Magistrate, Mr. J. M. Richards and Mr. D. J. Naude.

Sir Kurma and Lady Cromer, the Mayor and Mayoress were garlanded by the Indian community. An address of welcome from the Northern Transvaal Indian Association was presented by Mr. Goolam Rasool. It read as follows:—

"To Sir Kurma V. Reddi, Esqr., Kt., B.A., B.L., Pietersburg.

Sir,—We, the undersigned, representing the Indian community of Pietersburg (the Capital of the Northern Transvaal) heroby tender you a respectful and hearty welcome on your first visit here. We are pleased, and our hearts are gladdened at this opportunity to express our best wishes.

We, Sir, live here in harmony with the other communities of this town, and have no complaints as far as racial discriminations are concerned, and we hope the other communities will treat us the same in the future.

In conclusion we pray that your sojourn in this district of the Northern Transvaal shall be fraught with happiness, and we pray, Sir, for your long life and happiness.—We remain, Yours sincerely, HASSIM MOTI, Chairman, GOOLAM RASOOL, Secretary, Northern Transvaal Indian Association."

Sir Kurma thanked all who had taken part in the welcome to him. He was pleased to learn that here in the Northern Transvaal the Indian community were able to live in peace and harmony with all other communities and he was confident that so long as his people behaved themselves they would get consideration and justice from the Government. Once more he thanked them for the kindly and cordial welcome accorded him.

His Worship the Mayor thanked the Indian community for the privilege they had given him to be present and welcome so distinguished a member of their race as Sir Kurma Reddi, Agent General for the great Indian Empire in South Africa, one of India's most distinguished sons and a man entrusted with the tremendous task of looking after the interests of the Indian people in South Africa. He did not wish to touch on politics, but he could say that here in Pietersburg the European community were on the best terms with every section—Moslem, Hindu and Catholic—of the Indian community and there was every indication that the good feeling would continue. On behalf of the citizens of Pietersburg he extended a welcome to Sir Kurma and Lady Cromer and hoped that on their return journey they would make a longer stay in Pietersburg.

Afterwards the Mayor entertained the party to an excellent breakfast provided by Mr. S. J. Dobbin, catering manager, S.A.R., who is to be congratulated on the excellence of the arrangements.

Indian Round Table Conference British Premier's Statement

London, Dec. 1.—The closing scene at the second Indian Round Table Conference, on which such great hopes had been pinned and from which such meagre results have emerged, will be remembered for its quiet drama.

At the conclusion of his closing speech Mr. Ramsay Macdonald raised his chairman's mallet, and with a resounding hit upon the table, said: "For the last time I declare this Conference now adjourned."

There was silence for a few seconds, and then the Prime Minister moved towards Gandhi and clasped him by the hand. The two looked straight into each other's eyes and talked in low tones—of the future perhaps. Then Mr. Macdonald wished farewell to one delegate after another.

Indian Federation

In his final speech, which had been so eagerly awaited, the Prime Minister said that the Government intended unswervingly to pursue its plans for an All-India Federation as the only solution to the problem.

In order to give this declaration the fullest authority, Mr. Macdonald said, it would be circulated as a White Paper in both Houses of Parliament to-day, and Parliament's approval would be asked for during the week.

Mr. Macdonald indicated emphatically that the present Cabinet had fully accepted as representing their own policy his statements of last January on behalf of the Labour Government.

The Premier added that the Government contemplated constituting the North West Frontier Province as a Governor's Province, with the same status as the other Provinces, with due regard to the necessity for effective safeguards for the frontier. Sind would also be constituted a separate Province.

Communal Differences

The Government had been urged to enforce a full measure of responsible government in the Provinces forthwith, but the Round Table Conference desired an all-embracing statute, and therefore the Government did not intend to advance by my means of a partial settlement.

The Government refused to accept the failure to solve communal differences as final and conclusive, but if the Indians themselves could not present a settlement, the Government would be compelled to apply a provisional scheme in order to ensure that this disability should not be a bar to constitutional development. The Government would decide what checks the Indian Constitution must contain in order to protect the various minorities.

Mr. Macdonald appealed to the members of the Conference to take further opportunities to meet in India and to present the Government with an agreement.

Committee To Work In India

In order to continue consultation with the Indian representatives, Mr. Macdonald announced, the Government proposed to nominate a representative committee to continue the work of the Round Table Conference in India, remaining in touch with the British Government through the Viceroy. This Committee would discuss questions of franchise, constituencies, budgetary figures and financial problems connected with certain States.

