

Indian Opinion

No. 3—Vol. XXX. Friday, January 15th, 1932.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
Price Fourpence.

MR. ANDREWS' RETURN TO INDIA

THE Rev. C. F. Andrews has been urgently summoned back to India at this critical moment. An urgent cable reached him on January 6th from Ahmedabad from Mahadev Desai with whom he was in closest touch in London, since Mahadev is Mahatma Gandhi's own personal secretary. The cable has, in all probability, been one of the things that Mahatma Gandhi left for Mahadev to do in case he was himself arrested, and Mr. Andrews on receiving it in Capetown took it to be such.

When Mr. Andrews was in London he discussed with Mahatma Gandhi his own future plans. He had himself received a very urgent call to go to the distressed and flooded area of Central China where nearly 100,000,000 people have been affected by flood, famine and pestilence and where China has appealed to the whole world for international help in face of unprecedented disaster. In order to realise how great the disaster has been, it need only be stated that more than a million human beings, men, women and children, lost their lives in the floods alone. Now famine and pestilence have followed and the floods have not yet subsidised over vast areas of country comprising many thousand square miles.

It was fully agreed between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Andrews that it was right for him to accept the call to go to China as soon as possible. But now this urgent cable has come from India asking him to return at once and also to stay in India for some time on his way to China.

This request, at such a time, is sacred and Mr. Andrews will take the steamer *Kenya* from Durban on January 25th, remaining at Capetown for the Conference till the last possible moment. He proposes to leave Capetown on January 30th and to spend one day on January 22nd in Johannesburg; after that he will go straight to Durban and sail at day-break on Monday, January 25th, for Bombay. Mr. Andrews has written to INDIAN OPINION the following letter, briefly describing the need of immediate departure:—

"The call has suddenly come from Bapu himself, through Mahadev, asking me to stay in India before going on to China. I have been obliged at once to cable to England and to take

every step to secure my passage to Bombay by *s. s. Kenya*, leaving Durban at day-break on January 25th. This will leave me time to fulfil all that I can really do effectively at the Round Table Conference in Capetown; for I understand that the full sessions will be likely to be over about January 20th and after that committees will get to work. My own labours, obviously, lie with the preliminary work of preparation rather than the settling of details.

"I have been busy almost night and day preparing my memorandum for the members of the Conference and also in notifying the public press about what is happening in India. There was a shameful attack on Bapu from Lord Rothermere unfortunately syndicated in the *Cape Argus* which has been most kindly disposed to us hitherto. I hope that I have set this right. I have also been trying to explain in *Die Burgher* of Capetown what is the exact situation. Now I must hasten on wings, as it were, to India where the crisis has become acute. I did not expect events to hurry on so rapidly, and now every single minute is of the utmost value. I have had some remarkable talks in Capetown with my own and Bapu's old and trusted friend, Herman Kallenbach, and shall see him again in Johannesburg on my way to Durban.

"It is an intense regret to me that I have been quite unable to visit any other centres and now I shall be unable to do so. But I know that my dear friends everywhere will understand that my heart is with them even though I cannot visit them personally. Somehow, each time I come to South Africa, I get pegged down to the centre here at Capetown, from which messages can radiate all over South Africa and where all the vitally important work affecting the whole South African Union has to be done. I cannot tell you how kind my Capetown Indian friends have been and also those I have stayed with in Johannesburg and Pretoria. I know I shall have the same warm welcome in Durban, and I shall long to come back to South Africa again."

The Emergency Conference

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

It was very impressive to me to see the way in which the delegates rallied to the Conference at Johannesburg with great sacrifice of time and money, in order to meet the emergency which had arisen owing to the coming of the Indian Delegation. I would like to put on record my opinion that the Conference, under the very able leadership of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, has done a very great service to the community. The resolution with which my own name was associated, that January 10th should be kept as a Day of Prayer, was responded to by the Bishop and Dean of Johannesburg who were present. It may prove of the utmost importance for the Conference and give to its deliberations the calmness that is needed. It was, in a large measure, owing to this Day of Prayer being observed on the Sunday before the last Conference (Dec. 19, 1926) and the deep impression it made, that we were able to get such a favourable atmosphere for the Conference itself and I have no doubt that history will repeat itself again this time.

I was extremely glad that one point was unanimously decided upon, namely that the Congress would have nothing more to do with the repatriation scheme, which had been open to such very serious objections. I am sure that in this the Congress has done what everyone in India desires and what all India expects. It was always a humiliation thus to allow money to be given to Indians to get out of the country and the humiliation became far worse when those, who because of their poverty accepted the offer, were colonial-born, and not those who had been born in India itself. Since this proportion of colonial-born would automatically increase every year, it is clearly time that this whole bad system of repatriation by bonus should stop.

