

Indian Opinion

No. 43—Vol. XXX.

Friday, October 28th, 1932

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

WILL THE NEW CONSTITUTION GIVE INDIA SELF-RULE?

(BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND)

THE new constitution for India which the Round Table Conference set out to frame has not yet been completed, but its principal features have been given to the public many times over with considerable fulness and from the most reliable sources, so that one need not hesitate to speak of it with considerable confidence. All the evidences are that it is to be very long, very elaborate, going into extensive details in many directions. Of course, therefore, with our limited space, it is impossible to discuss it as a whole. Nor is it necessary. All that we desire, and all that the object which at present we have in view requires, is to find, if we may, an answer to the vital question; will the new constitution give India self-rule, self-rule in the form of Dominion Status, or any other, or will it prolong her bondage? Is it to be a charter of freedom, or a new and strengthened chain of slavery? Where is the answer to this vital, this fundamental question to be found? Let us see.

Some say it is to be found in the fact of federation; in the fact that the new constitution is to make all India politically one; is to unite British India and the Native States into a single federated government. But what has that to do with question of India's freedom? While some of the freest governments of the world have been federations, some of the worst tyrannies of the world have also been federations. The fact that India under the proposed new constitution is to be a federation tells us nothing whatever as to whether the Indian people are to be free or slave. We must look further.

Some believe the answer to our question is to be found in the promise of the British Government that under the new constitution India is to have an enlarged franchise. Unquestionably an extended franchise ought to make for freedom. But will it in India's case? Whether it will or not evidently depends largely on whether India's elections are to be made general or communal. If, as seems somewhat likely, the new constitution is to make voting communal—each sect and party and community voting by itself, thus creating divisions and ever more divisions, then widening the franchise will be likely to work as much for tyranny as for freedom.

Evidently there is something much more important than either federation or franchise.

Mr. Gandhi, all India and many Englishmen agree that the answer to our inquiry is to be found in those sections of the new constitution called the "reservations" or "safeguards"; that is to say, in

those sections which name certain functions, certain very large and important functions or parts of the new government, which Britain insists on retaining in her own hands—is unwilling on any condition to turn over to the Indian people.

Let us see just what these "reservations" are. The most important of them are the following four:

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

2. Britain is to control India's finances, both Home and foreign. That is to say, in financial matters India is to remain in the absolute power of Great Britain. Of the public revenue of the country Britain is to take all she wants (for the salaries and pensions of British officials serving in India, for the support of Britain's "army of occupation" and for her military and imperialistic undertakings of all kinds) before India is allowed anything for those government expenses which are absolutely vital to the nation's civilised existence, such as education, sanitation, public health and the like. India cannot make a loan without Britain's consent, no matter how much she may need it, but Britain can make loans in India's name to any extent without India's consent, thus raising her national debt higher and higher, a load that is already crushing in its weight. Indian financiers claim that one of the main causes of India's terrible impoverishment has been, and is, Britain's control of her finances. This control has taken many forms and has injured India in many ways. It is affirmed that by changing the value of the rupee and manipulating India's currency in the interest of Britain, and by creating artificial ratios of exchange between India and England the British Government has drained from India untold millions of her wealth. Under the proposed new constitution for India, all this is to go right on.

If Britain's financiers were abler than those of India, or more honest and trustworthy, this might be cited as an excuse. But India denies that either is true. India's leading financiers for the most part are men trained not only in her own universities but also in the best universities of Europe and America. Moreover, they are principally the men who are now actually doing the main work, the most difficult work, the expert work, of managing India's finances. British men hold positions above them in power, honour and pay; but it is nearly always their Indian assistants, managers, secretaries, accountants that do the intricate, elaborate, and really important work. Therefore, there seems no reason whatever for believing that India's finances would suffer if transferred at once to Indian men. This would be justice to India, and no injustice to Britain.

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

Britain's argument for retaining control of the army for a long period is that it is necessary for India's protection. This Gandhi denies, as does practically all India. Let us see the ground for their denial.