Loud applause punctuated the reading of his Majesty's message bidding the delegates not to let their problems discourage or oppress them. Gandhi was all smiles to-day.

Premier's Statement In January

In his declaration at the end of the first Round Table Conference, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said that the British Labour Government believed that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislature—Central and Provincial—with such provisions as might be necessary, during the period of transition, to guarantee the observance of certain obligations and the political liberty and rights of the minorities.

The aim was a Central Federal Government, including both the Indian States and British India, with a bi-cameral Legislature.

The British Government would be prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, the subjects of defence and external affairs being reserved. There would also be limitations with regard to finance.

Sind is at present part of the Province of Bombay. The Simon Commission recommended its separation.

The North West Frontier Province, part of the Panjab until 1901, is now under the control of a Chief Commissioner.—Renter.

The Ethics Of Non-violence

Non-violent non-co-operation as a technique of resolving inter-racial and international conflict" is the subject of an article in a recent publication of the *Sociological Society of America*. The writer, Dr. Hridayas T. Mazumdar, points out that the refusal of the white bureaucracy to recognise the Indian intellectuals as leaders of the country caused the latter to turn to the masses and make them conscious of the economic, moral and political wrongs perpetrated upon the country by an alien Government. To refuse to co-operate in political function, to undermine the prestige of the British Government, to boycott British goods, to cement bonds of unity by a disciplined adherence to non-violence on a mass scale, were felt capable of undermining British control. The Indian situation of to-day presents an example of a crisis created by these means and Dr. Mazumdar indicates in this article the trend that the world will some day abandon the method of violent warfare and adopt the method of non-violent resistance in future attempts to secure redress of international and inter-racial wrongs.

"The technique of non-violent non-co-operation is the nearest approximation to a moral equivalent of war. The criticism of the Western world directed to the negativistic wording of the programme is undeserved. The programme does not stand for national or a racial isolation. In a crisis such as confronts India and England, the choice is not between co-operation and non-co-operation—it is a choice between war and non-violent non-co-operation. The positive values accruing to the intra-group process of adhesion and unity must be stressed. The country is being literally re-born. New attitudes are sure to arise and new culture patterns will, in course of time, become stratified. For the present, however, the Indian scene is a situation in flux. It cannot be over-emphasised that the success of the technique is dependent entirely upon the preservation of non-violence, i.e., love in thought, word and deed. Non-violence and truth are the cardinal principles of the movement—how different are these two principles from hatred and propaganda

of lies which underlie wars! Mahatma Gandhi's name will be indissolubly linked with the programme which India is successfully working out toward the attainment of Swaraj."

Native States And The British Garrison

The following are important portions from a long talk that took place between Mr. Brailsford and Mahatma Gandhi a record of which the former sent to the British and American press:—

Mr. Brailsford: When you abolish the salt tax, what substitute will you propose to fill the hole in the revenue.

Gandhiji: Salt is a small matter, what really matters is the excise on toddy and opium, that is really a big proportion of the revenue, there is no way of filling that gap, unless we can cut down the cost of the army, that is the octopus that is strangling us. This terrible drain must come to an end.

Br. That, I imagine, will be the chief issue at the Round Table Conference.

G. Indeed it will: we can't shirk it.

The Artist: Do you intend then to clear out the white garrison?

G. Certainly, I intend to clear it out.

The Artist: Do you include the civilians with the troops?

G. They are part of the burden we have to carry. They make Government too costly. There is no justification for the great salaries they draw. They live far better than the same class at home.

Br. Isn't there something to be said for the usual explanation of these high salaries. These civilians are living in exile and in a very trying climate.

G. That is no longer so. Better communications have changed all that. There is a mail twice a week: they can keep in touch with their families at home, and they go to the hills in the hot weather. We would welcome these if they would live among us like Indians. But they isolate themselves. They shut themselves up in their cantonments. The very name has a military flavour, and indeed these cantonments are still under military law. Any house within them may be seized, if the military say they require it. That happened to a mutual friend of ours, though he had built the house for himself.

Br. There are two distinct questions about the army or rather there's one question with two branches. There is the question of principle, India's control over the army, and there is the economic question which would be satisfied by the reduction of the army. Must you insist on both?

G. I must see to it that I have control over my army.

Br. A nation is not fully a nation unless she has it.

G. They tell me that I must have this army to protect me against the Pathans, I don't want its protection. I want to be free to take my own course. I may decide to fight them; I may decide to conciliate them. But I want to be free to do it myself. We would agree for a time to maintain some of the white army in India, but they tell us that Tommies can't be transferred to the control of an Indian Government.