Another point on which great emphasis was laid was the virtual cancellation of one important part of the registration certificate which had become a vested right. This only affects the Transvaal. When in England, I had the opportunity of consulting both Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Polak and both of them took up the same position that this formed a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that the practical effect of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill (if it had become law) would have touched still more vital interests and might have dealt a death blow to the Indian community. It is, therefore, on this point that our main effort must be concentrated and directed in order to prevent this Bill ever being revived again.

In the Cape Province the most serious thing of all has been the entire dislocation of the Indian franchise by admitting all the adult European women and not a single Indian or Coloured or Malay or Bantu woman in the Cape to the franchise, however educated and cultured. This is utter injustice and ought to be resisted. For it practically diminishes by half the value of the Indian vote in the Cape Province.

In conclusion, I would congratulate the President, Secretaries and Executive on an admirable report and an excellent year's work. In many ways the prospect is much brighter than it was when I landed in Capetown from America just a year ago. At the same time the very painful breaches in the Indian community itself make it necessary to stand close by the Congress and give it entire and undivided support.

The Capetown Conference

In a leading article dated January 6, *The Star* (Johannesburg) writes:—

A very cordial welcome has been extended to the distinguished members of the Indian delegation who have arrived in South Africa to take part in the Capetown Conference. The deliberations of the last Conference culminated in the so-called Gentleman's Agreement, which was laid on the table of the House of Assembly in February, 1927, and it is this agreement, officially at any rate, that requires revision and that is ostensibly responsible for the significant gathering about to take place. There are three main features embodied in the agreement arrived at in February, 1927—the scheme of assisted emigration, the entry of wives and minor children, and the upliftment of the Indian community. The question of whether assisted emigration might be continued or not could, of course, have been settled by a simple communication between the two Governments. The matter of the entry of wives and minor children has since been incorporated in a statute. In regard to the remaining portion of the undertaking—that is to say, the portion that refers to the upliftment of the Indian community—both Governments are in full and complete agreement in theory, at any rate. In practice there may be another side to the picture, and no doubt this side will fully be considered at the forthcoming conference.

The local Indians are particularly anxious that all their grievances should form the subject of discussion at the conference, and the various Indian public bodies have spent a good deal of time in tabulating these grievances, more especially on the matter of the recent legislation which renders a registration certificate or official documents of a similar nature valueless in the event of the holder failing to maintain his statutory domicile in the Union. They contend that this is a breach of faith and that the safeguards given to them in the Immigration Act of 1913 were violated in a most arbitrary manner, and a right has been taken away which they were led to believe was inviolable. The time at the disposal of the delegates is probably too limited to admit of a review of the whole Indian question which the consideration of all grievances would certainly demand, but we hope that the Union delegates to the conference will give careful and sympathetic consideration to the representations made to them. In some quarters there may be a tendency to raise the question of the extent to which the representatives of the Indian Government are constitutionally competent to discuss matters relating to South African Indians who, by reason of having been born in this country, have become nationals of the Union. In Natal, where there is an Indian population of approximately 170,000, it is estimated that 90 per cent. of this number were born in that province. In the Cape Province and in the Transvaal, where there is an Indian population of approximately 30,000, quite 80 per cent. of that number are local born Indians. Of those born in India the great majority have finally settled down here with their families, and, with but few exceptions, they have their entire interests in the Union. The grievances of these people, therefore, primarily constitute a matter between them and the Union Government. On the other hand, the Union Government can have no desire unnecessarily to antagonise Indian sentiment, and the services of the visiting delegates may be helping in bridging over differences and difficulties between the Union Government and the Indian section of the community. There should be no unfair discrimination against any section of our permanent population, and the upliftment,

policy, embodied in the 1927 agreement, is the only policy for a self-respecting and civilised Government to adopt. In this connection whatever pledges are given or renewed should be honoured both in the spirit and the letter.

It is common cause that the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill will occupy the most prominent place in the agenda of the conference, and we do most sincerely hope that a satisfactory arrangement will be arrived at. Apart from the fact that Indians have been allowed and even encouraged to settle in South Africa, and that Natal, in particular, owes much to their industry, a very important consideration is the future trade relationship between this country and India. It is true that the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill does not in any way refer to trade relationship but a resolution on the part of the Government to withdraw the Bill will constitute a concession which will provide the merchant in India with the necessary confidence in and desire to trade with the Union. That India, with its huge population, offers a much better market for our local products than does Japan, for instance, is beyond any question, and there is every prospect of securing a good slice of the Indian trade if a satisfactory agreement is come to. It is also reasonable to suppose that the Government would prefer to make larger concessions to an Asiatic country forming part of the Commonwealth to which we belong than to a foreign country such as Japan or China.

Transvaal Indian Congress

Welcome To Indian Delegation

Some thousands of Indians crowded the City Hall, Johannesburg, to overflowing on Wednesday night, Jan. 6, and gave the members of the Indian delegation a rousing welcome.