For some time past Britain has been accustomed to keep in India a British force of about 60,000 men. A self-ruling India would dismiss these but she would have ample military strength without them. There is a regular well-trained Indian army of from 170,000 to 180,000 men, commanded by British officers. Of course, this army India would retain. In addition to these there are the small armies of the Princes, numbering all together from 25,000 to 30,000. Then, as very important, there is a great body of highly trained and experienced soldiers who served in the World War, and at the close of the war were brought back to India, disarmed and sent to their homes. Their British officers declared these men as brave and as efficient as any of the soldiers of Europe. How many of these are now living and fit for military service is uncertain, but probably not much if any less than half a million. But even if we say a third of a million, this would give India, in all, to-day, at least half a million men, as thoroughly trained and as efficient as any soldiers in the world. The only weakness would be in higher officers, fit to command, for the British Government has hitherto practically refused to allow Indians to be trained for these positions. But this weakness is only apparent, not real, for the Indian Government would, of course, invite the British officers to remain in command until Indians could be trained to fill their places, which good authorities say could be effected in at most two years. It has been declared in certain quarters, that this plan of officering the Indian army would be blocked by the fact that British officers would refuse to serve under an Indian Government. The answer is, British officers are by no means indispensable; there are others from other nations, equally able, who could easily be obtained, say from Germany, France, almost any of the European States, or from America.

Gandhi and his great following believe that a free India, with its peaceful and friendly attitude toward all the world, and belonging as India does to the League of Nations, would be in no danger whatever from any nation. But if danger arises, they believe

that in the strong military resources named above, and in the millions of other able-bodied men who could be called to arms at once in case of need, India has ample military protection.

This is India's answer to Britain's demand to retain military control of the country for an indefinite term of years. India believes that such control is absolutely unnecessary, and that, if attempted, it will be regarded by India as a humiliation and an insult which she cannot and will not endure.

(To be continued)

WHY ARE THERE RESTRICTIONS?

KUNWAR Maharaj Singh the Agent-General of the Government of India in an address to the Durban Christian Service Council in the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church asked a question 'Why is South Africa the only country in which these restrictions exist against Indians? In our opinion the answer to this question is quite simple and easy. First of all the white people of this country and the Union Government are narrow-minded. Secondly they believe that as white people they are superior to any other people or race. Most of them hardly believe that other races or peoples who are not of white descent possess any virtue. Many of them harbour colour prejudice of the worst kind. They are so blind in their selfishness that they never think that other human beings have also a right to live decently. Their intellect cannot believe that black or brown races too have ambitions in their lives. They intend to make this country a white man's country, but they do not know what to do with the Bantu people who outnumber them. No any modern great scientist has yet been able to make any discovery whereby the black skin of a man can be turned into white! If such a discovery had been made the white men of this country will take the opportunity in hand and turn all the black men into white and make this country a white man's country. The European public opinion in this country is so stiff against the coloured people that if any justice-loving white man were to come forward to plead the cause of the coloured man in public he can at once be looked upon with contempt. Hence a very few white men could be found in this country who can dare to take up the cause of justice and right. In this twentieth century such narrow-mindedness and selfishness could be seen anywhere to such a great extent it is here. That is the reason

that this country is classed as a backward country in the eyes of the nations of the East. The white men of this country first of all invited the Indian labourers here for their own selfish purposes. This colony of Natal is turned into a garden colony by the labour of Indians. The progress of sugar and coal industries in Natal is due to their labour. The Indians are here in this country from three generations now. Eighty per cent. of them are born here. Amongst them there are to-day successful merchants, barristers and doctors. There are some who have given all their wealth for the benefit of the community. They have been able to establish their position through their own self-help. If this self-made community is given equal opportunities and equal rights it can give its best quota towards the development of this country. But they have been considered as undesirables in this country. The Agent in his address said that if the Indian population could equally be divided in four provinces of the Union there could be no Indian problem. There are millions of acres of land lying uncultivated in the Union. If Indians are given opportunity for land settlement in all the provinces there could certainly not be an Indian problem. The Indians in the Transvaal Province are living there from nearly half a century. They are only fifteen thousands in number. In comparison to white population they are merely a drop of water in the ocean. In Johannesburg and in other towns they were living and trading wherever they liked. The Union Government by passing the Asiatic Land Tenure Act declared them as undesirables. They would be asked to live and trade in defined areas under this Act. They will be segregated. The Indians protested against this Act. They implored Dr. Malan not to pass such an Act against them. The Agent of the Government of India pleaded before the members of the Select Committee. The second Round Table Conference met. The Indians pleaded their case before Sir Fazli Hussain and Mr. Sastri. They petitioned to the Parliament. They asked to withdraw this bill and give them relief by amending the provisions of the Gold Law. Their appeals and pleadings were all in vain, and finally the Union Government passed the Bill. When the Indians failed in their pleadings they passed a resolution in the presence of the Agent to

passively resist this Act. We have great respect for the Agent. We know that he feels for his countrymen's difficulties in this land. But he has not shown the alternative to the Indian community in the Transvaal. Should they continue to suffer the statutory insults that are levelled against them in his presence?