Br. They can't be transferred without their consent (Gandhiji nods assent), but I should think that many of them would agree to enlist, under satisfactory conditions, in an Indian army.

G. (cheerfully): yes, that might be the solution, but when the army is reduced, I am afraid, that will add to the number of your unemployed.

Br. Would you, then, if the principle of India's control were granted, be willing to negotiate over

the numbers and cost of the reduced white garrison, which you would be willing to maintain for a term of years?

G. Yes, we will agree to anything of that kind, if it is in the interest of India.

Br. Well, I think that would be rather to our interest than yours.

G. (laughing)—All the same, we would agree to that.

Br. It's the principle of control that makes the difficulty. I don't think you will get that. Reduction is another matter, in some degree you will get that. We are going into the Disarmament Conference presently; this might be part of our contribution to world disarmament.

G. I have said what I want. My terms are known. But they are all holding back, as if they were afraid to say what they will grant. But I am quite prepared to wait.

Br. Things are bound to move slowly, while we are absorbed in our economic crisis. That may be an advantage however.

The Artist: I am only an outsider, but isn't there another difficulty? Are not the Indian Princes the worst obstacle in your path?

G. The Princes are British officers in Indian dress. A Prince is in the same position as a British officer; he has to obey.

Br. Then can you leave the Princes under the control of the Viceroy?

G. We must get control for the Indian Government.

Br. But don't they prefer to be under the Viceroy?

G. Ask any of them, and they will say so. But deep down in their heart of hearts, is it possible that they can be content? After all they are the same colour as we are. They are Indians.

Br. But they gain something under the present arrangement, which you could never allow. The bureaucracy exacts politeness from them, and political correctness, but it allows them to treat their subject pretty much as they please.

G. "Politeness" is not the word for it. Say rather "Abject submission." Not one of them can call his soul his own. The Nizam may start some project or other. An angry letter from the Viceroy is enough to stop him. You know what happened in Lord Reading's time.

Br. Apart from this question of control, is there any hope of Legislature on behalf of your "half-served millions," if the Princes are to nominate 40 per cent. of the membership of the Federal Legislature.

G. We can deal with these as we have dealt with you. It will be much easier.

Br. I think their reply would be rather more brutal than ours. We used the lathi: they would use the rifle.

G. That's your race paid. That's right. I like you for it. All of us ought to have it. But you don't realise how much British power in India rests on prestige. Indians are hypnotised by it. You are a brave race, and your reputation enables you to overawe us. I've seen the same thing in South Africa. The Zulus are a fighting race, and yet a Zulu will tremble at the sight of a revolver, even if it is not loaded. If we get into conflict with the Princes, they won't have the advantage of your prestige. If our people have to face Mahratta troops they will say to themselves: "We're Mahrattas too." Talking of South Africa gives me a precedent for the change that we want to bring about in our relations with the Princes. Swaziland used to be under the control of Downing Street, but when the Union was formed, control was transferred to it.

In the same way, we argue that the Princes ought to be transferred to the control of the Indian Government.

"We Talk Too Much"

Mr. Jay Macksey contributes the following diagnosis of the present age to *America*:

This is the talkative age. Not of course in the sense of eloquence, for eloquence is dead and from its grave has sprung wise-cracking. Perhaps the talkies, the radio, and paradoxically, the speakeasy have contributed to the impression; but whatever the cause, men have become worldly, unreasonably. Not that they are given to long speeches, but rather that their tongues have loosened and the springs of speech are bubbling more valuably than ever before.

Perhaps this is another evidence of the current effeminization of men. Certainly women are greatly to blame for the situation. Yet to make women the scapegoat is far from my purpose; rather what I lament is that it is man who has fallen from his high estate,—man, the deliberator. Weighing the influence of women as an aggravating circumstance, and so dismissing it, the present-day loquacity of men can be ascribed in great part to the obsession to get publicity. Ideals in judging manhood seem to have changed, as far as the open market is concerned. Manhood apparently in every walk of life to-day is measured by what are called "contact possibilities." We know the patter. A man is elected or promoted to a position demanding ability not because he is a specialist in the work, but because he is a good contact maker, a social cam. He belongs to several civic clubs, can swing a mashie, refrain from trumping his partner's ace, and has a line of small talk. Thus a heavy premium is put upon superficial qualifications and real merit is submerged. It is the day of the facile talker. The tongue wagger has displaced genius with the result that falsity and hypocrisy are more countenanced.

With or without loquacity the republic will of course survive. Yet loquacity is an evil. One has but to be thrown in occasionally with one or other of the figures that make up this composite picture, to be convinced.