The Bishop of Johannesburg (Dr. A. B. L. Karney), who presided, said the best thing to do was to give the Indian in South Africa every opportunity to become a good citizen. At the close of the Bishop's speech he was garlanded, together with the members of the Indian delegation.

Mr. Hajee Jossab Ebrahim Gardi, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, under whose aegis the meeting was held, said the Indians were not praying for favours, but merely demanded justice. "The Indian community has honourably observed all the pacts with the Government from time to time, but I regret to say that the Government has not reciprocated."

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, the leader of the delegation, said the people in India had great admiration for the Dutch people, whom they had met as prisoners of war in India in 1900, and the delegation found it difficult to believe that South Africans coming of such great nations as those of England and Holland could form an opinion such as they were alleged to have formed.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poetic and fiery oratory thrilled the meeting. She exhorted the Indians in South Africa to "live here like children of the soil, South African in spirit, though Indian in blood."

Sir Kurma Reddi (the Indian Agent) announced that he was shortly leaving the Union, after three years' service here.

On the platform were seated amongst others, the members of the delegation, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain (leader), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Mr. G. S. Bajpai (secretary), Mr. Kodanda Rao, Sir Kurma Reddi (Indian Agent), the Hon. Evelyn Baring (secretary to the Indian Agent), Mr. Justice Krause, Mr. H. Britten (Chief Magistrate), Dean

Palmer, the Rev. J. Bruce Gardiner, Mr. Howard Pim, Mr. George W. Nelson, and many others.

Bishop's Welcome

The Bishop extended a warm welcome to Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, the leader, and the other members of the delegation, the personnel of which was indicative of the importance the Government of India attached to the Round Table Conference in Capetown. He was proud to welcome Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Her name to-day was a household word throughout the world. He regretted that indifferent health had prevented Mr. Sastri and Sir Geoffrey Corbett from being also present, but on behalf of the assembled multitude he extended to them too a cordial welcome.

"The Indian question in South Africa is entirely of our own creation. We have introduced the question into our already overcrowded arena," said the Bishop. "It should be borne in mind that the vast majority of the Indians in South Africa had been born here and were therefore citizens of South Africa. A State that permanently kept a large section of its population discontented could not hope to be happy. The state of every section reacted on the whole body of the population.

"It was often said in criticism of the Indian that he was not a desirable citizen because he lived on a low standard and sent his money out of this country. Whose fault was that? In the Transvaal the Indian could hardly own property." Dr. Karney was convinced that the Indian was ready to spend his money in South Africa if he were given the opportunity.

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr. Hajee Jossab Ebrahim Gardi, said this was the third time that the Indian community had the opportunity of welcoming distinguished representatives of the Government of India. The tasks of their predecessors had been difficult, but he felt that the task confronting the present delegation was the greatest and hardest task of all.

"The time has arrived," he said, "when the Union Government should declare to the world that the permanent Indian population will not be treated one whit worse than the European of this country. We must confess that past experience has not made us very hopeful in regard to our future prospects."

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had an ovation on rising to reply. He said he had not addressed so large a gathering for a long time.

"All that is needed is to bring your point of view, supported by facts, home to the people of South Africa, whether Dutch or English, and I am prepared to say that nine-tenths of your difficulties will disappear."

"Who can perform this noble task? I venture to submit that it must be performed by the Indians in South Africa themselves." He looked forward to the co-operation of the noble-minded Dutch and English to get the difficulties to disappear.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the gathering as "my countrymen and my friends of my countrymen." "I claim you as my countrymen," she said, "because for the moment I am also a South African, because of my love of South Africa and of you." Seven years ago she had come here because many thousands of miles across the sea she had heard a cry of distress. "I came here to see if I could be of any service to you. I do not know if I was. But you were to me a great example of patience and of suffering." Now she was here as a delegate of the Government of India and as a friend of her great leader and their great leader, Mr. Gandhi. (Applause.) In that dual capacity she claimed their welcome. Those present were her countrymen, but in a truer sense they were children of South Africa. They should make their contribution to the

common cause of South Africa and help to build up a new and great tradition in South Africa. Seven years ago, many in suffering had said to her : if only they would return to India; she then said to them South Africa was their home. "Remember you owe her a milk debt, a bread debt, a life debt."

Sir D'Arcy Lindsay said he had readily responded to the invitation of the Government of India to serve on the delegation as he wished in that way to return some of the good and the happiness he had received in India during 45 years. This was his second visit to South Africa.

"We have come here on a mission of peace and from past experience I feel perfectly sure that nothing but goodwill will govern the course of the conference."

Mr. G. S. Bajpai, in a brief speech, said the problem before them was a most baffling one. But great as it was it was not incapable of solution because of the inherent justice of the Indian cause.

Sir Kurma Reddi announced that he was about to leave South Africa after serving the Government of India here for three years. Because of his experience he had been asked to join the Indian delegation. He spoke of what he had seen in visiting the homes of humble Indians in different parts of the Union. "I regret to state that when I enter the homes of many in Natal and in the Transvaal my heart sinks. Indians have now been four generations in South Africa. And look at their homes and their poverty. Is it for this my countrymen have served South Africa for four generations? South Africa had done good to some. There were rich ones among them. But the bulk were living in impoverished conditions. Justice should be done to them. They had been exemplary citizens. Witness the absence of serious crime amongst them. They were no burden to the community. No nation need be afraid of such people."

The chairman (Dr. Karney) expressed regret at hearing of the near departure of Sir Kurma Reddi, and said he hoped Johannesburg would have another opportunity of bidding farewell to him.

—*The Star.*

Pretoria Mayor's Welcome To Indian Delegation

The delegates and Sir Kurma Reddi on arrival at Pretoria Station were garlanded by Shaik Ahmed, on behalf of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress; by Mr. Essop Ackoojee, on behalf of the Pretoria Market Association; and also by Mr. R. Mooloo.

Welcoming the delegates, the Mayor assured them of her goodwill and wished them a pleasant stay in the Union. She regretted that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was not in Pretoria, for, being a woman herself, she would have been glad to honour such a distinguished member of her sex.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, replying, said the delegates heartily appreciated the welcome accorded them by the Mayor. "We have no doubt that the goodwill of responsible people like yourself will go a long way toward your Government and our Government coming to an understanding, which will enable our Government to solve the difficulties which from time to time arise," he said.

They valued the assurance of the Mayor's goodwill, he added. Although they had been receiving these assurances from Indians at various East African ports where they had called, this was the first occasion on which they had had such assurances from responsible people in South Africa.

A reception was held by the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress in the Star Picture Palace.

Colonel Mentz, who had been invited to speak, expressed the hope that great forbearance and con-

sideration would be exercised at the forthcoming conference, and that, with the assistance of their friends and advisers in South Africa, good work and a better understanding would follow the deliberations.

The Late Imam Bawazir

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

The first news I heard on landing in Capetown, was that my very dear and loved friend, the Imam Sahib, whom I had known for nearly twenty years, was dead. It was a very great blow to me. Every time I went to Sabarmati I would go to him and we would embrace one another and talk of old South African days. It was nearly twenty years ago, in 1913, when I first met him and began to love him for his great and pure goodness. I remember well the terrible sorrow he had in India when his dearly loved daughter, Fatima, died. I was with him at the time or just after. He had a wonderful faith in God and his faith used always to sustain him at such times of sorrow and death. He showed me, in a very beautiful way, how deep the faith of a good and pious Musalman is and how humble it makes his character. Each day in India he spent a very great deal of his time in prayer; and even in his active life throughout the day it was easy to see that he was recollecting himself and praying silently to God in whom, at all times, he put his trust. And so God gave him that inner strength and fortitude which carried him through all his difficulties and trials in life and sustained him with that beautiful, quiet confidence and peace of mind which everyone admired in him.

It was this faith and trust in God which made his own sweet and gentle character. It was this that at once I noticed in his eyes and in his very look, when I first met him in 1913. I can remember how fond Mahatma Gandhi was of him and how, when he introduced me to him, he spoke at the same time, of his goodness and purity of heart. It was from him perhaps more than from any other person, that Mahatma Gandhi learnt his admiration of Islam and drew in his own mind the character of the Prophet.

There was another very beautiful thing about him which seemed to me to show clearly that he was a true follower of Islam. He had the most perfect courtesy towards those who were not of his own religious faith and was quite clear in his own mind that he must always seek to win them by love and not by compulsion. Thus he was a complete example of the Prophet's own injunction, when he said, 'Let there be no compulsion in religion.' Just as the Prophet himself was the soul of courtesy and gentleness to all those who were to be seen around him, living in the simplest manner possible among those who were his own followers, so the Imam Sahib lived at the Sabarmati Ashram as a standing example of a devoted and pious Musalman. Never once did he omit his prayers each day, and his month of Fast was very rigorously kept even when his health was not strong.

In the story of South Africa which Mahatma Gandhi wrote (and from which I have embodied the material I have used in my book called 'Mahatma Gandhi at Work') the Imam Sahib is often mentioned. It is related how at first, when he offered passive resistance, everyone was doubtful whether he would be able to stand the heavy strain. For he had not been used to any of the severe hardships of life.

But the Imam Sahib endured to the end very manfully indeed and thus won the abiding love of Mahatma Gandhi himself. He did the very same

thing in the last great struggle in India; and it was probably the suffering which he had endured in his very weak state of health during his imprisonment that hastened his own deeply lamented death, for he never really recovered from the harshness of his imprisonment, but gradually succumbed.

What I am seeking to write in this brief article is really a testimony of deep personal affection. For I loved the Imam Sahib so deeply and personally that next to Mahatma and Mrs. Gandhi, my own first thought, when I came to Sabarmati Ashram, was to run to see the Imam Sahib. I would go to him and to Maganlalbhai at the very first moment possible; for my heart would send me to both of them; and now they are both no more with us in the outward body. But I am as certain as I can be, that they have both gained strength during their life's pilgrimage, which now can be used by God in the spiritual world—such is God's wonderful grace—to help us in our own struggle here on earth. I believe that their spirits, now set free from the burden of the earthly body, are more effective in God's service to-day than they ever were before. May their souls rest in peace and may everlasting light shine upon them!

Indians' Rights In The Union

Pretoria Reception To Mrs. Naidu

"See that you do not alienate the sympathy that your cause may evoke in the hearts of all right-thinking people, because of the influence of those who divide you," said Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the only woman delegate to the Indian conference in Capetown, at a reception given in her honour by the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress. "We have come not to ask for favour or concession, but to put forward your claim as human beings and as citizens of South Africa, although unenfranchised," she added. "Every single member of the Indian delegation is full of the spirit of service for you." The two European members of the delegation were animated by the same spirit.

When they parted at Folkestone, said Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Gandhi remarked: "You must go to South Africa because South Africa needs you." On the question of Indian nationals in South Africa the people of India spoke with one voice. The justice of their demands and the rightness of their cause would stand them in better stead than the protection of the most powerful governments.

"We propose to strive for your human rights without infringing on the right of other settlers in this country who have come from abroad," added Mrs. Naidu. "I will not support you for one moment in any claim that you make at the expense of one single community in this country." They had rightly charged the Government with not fulfilling its pledge of uplifting the Indian community. The task of upliftment they shared with the Government.

"Your location in Pretoria is a disgrace to any municipality, but it is equally a disgrace to yourselves for tolerating such conditions," added Mrs. Naidu. They must not rest until they had secured better housing. They must be united in their efforts to improve conditions generally.

Mr. Sheik Ahmed, president of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress, welcomed Mrs. Naidu, and Mr. P. M. Joshi welcomed her on behalf of the Indians of Pretoria and district.

The Rev. B. Sigamoney (Johannesburg) said that the Indian community in South Africa looked to Mrs. Naidu more than anyone else to further their cause.

Mr. J. R. Hartshorne, of the Department of Asiatic Affairs, was among those on the platform. —*The Star*.

Durban Indians Join In Prayer

For Success of Capetown Conference

A mass meeting of Indians, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, was held in the M. K. Gandhi Library last Sunday at 2-30 p.m. to offer prayers to Almighty God for the success of the Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Union and Indian Governments which opened on Tuesday last at Capetown.

In the absence of the President, Mr. V. Lawrence, one of the Vice-Presidents, who presided, declared that they had met for a solemn purpose, which was to ask Almighty God to guide the representatives of the two Governments in their deliberations and grant them grace and wisdom to arrive at a successful and honourable understanding.

Prayer, Mr. Lawrence said, was the raising of the heart and mind to Almighty God, to acknowledge their nothingness before Him and supplicate that through His grace and guidance the Conference might end successfully.

Prayers were then offered in English, Urdu, Hindi and Persian.

Prayer Meeting at Capetown

Services for the promotion of good feeling and the success of the Round Table Conference were conducted on Sunday under the auspices of the Cape Indian Congress at Primrose Hall, which was filled to its utmost capacity. Prayers were conducted in Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindustani and English. Equal sincerity was manifest in the services as they were offered according to the religions of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity.

St. Aidan's Students' Hostel

(Contributed)

This Hostel was opened at Sydenham at the beginning of last year. Parents of boys studying at the Sastri College or in one or other of the Durban schools have already realised the great advantage of having a home for their boys situated in healthy surroundings, away from the town and under wise and strict discipline. It is open to boys of all religions, and it is expected that every boy will give due time to the performance of the religious duties demanded by his parents.

Mr. W. M. Buss, the Principal of the Sastri College, in his last annual report, spoke in the highest terms both of this Hostel and of the Hostel in Leathers Road and commended both to parents.

Many applications for their sons' admission, from parents who live away from the large educational centres, have been received. In view of this fact the St. Aidan's Mission authorities have extended their buildings to accommodate twenty-two boys by the addition of a large, light and airy room, to form a new dormitory.

Parents who wish to send their boys to the Hostel are requested to communicate immediately with A. D. Lazarus Esq., B.A., the Warden of the Hostel. (Address: St. Aidan's Students' Hostel, Sydenham.)

All students are expected to be at the Hostel on the 24th instant.

Prof. Karve's Appeal To Indians

"Must Educate Women"

A reception to Professor Karve, the founder of the Women's University in Poona, was given by the Transvaal Indian Women's Association recently. Mrs. Singram welcomed Professor Karve, and several other women speakers addressed the large gathering that was present, which included Sir Kurma Reddi, Agent of the Government of India.

Professor Karve said he wished Indian women would try to understand their own social importance. In the ancient times they were very highly honoured, many devoting themselves to meditation and attending and even taking part in discussions by learned pundits.

In later times there were many examples of highly educated Indian women. Professor Karve urged the women to assert themselves and fight for their rights. It was time for Indian women to lay aside their modesty and come forward. Education of women was most important and men had neglected their duty in not providing better facilities.

Professor Karve gave several examples of the way in which women who started to attend schools late in life had progressed. In conclusion he said that the object of his visit was threefold. He came out to see the country and its people, to create interest in India and in women's education there, and to get help for the Women's University. The expenses were 75,000 rupees a year, part of which had to be raised by subscription. He was greatly pleased with the welcome of the Transvaal Indian women and looked upon it as a sign that his labour among their sisters in India was appreciated.—*The Star*.

Anti-Asiatic Meeting At Ladysmith

Two hundred persons were present at a recent meeting at Ladysmith called by the Chamber of Commerce and the Farmers' Association. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

"That this meeting views with serious apprehension and alarm the rapidly growing menace of the Asiatics who are persistently penetrating to an ever-increasing extension into an area which a few years ago was considered a strictly European centre, with the result that they are not only already in a very undesirable position from a social point of view, but also by their unequal and unfair competition they are ousting the Europeans from their usual means of livelihood, thereby very materially accentuating the unemployment of Europeans.

"That it is the definite opinion of this public meeting that the Capetown agreement has failed in its object, and we pray that drastic measures be immediately taken to stop any further Asiatic penetration into our country. That in order to alleviate the existing unfortunate position, legislation should be immediately introduced prohibiting them from purchasing any further land or obtaining any new transfer of existing trading licences.

"That it is the considered opinion of this public meeting that the only solution of this acute problem, which is considered to be far more serious than the native one, is to compel the Asiatics to occupy only such land as our Government may allot to them."

Congress' Demand For Army Control

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech Before The Federal Structure Committee

Mahatma Gandhi delivered the following important speech on India's demand for army control at the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference which ended recently in London:—

"I intervene at this stage because I am in one of these November fogs. I do not know whether there will be a report upon this decision or not. I do not know whether we are going summarily to close these deliberations or extend them.

"As far as I am concerned, I came here intending, if necessary, to winter in England, and, therefore, time is of no consequence if perchance the purpose can be obtained through friendly negotiation and consultation.

"I have been sent here with the deliberate intention of exploring every possible avenue to achieve an honourable settlement whether by open discussion at this table, or by private conferences with ministers and public men, who influence public opinion here and with all those who are interested in questions vitally affecting India.

Congress Position

"Therefore, I am under obligation not to leave a single stone unturned in order to arrive at a settlement, if only because the Congress is wedded to a policy which is known to you all. The Congress is intent on reaching its goal as early as possible and holds also very decided views on all these matters.

"What is more to purpose, it is to-day, or considers itself to-day, capable of shouldering all responsibilities that flow from responsible Government. I thought, therefore, that I could not possibly allow discussion on this most important matter to close without placing as humbly and briefly as I could the Congress view.

"The Congress case is that complete responsibility should be transferred to India. That means that there should be complete control of defence and external affairs, but it also contemplates adjustments.

The Supreme Test

"We ought not to deceive ourselves or the world into thinking that we would be getting responsible Government, although we may not ask for responsibility in this vital matter. A nation that does not control its defence forces and external policy is hardly a responsible nation. Defence and its Army is to a nation the very essence of existence, and if the nation's defence is controlled by an outside agency (no matter how friendly it is) that nation, certainly, is not responsibly governed.

"This is what our English teachers have taught us times without number and, therefore, some Englishmen twisted me when they heard the talk that we would have responsible Government but not have or not claim control over defence forces.

"Hence I have very respectfully to claim on behalf of the Congress complete control over the army, defence forces and external affairs. I put in this also so as to avoid having to speak on it when that subject comes up.

"To this conclusion we come with the greatest deliberation that if we do not get this control at the time of embarking on responsibility, I cannot conceive a time when, because we are enjoying respon-

sibility, we would be suddenly found fit to control our own defence forces.

Army Of Occupation

"The army at present, in my opinion, whether Indian or British, is really an army of occupation. It does not matter to us or me. I speak from experience that there are Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans, men from Madras, Rajputs. No matter who they are they are foreigners to me whilst they are in the army. I cannot speak to them. Soldiers have come to me stealthily and have been afraid even of speaking to me, because they felt that they might be reported. It is not possible for us ordinarily to go to places where soldiers are kept. They are also taught not to regard us as their countrymen. Unlike any other country in the world, there is absolutely no correspondence between them and the ordinary civil population.

"This I give as my evidence before this committee as a man who endeavoured to come into touch with every part of Indian life and this is not my personal experience alone but experience of hundreds and thousands of Congressmen; that there is an absolute wall between them and me.

"I am, therefore, quite aware that it is a tremendous thing for us at once to shoulder that responsibility and have control of this army, say less British officers. That is our unfortunate and unhappy position created for us, I am sorry to have to say, by our rulers.

"Then there is the British army. What is its purpose. Every Indian child knows that the British army is there, including the Indian army, for the defence of British interests and avoiding or resisting foreign aggression.

"I am sorry to have to make these remarks, but that is precisely what I have learned and experienced, and it would be unjust even to my British friends if I did not give expression to the truth as I have seen it, and as I hold it.

"Thirdly, it is the Army that is intended to suppress rebellion against constituted authority. These, then, are the main functions of that Army.

The Jallianwalla Bagh

"Hence it does not surprise me that Englishmen should take the view they do. If I were an Englishman, and also had ambition to rule another nation, I would do precisely the same. I would take hold of Indians and train them as soldiers and train them to be loyal to me, so loyal that they would, at my command, shoot anybody I desired them to shoot.

"Who was it that shot people at Jallianwallabagh if not their own countrymen? It is, therefore, not a matter for surprise but a fact which stares me in the face. The existence of British troops there is also extended to serve this very purpose. It holds the balance between these different soldiers evenly. It undoubtedly protects British officers and British lives.

"Again, I would not complain if I would assume the promise that it is right for Britain to hold India to-day and continue to hold India, no matter under what altered conditions.

"That being so, I have no difficulty in answering the question which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would not face and which Pandit Malaviya also would not face. Both of them said that not being experts, they were unable to say to what extent this Army could or should be reduced.

"I have no difficulty in saying what should happen. I would say emphatically that the whole of this Army should be disbanded, if it does not pass under my control before I would possibly

shoulder the burden of running the Government of India under terrible handicaps under which we labour as a legacy of alien rule.

"Therefore, that being my fundamental position, I say that if the British Ministers and British people really wish well by India, if you will transfer power now to us, then regard this as a vital condition, that the Army should pass under our control in entirety.

"But then I told you that I know the attendant risk. That army will not accept my command. I know that very well. I know that the British Commander-in-Chief will not accept my command, nor would Sikhs nor proud Rajputs—none of them would accept my command.

"But I expect even so to exercise that command with the goodwill of the British people that they would be there at the time of transferring the command to teach a new lesson to these very soldiers and then they would after all be serving their own countrymen if they do so. British troops may also be told "Now is the time for you not to remain here and protect British interests and lives but you are here to protect India against foreign aggression, even against internal insurrection as if you were defending and serving your own countrymen."—That is my dream.

"I know that I shall not realise that dream here. Evidence before me and of my sense tells me that I am not going to realise that dream to-day and here, as a result of the deliberations of this Conference. But I shall still cherish that dream. It is a dream I should like to cherish to the end of my time. But seeing the atmosphere here I know that I cannot possibly infect British statesmen or public with the idea of with the ideal that this is their cherished mission:

"That is how I would interpret the Prime Minister's declaration—that is how I would interpret Lord Irwin's wishes. It should be a proud privilege, proud duty of Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings, it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly as they fly.

"That is really my ambition and, therefore, I say, I would wait till eternity if I cannot get the control of defence. I refuse to deceive myself that I am going to embark on responsible Government although I cannot control defence. After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend herself. All material is there. There are Mussalmans standing in no dread of foreign invasion. Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops national mind, will say, "I alone can defend India."

"Then there are Rajputs who are supposed to be responsible for a thousand Thermopylae, and not the little Thermopylae in Greece.

"Are you going to teach these things to the people of India who have never known how to wield arms? I follow that if I shoulder the burden of responsibility, I mean that all these people are going to join hands.

"I am here writhing in agony to see that we have not yet come to terms on communal settlement, but whenever the communal settlement comes, that communal settlement presupposes that we are going to trust each other. Whether the rule is predominantly Mussalmán, Sikh or Hindu, they will not rule as Hindus, Mussalmáns or Sikhs. They will rule as Indians. If we distrust one another, then we want British people there. If we do not want to be killed by one another, then we must have British people—and then let us not talk of responsible Government.

"I at least cannot possibly think that we have got

responsible Government and, therefore, I feel deep down at the bottom of my heart that if we are to have responsible Government, and the Congress wants responsible Government, the Congress has faith in itself, in the masses of people, in all those brave military races, and what is more, the Congress has faith also in Englishmen some day doing their duty and transferring complete control to us—we must infect British with that love for India—that love for enabling India to stand on her own feet.”

“If the British people think that we shall require a century before that can be done then for that century Congress will wander in wilderness and Congress must go through that terrible fiery ordeal. It must go through midst of storm, distress, misrepresentation and through midst—if it becomes necessary, and if it is God's will—of shower of bullets.

“This comes because we cannot trust one another; because Englishmen and Indians must look askance at one another.

Safeguards

“That is my fundamental position. I do not want to enter into detail. I put the case as forcibly as I am capable. But if this one thing is admitted I am resourceful enough to submit and frame safeguards after safeguards which will commend themselves to any unbiased mind, provided it is common cause that those safeguards must be in the interests of India.

“But I want to go further and endorse what Lord Irwin has said that although safeguards in the Pact are stated to be in the interests of India, they must be considered—I believe Lord Irwin used my name and said that Mr. Gandhi also said they must be considered—as in mutual interest of India and England.

“I endorse that, I do not conceive of a single safeguard that will be only in the interests of India, not a single safeguard that will not be also in the interests of Britain providing that we contemplate partnership at will, but partnership on absolutely equal terms.

Foreign Affairs

The very reasons I have given you to-day for demanding the complete control of the Army are also reasons for pleading and for demanding control of external affairs. Not being well versed in what is really meant by external affairs in having to plead my ignorance of what is stated in these reports of the Round Table Conference on the subject, I asked by friends Mr. Iyengar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru what was meant by external affairs and foreign relations. I have got their reply before me. They state that the words mean relations with neighbouring powers, with Indian States, with other Powers in international affairs and with the Dominions.

“If these are external affairs, I think we are quite capable of shouldering the burden and discharging our obligations. We can undoubtedly negotiate terms of peace with our own kith and kin, our own neighbours, our own countrymen, and with Indian Princes. We can cultivate very friendly relations with our neighbours, the Afghans and across the seas with the Japanese and certainly we can negotiate with the Dominions also. If the Dominions will not have our countrymen live there in perfect self-respect, we can negotiate with the Dominions.

“It may be talking out of folly, but you should understand that Congress has thousands and tens of thousands of foolish men and women like me and it is on behalf of these that I respectfully

register these claims, again saying that with the safeguards we have conceived we shall literally fulfil our obligations. Pundit Malaviya has sketched the safeguards. With much of what he has said I entirely associate myself, but that is not the only solitary safeguard. If Englishmen and Indians put their heads together sailing in the same direction with no mental reservation whatsoever, it is possible. I submit with every confidence that we should bring into being safeguards which would be honourable alike to India and England and which would be a guarantee for the safety of every British life and every British interest to which India pledges her honour.

“Lord Chancellor, I cannot go further. I tender thousand apologies for taking up the time of this meeting. But you will understand the feeling welling up in me sitting here day after day, thinking day and night how these deliberations can come to a successful issue.”

“You will understand the feeling actuating me, a feeling of absolute goodwill towards Englishmen and a feeling of absolute service to my countrymen.”
—*Liberty.*

St. John Indian Ambulance Brigade

Examination Results

The following members of the First Natal Indian Division of the St. John Ambulance Brigade have passed their four-year (Label) examination:—

Messrs. J. W. Godfrey, H. Maghrajh, O. R. George, G. Lutchman and R. Buddree.

For Medallion: Messrs. K. Samuels, H. J. Meghraj, A. B. Dada, J. B. Chetty, C. Padiachy and N. P. Naidoo.

For Certificate: Messrs. H. S. Singh, W. Baboolal, A. Baboolal, S. P. Singh, A. S. Pillay, C. Munasamy, T. Padayachee, V. S. Naidoo, K. M. Govender, P. O. Reddy, M. Cunden, C. C. Naidoo, L. G. Christopher, G. M. Pillay, R. R. Moodley, R. M. Moodley, A. N. Naidoo, V. N. Govindsamy and R. N. Govender.

There was only one who had failed by a few marks.

ઇન્ડરનેશનલ પ્રીટીંગ પ્રેસ તરફથી છપાઇ પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેલાં પુસ્તકો

	શી. નં.
સત્યના પ્રયોગો અથવા અમ ત્રણ ભાગ ૧	૧ ૬
” ” ” ” ” ભાગ ૨	૧ ૬
નીતિના કાવ્ય	૧ ૦
મારો નેશનો અનુભવ	૦ ૬
મારો નેશનો ખીજો અનુભવ	૦ ૬
મારો નેશનો ત્રીજો અનુભવ	૦ ૬
ઇન્ડિઅન એાપિનિઅનનો સોનેરી અંક	૨ ૦
લોકમાન્ય બાલગંગાધર તીલક તેમના મત અને વિચાર	૦ ૬
મુરખરાજ અને તેના બે ભાઈઓ	૦ ૬
નેશનો કાવ્ય	૦ ૬
પુસ્તકો કમાલ પાસાલું છવન ચરિત્ર	૦ ૬
પુસ્તકો કમાલ પાસાલું બાવણુ	૦ ૬
એક સત્યવીરની કથા (સોકરેટીસનો ખ્યાલ)	૦ ૬
માણસ કેટલી જમીનનો માલિક હોઇ શકે	૦ ૬
હીંદી સ્વરાજ (મીપીએ લખેલું)	૧ ૦