Plea For Union Indians

Kunwar Maharaj Singh's Speech

"Why is South Africa the only country in which these restrictions exist against Indians? Let me tell you from my own experience that the relations are far better between the two races in those countries where there are no restrictions," said Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent-General for the Government of India, in an address to the Durban Christian Service Council in the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Commercial Road.

"The Indian people who have come here suffer under marked disabilities," he said. "They have no vote; they no longer have the privilege of sending their children to European schools with the European youngsters; nothing is given by the Provincial Council towards the education of Indians; half the Indian community of eligible age does not go to school.

Segregation

"There is almost complete segregation. The European and Indian communities do not meet except for business. On trains, trams, etc., there is complete separation.

"These disabilities are going to be a serious problem. They are the cause of the ill-feeling that exists in India towards South Africa.

"Bring in any contrivance you like to prohibit Indian domination," he went on. "My Government and the Indians here will agree to that. But let your treatment of the Indians be based on a civilisation test.

"Remember that the Indian merchant fills a need in the community that is not met by anyone else. Otherwise why would so many Europeans patronise him?"

The Kunwar pleaded for unemployment relief work for Indians, and had hopes of something being done in this connection. He suggested that a solution of much of their troubles might be found in a more equal distribution of the Indian population between the four Provinces.

"I think that within 15 years we shall see India in the same position in the Empire as South Africa," he concluded.

The Kunwarani Speaks To The Verse-Speaking Association

The attractive lounge room of the Durban College of Music in Florida Road bedecked with flowers for the "At Home" of the English Verse-Speaking Association. The Durban Group of this association is very much alive, judging by the splendid attendance. The fact was commented on by the Rev. Harsum Taylor, the chairman of the association, who welcomed the guest of honour, the Kunwarani Maharaj Singh, whom he opined was the attraction which called forth such an excellent audience.

The Kunwarani gave a short lecture on Indian poetry of the present day, and prefaced her remarks by disclaiming any great capacity for speech-making, and also any deep knowledge of the poetry of her own country. She had, however, had personal acquaintance with Mrs. Naidu and had met Rabindranath Tagore.

On the latter occasion, the poet, at the age of 70, was travelling by air to Persia, and called to break the journey at Jodhpur, where the Rani and her husband were then living. In speaking of Tagore, the Kunwarani said that he was a man of good Bengali family, and that his brothers were also most accomplished either at music or other arts.

A Renaissance

He had not had to struggle for his existence at all, as so many poets had to do, and belonged to cultured, comfortably off people, who were classed with the gentlefolk of her land. When the Rani had met him, he was wonderfully well preserved, but was too exhausted to speak much, as the air trip from Calcutta to Jodhpur was tiring for an elderly man who was making his first long-distance flight.

The tour was in pursuit of the policy which Rabindranath has made his own—that of travelling to other countries to give them a better understanding of India, and he was making it in response to the invitation of the Shah of Persia.

In commenting on modern poetry in India, the Kunwarani expressed the opinion that there had been a Renaissance in India of late years, when India had awoken from the sleepy state of centuries and realised the value of culture and the arts, which some hundreds of years ago were carried to magnificent lengths in that same country.

She believes that pioneer missionaries like Duff and Carey had a great deal to do with awakening this love of the arts. They were big-hearted Christian men who set the country on fire with their ideals and new teachings.

The Kunwarani told the audience, too, that the old style of poetry was edited as it were by the pundits, and had to be in Sanskrit or old Hindi, but that now poets who used modern forms were springing up all over the country.

Tagore had been very influenced by the English poet, Shelley. He himself, however, always dressed in flowing oriental robes and wore a long beard, and firmly refused to imitate Western ways as so many of the younger men had done.

He had started a little school called "The Abode of Peace," on his father's estate, with the object of bringing the people back to simplicity. It was a very beautiful idea, although in the Rani's opinion, and that of many others of her countrymen and women, a little of the virility of the West, in the way sports and games, could acceptably have been introduced.

Mrs. Naidu had visited the Rani in her home, and she had always found her a delightful companion.

Poem Recited

The chairman thanked the Rani warmly for her lecture, and Mr. de Charmoy and Mr. Jones also expressed the thanks of the association with a few

enthusiastic remarks. Mr. de Charmoy said he considered that the Rani herself symbolised in her personality the essence of Indian poetry.

Mrs. Colin Donald (Miss Cicely Low) recited one of Tagore's poems delightfully, and Mr. Louis Kearney sang "Oh, Moon of My Delight." Supper was then served to the members and their friends. Mrs. Barret, the efficient secretary, had organised the "At Home," and she sat next to the Rani, with the chairman, Miss Growse (who was responsible for the formation of the Verse-Speaking Association in Durban), Mrs. Murray and Mrs. Greathead.—*Natal Advertiser*.

The Indian In Natal

Agent's Annual Report

"We cannot really call it an agreement. It is more in the nature of an understanding that could be terminated on either side at any time without previous notice," is quoted as a statement made by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. D. F. Malan, in describing the Capetown Agreement by the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa in his annual report for the year ending 1931, which has now been released for publication.

The then Agent, Sir Kurma Reddi, reviews at length the Asiatic Tenure Act, the Immigration Amendment Act and the Franchise Act.

In Greater Durban

Referring to the Durban Borough Boundaries extension, the Agent states: "In the area that is to be included within the Borough by the new Ordinance there are some 49,000 Asiatics as compared with approximately 19,000 Europeans. The land and buildings of these forty-nine thousand Asiatics will now for the first time be valued and assessed to municipal rates. Half a million pounds will be borrowed by the Durban Town Council for the capital development of the area in which they live. According to the report of the Commission, the primary object to be attained by the expenditure of this money is the improvement of the bad sanitary condition of peri-Durban. This bad sanitary condition is due to the absence of a proper water supply, the lack of a good sewerage system. All these defects are particularly prevalent in Indian areas. The Commission has further given as a reason for the incorporation of peri-Durban the 'deplorable condition' of non-European housing there and the badness of the bye-roads, that is, the roads which run through the main Indian areas. Therefore, Indians are going to be virtually affected by the method of spending the half-a-million already referred to. Yet they will have no voice either in regard to the way this money is spent by the Town Council or in the valuation that is to be made, except in so far as they can exert some influence through the existing Indian vote in the Borough as it now stands.

"Further, under the Boroughs Ordinance no new Indian's name can be added to the roll of municipal voters, so that eventually even this influence must cease to be operative. As matters now stand, therefore, the new Borough Council will control about 66,000 Asiatics instead of 17,000 as at present. But not one Indian voter will be added to the roll. The new Council will represent a far larger Indian population than the old Council represented but it will be less amenable to Indian influence."

In view of this the Agent asked for the grant of the municipal vote for Indians subject to any educational or property qualification that might be deemed necessary to allay any fear of the European

vote being swamped. The Agent also asked that either Indians should be given a chance to elect a member of the Valuation Appeal Board or the Administrator should nominate a member to represent Indian interests. Unfortunately, he adds, the Select Committee did not see its way to give effect to the Agent's demands.

Labour Situation

Interesting reference to the Labour situation in Natal is made by the Agent.

"The class," he observes, "that is suffering from unemployment is that of the urban labourers and miners rather than that of agricultural labourers and small cultivators. The reasons that have led to this state of affairs may probably be grouped under three heads. The first is the 'white labour' policy of the Pact Government, that is, the policy of replacing retiring Asiatics in all branches of Government service by whites. This entails the closing to young Indians of an important avenue of employment. The following figures give two examples of the manner in which this reduction of Indian Government employees has been conducted:—

	June, 1927		June, 1931	
	Cape	Natal	Cape	Natal
Railways	29	1,338	21	804
	Dec. 1927		Dec. 1931	
S.A. Police	108		76	

(all in Natal)

"The second factor is the progressive replacement of unskilled labour by machinery. In Natal the majority of Indian workmen are unskilled, in fact, it was only recently under severe economic pressure that the European began to invade this sphere. In skilled work, in the running of machines or in their manufacture the Indian must be at a disadvantage in comparison with the European owing to his restricted opportunities for obtaining a good technical education. Therefore the replacement of unskilled labour by machinery is bound to increase unemployment among Indians.

"The third factor is undoubtedly the trade depression. This has particularly affected the coal mining industry of Northern Natal where most of the semi-skilled work is performed by Indians. The number of Indians employed by this industry has been reduced from 1,527 in 1926 to 810 in 1931. The Agent toured this area at the end of October and it was clear from what he saw that the reason for the numbers being practically halved in four years was not replacement by white labour or machinery but the depression from which the industry is suffering. There is as yet but little prospect of a revival . . ."

Wage Act And Indians

"It would not be correct to ascribe Indian unemployment in any great measure to recent industrial legislation, that is, to the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and the Wage Act of 1925. These Acts have led to an increase in wages that in some cases may be excessive but there is no evidence that this result has thrown Indians in any large number out of employment and this conclusion has been confirmed by consultation with a big Durban laundry and a tea packing firm, both large employers of Indians and both affected by Wage Board awards. Further, Indians are now beginning to take their place in the unions. All unions now have in theory an open constitution. Though in some of the larger bodies, such as the Typographical Union, Indian influence is at present small, yet the Furniture Workers' Union has an Indian majority and had till recently an Indian secretary. The Natal Liquor and

Catering Trades Employees' Union has an Indian secretary, the arrangement of two parallel branches of European barmen and Indian waiters having broken down owing to the European branch being unable to continue and there is now a joint union. This union has recently concluded two Industrial Council Agreements for the municipal areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, this being the first occasion on which an agreement of this nature was arrived at by an employees' organisation with Indian officials.

"There are three grounds on which the Natal Indians criticise the Government's labour policy. The first is that the Government is weeding out all Government Indian employees, the second is that it is exerting pressure on the municipalities with the purpose of inducing them to replace Indian employees by Europeans and the third is that it is using similar pressure on private firms."

Assisted Emigration

Writing on the assisted emigration scheme, the Agent reports:—

"During the first ten months of the period under review, the number of persons availing themselves of the scheme continued low but during the last two months there was a most remarkable increase. During this period three ships sailed for Madras and Calcutta, on one of them as many as 521 persons embarked. This rush of persons to avail themselves of the assisted emigration scheme alarmed the leaders of the Congress. Probably the main reason for the remarkable increase in the number of assisted emigrants was the acute unemployment among Natal Indians though Congress speakers have also attacked Government policy in this connection. Further, there appear to have been widely spread rumours that the grant of bonus would cease after the conference.

"During the year 1,707 persons proceeded to Madras and Calcutta; 1,307 of these going during the last six months of the year. Further, 254 persons sailed by British India mail steamers to Bombay. Therefore the total number of assisted emigrants during the year amounted to 1,961."

Another Indian Conference

London, Oct. 23.

Details of another Round Table Conference on India were issued yesterday by the India Office.

Thirty Indian delegates have been invited to attend and it is hoped that the Conference will be held about Nov. 15.

Accommodation is not available at St. James's Palace this year and permission has been obtained for the use of rooms in the House of Lords.

Viceroy's Statement

This announcement follows a statement made by the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, to the Indian Legislature on Sept. 5, that in order to place the British Government in possession of the material they require for framing the new Federal Constitution, they had decided to invite a small body of representatives of the Indian States and British India to meet them in London and attempt to reach agreement on the questions outstanding.

The British Government intends to set up a Select Committee to consider the Conference's recommendations before the introduction of a Bill.

A special endeavour has been made to confine the Conference to manageable size, in order to reach decisions in the shortest space of time possible.

The status of the Indian representatives will be the same as at the previous Conference, but in order to expedite the business, the session will be held in private and the agenda will be rigidly followed.

MacDonald To Preside

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will be the official Chairman of the Conference, but it is doubtful to what extent he will be able to preside over it personally.

Aga Khan To Lead Delegation

London, Oct. 28.

Another stage in the efforts of British and Indian statesmen to settle the Indian Constitutional question has been reached by the announcement of most of the names of the Indian deputation to the Conference to meet in London for a few weeks in November in order to continue the work of the Round Table Conference.

The deputation consists of 12 representatives of the Princes and 18 delegates of British India, headed by the Aga Khan, representing all the principal interests, but excluding the Congress Party on account of the civil disobedience campaign.—Reuter.

Counters In G.P.O.

A full court, consisting of the Judge President (Mr. Justice de Waal), Mr. Justice Tindall and Mr. Justice de Wet, to-day heard the appeal in the Supreme Court of the Postmaster-General and the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs against the judgment given by Mr. Justice Barry on July 25, in favour of one, I. G. Rasool.

Mr. Advocate A. A. Roberts appeared for the Postmaster-General and the Minister, and Mr. Advocate I. Ourlouis for Rasool.

Rasool is an Indian residing at Pietersburg. Until December, 1931, Indians were served at the Pietersburg Post Office at the same counter as the Europeans. Natives had always had a separate counter. In December the Postmaster-General ordered the provision of two counters, one for Europeans and one for non-Europeans. Rasool objected to this on the grounds that it discriminated between white and coloured persons, and he contended that, in the absence of statutory provision the Postmaster-General had no power to discriminate. The Postmaster-General refused to withdraw the instructions on the grounds that it was a matter of convenience and that equal facilities were provided at both counters. Rasool asked for a mandamus compelling respondents to withdraw the instructions or to revert to the system in vogue prior to December, 1931.

No Express Authority

In his judgment, Mr. Justice Barry had stated "In the absence of any legislative authority . . . and there being no express authority given to the Postmaster-General to discriminate, he is not entitled to issue instructions to postmasters to set aside separate counters for Europeans and non-Europeans. In the absence of statutory authority the Postmaster-General has no power to discriminate, and the applicant is, therefore, entitled to a mandamus compelling him to withdraw the instructions that he issued to the postmaster at Pietersburg."

"The second respondent, however, will have leave to institute action to have the mandamus set aside, and the costs in the case, and if the action is not instituted within one month from the date of the judgment the second respondent is to pay the costs."

It was against that judgment that to-day's appeal was heard.

Mr. Roberts, in his opening remarks, contended that the method of procedure in the previous hearing should have been by way of action and not by application:

(Proceeding.)

Gen. Hertzog And Devolutionists

A slashing attack on the Natal Devolutionists and General Smuts, whom he averred had "bowed the knee" to the former body, was made by General Hertzog, speaking at the Annual Congress of the Free State Nationalist Party.

Speaking under evident emotional stress, the Premier made it quite clear that in his mind General Smuts's acceptance of the federal resolution of the recent South African Party Congress in Maritzburg represented a craven betrayal of his Party to the machinations of the Devolution League.

Henceforth, the Premier implied, the South African Party must be regarded as the willing tool of the Devolutionists, and as such must be repudiated by every true South African.

There could be no half measures: People must make their choice between South Africa and its freedom on the one hand and General Smuts and his Natal reactionists on the other.

By his action General Smuts had ignominiously "bowed the knee" to the dictates of these Devolutionists, had made their ideals his own Party ideals and had given his undertaking that when his Party was returned to power he would give practical expression to those ideals.

In other words General Smuts had "burned his boats" and had raised the Devolution movement to the dignity of a full fledged political party by incorporating its demand in his own programme of action.

Perverted Outlook

The Opposition Leader would find that he could not go back now, because the Devolutionists in Natal, backed by a group of Parliamentarians whose dictates dominated the South African Party, would demand their pound of flesh and other people with the same perverted outlook throughout the country would had their quota of insistence to that demand.

I look into my heart, said General Hertzog, and I find there is no trace of racial feeling against my English-speaking fellow South Africans. I have nothing but goodwill for them, but I must warn them that this latest development in Natal has precipitated a grave crisis in our national life.

We are at cross-roads, and everyone of us, English and Afrikaans-speaking alike, has got to decide where we stand. I shall go to my South African Party friends, many of whom I know are as national in their outlook and ideals as we are, and I shall say to them that after this latest surrender of General Smuts they cannot be South African Party supporters at the same time.

"They have got to choose, and to choose unequivocally, what it is to be—South Africa or General Smuts and the racial bitterness of Natal."

Which Flag?

Every citizen in this country, he affirmed, will have to cognisance of this matter and will have to decide under what flag he is going to be. No less a question is involved than whether we in South Africa shall, or shall not be, a free and independent nation.

What, asked the Premier, really lurked behind this Devolutionist movement in Natal?

The answer was clear and had been given, not only by the Devolutionists, but by *The Natal Mercury* and its speakers in and out of Parliament. This struggle, they said, was just the latest phase in the long struggle between the British and Dutch for the control of South African affairs.

In other words, what these people were fighting for

was a continuation of the war which ended at Vereeniging 80 years ago. Their aim was to play the "baas" in South Africa.

General Hertzog stated that these same people had at the root of every agitation in the past against South Africa's independent status. They raised their voices in voluble protest when, in 1927, the Imperial Conference defined South Africa's status: they protested against the Statute of Westminster.

"These are the people," said the Premier, "who are openly opposed to the independence of this country and who are looking for the restoration of British sovereignty.

"They do not want our flag. They do not own our nationality and they look with disfavour upon the Afrikaans language. In a word they want nothing so much as a return to the old Crown Colony days."

Cowards

Turning to his audience with a gesture of appeal, General Hertzog demanded to know whether they were going to allow this to happen. Would they allow it even in Natal, where there were so many good Afrikaners? They would be cowards and traitor if they did.

In concluding, General Hertzog said he would stamp out this menace from Natal until it was "stone dead." He would repudiate the Devolutionists and their new found South African Party puppets to his utmost. He expected the people of South Africa to join with him in his crusade against this thinly disguised effort to flch away the freedom of this country and put back the clock of development 80 years.—*Natal Mercury*.

Anti-Asiatic Clause Title Deeds

Asiatic encroachment is among the matters which have been dealt with by the Durban Town Council Sub-Committee considering new legislation.

The Sub-Committee says that the question of the insertion of an anti Asiatic clause in respect of properties within the Borough has come before committees of the Council on more than one occasion, but the difficulty of bringing this about has been the cost of preparing and registering such an agreement, which the Town Solicitors advised in 1930 would probably amount to £10 10s. or £12 12s.

Endorsement Proposal

"The matter," adds the committee, "came before the General Proposes Committee on May 20, 1932, when it adopted a resolution that the Town Solicitors be asked to advise whether a clause could be included in the next draft Ordinance to enable the Council, where application is made by a group of owners in any one district, to endorse the title deeds of such properties with a view to reducing the cost in the preparation of the necessary legal documents.

"At the same time that this resolution was passed councillors had in mind that if a group of owners got together and agreed that their title deeds should be endorsed, it might be possible by means of an Ordinance to provide that the costs for such endorsement would not exceed £1 to 50s. each.

"This latter decision was put to the Town Solicitors, who advise that they doubt very much whether the Provincial Council would pass such a clause as is referred to, in view of the fact that machinery exists whereby the position can be met without resort to legislation."

The Sub-Committee recommends that the Town Solicitors be instructed to prepare a draft clause to make the procedure more simple.

Gandhi To Help Government?

Calcutta, Saturday.

Rapid progress is made with the attempts to bring about communal and political peace in the country. For the first time it can be said the situation is hopeful.

Though at first the intention of the peacemakers, of whom Shaukat Ali is in the forefront, was to concentrate on communal unity there are now bigger possibilities with the object, not without hope, of Congress co-operation.

There has certainly been recently a somewhat dramatic change in the atmosphere throughout the country, with a considerable falling off in agitation, the only black spot being Bengal, where terrorism is still active.

Further strenuous efforts with appeals to the Viceroy are being made to release Gandhi, but the Government's attitude is unchanged. This has led Shaukat Ali to approach prominent Hindus and persuade Congress to call off disobedience.

Gandhi is known to be ardently desirous of peace since his triumphs on the Untouchables question, for he now feels the opportunity is one which should not be missed, though he is still influenced somewhat by the extreme section of Congress. I understand that this is waning and it would not occasion surprise if in the very near future he decides on co-operation with the Government in planning a new India.

Damages And Costs For Professor Lamont

Judgment for £750 and costs was given for Professor H. P. Lamont in the Supreme Court to-day by the Judge-President and Mr. Justice Tindall. The defendants were Frederick Christoffel Kruger Jacobus, Stephanus Petrus Erasmus Jacobus, and Gerhardus Wilhelmus van N. Trichardt, and the judgment was given against them jointly and severally.

Speaking of the book "War, Wine, and Women," the Judge-President remarked: "I cannot see that there was any necessity for the publication of the book at all," and went on to say that the German book "All Quiet on the Western Front" did all that was necessary to point out the horrors of war.

"The action of defendants," he said, was gross and wanton in the extreme, deliberate in its conception and diabolical in its execution. They showed the plaintiff no mercy."

Referring to the passage that had caused the trouble, Mr. Justice Tindall, in a concurring judgment, remarked: "The plaintiff ought to have anticipated that the offending passages would rouse strong feeling."

On the question of defendants taking the law into their own hands because there was no remedy for the slanders on the Voortrekkers and the Ministers, Mr. Justice Tindall said that it would be a sorry day for South Africa if people got the idea into their heads that they could avenge themselves. "If any misapprehension exists on this question," he concluded, "the judgment of the court in the case will remove it."

Report of the All India Colonial Students' Association

Mr. B. D. Vishalbharti (K. E. Hostel, Kamacha, Benares) has published a copy of the report of his association for the year 1932. Before the year 1925 the number of Indian students that came from the colonies to prosecute their studies in India was insignificant. In 1925 a large number of boys and girls arrived from Fiji as a result of the efforts of Sjt. Gopendra Narayan Pathik, who is working as the Headmaster of the Aryasamaj Gurukula in those Islands. There are at present more than fifty colonial students studying in different institutions.

These colonial students are living apart far and wide in distant places like Benares, Alla'abad, Cawnpore, Brindaban, Meerut, Jubbulpur, Dehra Dun, Lahore, Jullunder, Madras and Travancore and, therefore, it is difficult to bring them together. Still a good deal could be done by regular correspondence and occasional meetings. So an effort was made in the last week of December 1928 at the time of the anniversary of the Gurukula Brinaban to start an institution for their physical, intellectual and educational progress. Thus came into existence the Colonial Students' Association that has done some useful service to their cause. The report contains a brief account of the work done. Special mention must be made of the programme of tours taken up by the students who visited Jubbulpur, Dehra Dun, Mussoorie, Kotagarh, Nainital and other places. The social and educational value of these tours cannot be over-estimated.

There is a disquieting paragraph at the end of the report that mentions the fact that a number of colonial students have left India without finishing their education. The resources at the disposal of the association are very meagre and it cannot afford to send timely help to its members in distress on account of their living scattered at great distances. The secretary suggests the opening of a Colonial Students' Home at a central place in India near some educational institution. Benares ought to be the best place for such a Home and the authorities of the Hindu University can do a great service to the cause of Greater India if they take up the suggestion and give it a practical shape. The service that our compatriots in the colonies can render to us in broadcasting the message of Indian culture all over the world will be invaluable and we must try our utmost to keep the connection between India and Greater India intact. It was the shortsighted policy of our ancestors during the mediaeval period that led to the deplorable negligence and consequent loss of our cultural colonies. The colonial students, who come to India for education, will be the connecting link between the motherland and nearly three millions of Indians settled abroad and they, therefore, deserve all the help and sympathy at our hands.

Notice

INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Will employers of Indian labour kindly notify the undersigned of any vacancies in their establishment.

WRITE: Hon. Secretary, Sir Kurma Reddi Unemployment Relief Committee, 175 Grey Street, Durban, or Phone Central 3506.

Maritzburg Reception

To Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Kunwarani

Under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch) a reception will be held in the City Hall, Maritzburg, on Saturday the 29th instant at 8 p.m. in honour of the Agent-General to the Government of India, Kunwar Maharaj and his wife Kunwarani.

Speakers at the reception will include prominent Europeans and Indians. The public is cordially invited to attend.

S. R. NAIDOO,
Hon. Secretary.

BOOKS FOR SALE

NOTE. Remittance should accompany the order. V. P. ORDERS will not receive attention. Postal Orders to be made payable to "INDIAN OPINION" at Phoenix Postage free on all books.

Address:— Indian Opinion,
PHOENIX, Natal.

Mr. Gandhi's Speeches & Writings 1896 to 1917	3 6
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	0 4
The Indians of South Africa by H. S. L. Polak	2 0
The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama	0 6
Hindu Social Ideals by Dr. P. J. Mehta	0 6
A Book—and its Misnomer	1 0
Indian Home Rule by M. K. Gandhi	1 6
Hon. G. K. Gokhale and the Indenture System	1 6
Sankara's Select Works,	3 0
Rabindranath Tagore, A Lecture by C. F. A.	0 6
The Late Mr. Joseph J. Doke	0 9
The Religion of Future	0 6
Story of My Experiment with Truths by M. K. G.	1 6
Jail Diary by Rajagopalachary	2 0
Leo Tolstoy's Letter to a Hindu	0 3

THE GREAT TRIAL OF

Mahatma Gandhi & Mr. Banker.

This book is edited by Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon and contains a Foreword by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. It contains the full report of the Trial of Mahatma Gandhi including Mahatma Gandhi's statement the Judgment and Mahatma Gandhi's reply. It also contains the offending articles for which Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and description of the scene at the Ashram when he was arrested and other interesting subjects dealing with Mahatma Gandhi.

Price Two shillings.

Satyagraha in South Africa

By M. K. Gandhi.

Price 9 Shillings.