Indian Visit Of Christian Friendship

[FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT]

Under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of York, a preliminary meeting was held at Edinburgh House, London, the headquarters of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, this morning (October 21st), in connection with an invitation which has been sent to the Christian Church in India to send some of its members on a visit of Christian friendship to Great Britain in the autumn of next year. The proposal has already been endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of Ireland and the Archbishop of Wales and the leaders of the other churches in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Besides the Archbishop, those present to-day include Principal A. Martin, (Church of Scotland), Dr. Scott Lidgett, (Wesleyan Methodist Church and National Free Church Council), Cannon Arthur Davies, (Missionary Council, National Assembly), Dr. W. Lewis Robertson (Federal Council of the Evangelical Churches), Rev. M. E. Aubery, (Secretary of the Baptist Union), Rev. S. Garrett, (Church Missionary Society), Rev. R. G. Mackie,

(Student Christian Movement), and Miss A. Hontford, (Society of Friends).

Emphasis was laid on the fact that the purpose of the visit of four or five Indian Christians, under the leadership, it is expected, of Dr. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, was that these members of one of the younger Christian Churches in the East should share with the rank and file of the churches in this country, their own Christian experience, and thus stimulate the spiritual life in Great Britain.

Rev. William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, stated that the travelling expenses of the visitors were being raised by the Indian Christian Churches themselves. The imagination of these churches had been extraordinarily stirred by this scheme.

It was decided that the arrangements for the visit should be placed in the hands of a special committee, and that it was generally desirable that the enterprise should be concentrated on certain selected centres, rather than widely diffused over the greatest possible area.

Native Education In The Transvaal

At the last meeting of the Transvaal Native Education Advisory Board it was resolved to press upon the Provincial Administrator the urgent necessity for providing additional funds for native education. In the absence of Mr. Rheinallt-Jones the deputation that presented this plea before the Provincial Executive was led by the Rev. Mr. Alcock, when the following points were stressed:—

The Native Development Fund is not able to cover the financial needs of Native education. The increased enrolment in Native schools in the Transvaal between 1925 and 1930 of 80% has only been covered to the extent of 50% increase in the funds provided by the Union Government.

Owing to lack of funds 150 schools are awaiting registration. In addition there are between 200 and 300 schools run by natives themselves because of the inability of the Missions to undertake financial responsibility.

There are fewer teachers registered now than in 1929, although the enrolment has increased by 5,547 scholars.

There are schools that are so badly understaffed that one teacher is compelled to teach 100 or more juniors.

Students who passed out of the training institutions in June, 1931, have been compelled to accept posts at £3 per month (males) and £2 10s. (females).

The present cost of native education in the Transvaal is the lowest in the Union. The cost per head has steadily declined since 1925. Whereas the Cape for 1929-30 was 64s., Natal 54s. 9d., Free State 42s. 8d., the Transvaal was only 34s. 8d.

Between the ages of 7 and 14 inclusive, 78% of the native children of the Transvaal are not yet in registered schools; that is, there are 249,200 children still to be brought into school, and to these must be added an annual natural increase.

The salary grants of native teachers were reduced by 15% during the first three months of 1931, and further permanent cuts on allowances were made in September.

Hitherto the Missions have managed to provide accommodation and equipment from their own funds and from school fees, but the possibility of further financial help from Mission resources is almost hopeless.

The deputation urged the Provincial Administration to approach the Union Government to press for the setting aside from the proceeds of the Native General Tax such additional sums as will provide for the reasonable educational needs of the native people. In view of the critical situation in native education the deputation also asked the Administrator to plead with the Government for the appointment of a commission to consider the whole question.—*The Transvaal Methodist.*

Natal Indian Congress

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress will be held at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, Queen Street, Durban, on Sunday the 6th day of December, 1931 at 2-30 p.m.

AGENDA:

1. Minutes.
2. Secretaries' Report.
3. Financial Statement.
4. Election of Office Bearers.
5. Any other matter competent to be discussed at the meeting.
6. General.

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE,

President.

**A. I. KAJEE } Joint Hon.
P. R. PATHER } Secretaries.**

N.B.—Only those members who have paid their subscriptions for the current year will be allowed to participate and vote at the meeting.

Members of the Indian community are asked to enrol themselves as members of the Congress. Members may be enrolled either at the offices of Messrs. Pather & Co., Little Grey Street, Durban, or at the offices of the Congress, 175 Grey Street, Durban,

Special Notice!

The Annual General Meeting of the Congress on Sunday will not be held at the Royal Picture Palace but will be held at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall.