

Indian Opinion

No. 43—Vol. XXIII.

Friday, October 23rd, 1925.

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

IS RACE HATRED ESSENTIAL FOR NATIONALISM ?

MR. GANDHI'S ADDRESS IN CALCUTTA

MR. M. K. Gandhi delivered an address on the subject 'Is Race Hatred Essential for Nationalism?' at a meeting held under the auspices of the Meccano Club at the Y.M.C.A. Over-toun Hall. We reproduce below an extract of Mr. Gandhi's address from *Young India* which we have no doubt will be read with very great interest in this country:—

'Is it possible to love one's country and not to hate those who rule over it, whose domination we do not want and dislike from the bottom of our hearts?' was the problem, said Mr. Gandhi with which the younger generation was faced to-day. And the answer given by many, expressed in some cases and secretly nourished in most, was that it was impossible. As a student of the question for over 30 years, the speaker was there to declare his conviction that nationalism was perfectly consistent with the love of those whose rule we did not like. The disabilities with which he had been face to face all these years in South Africa and India were really enough to make one hate his fellow-beings if he did not preserve his sanity. 'Correctly or incorrectly one feels he is subjected to the grossest tyrannies, for no reason but that he is not the same colour as the rulers. How is he then to love those rulers?' was the question. Love being a positive force may be considered out of the question—how could he help hating the tyrant? Illustrations were taken from recent wars and administration of law in civilised societies to prove that hatred seemed to be of the essence of nationalism. Nevertheless it was the grossest of delusions. "So long as a large body of men and women retain that attitude, the progress of this country, the progress of the world is retarded. The world is weary of hate. We see the fatigue overcoming the Western nations. We see that this song of hate has not benefitted humanity. Let it be the privilege of India to turn a new leaf and set a lesson to the world. Is it necessary that three hundred millions of people should hate one hundred thousand Englishmen? That is the concrete form to which this evening's subject can be reduced. In my humble opinion it is derogatory to the dignity of mankind, it is derogatory to the dignity of India to entertain for one single moment hatred towards Englishmen." But it were well-nigh impossible for masses of humanity to eradicate hatred. Transfer then your hatred, said the speaker, from the evil-doer to the evil itself. Hate the evil, but not the evil-doer, was the maxim he would offer them. And in a few sentences burning with noble fervour he declared his creed: "Heaven knows, no one in India, perhaps, can claim better than myself to have spoken as fiercely and as fearlessly of the many misdeeds of English rulers and the corrupt nature of the system under which we are governed. My freedom from hatred,—I would even go so far as to claim for myself individually, my love—of those who consider themselves to be my enemies does not make me blind to their faults. That is no love which is extended simply because of the possession of some virtues fancied or real in the beloved. If I am true to myself, if I am true to

mankind, if I am true to humanity, I must understand all the faults that human flesh is heir to. I must understand the weaknesses of my opponents, their vices, and yet in spite of them, not hate but even love them.....I have not hesitated to call the system of Government under which we are labouring "Satanic," and I withdraw naught out of it. But I know that I shall not deal with it, if I begin to devise means of punishing the evil-doer. My business is to love them and by patient and gentle handling to convert them. Non-co-operation is not a hymn of hate. I know that many who call themselves Satyagrahis or Non-co-operators do not deserve to bear that name. They have done violence to their own creed. Real non-co-operation is non-co-operation with evil and not with the evil-doer." That was, however, not the place to go into the intricacy of that doctrine. It was a law that was applied in all well-organised families and he appealed to them to extend that law in the political field. A father or a son did neither seek to punish or encourage a son or father inclined to do evil, but tried to correct him. Of course there were fathers and sons who under a false sense of love doted on the erring sons or fathers. But he was talking of the 'love that discriminates, love that was intelligent, love which was not blind to a single fault—the love of the reformer.' The moment we realised the secret, that very moment evil would go out of sight.

And he instanced cases in which the reformer's love could play and had played an effective part. It could be applied as between members of the same community, not to speak of different races. There were Hindus who considered untouchability as part and parcel of Hinduism, and quoted scriptures as authority. Were the more enlightened Hindus to hate or cut off the heads of those unenlightened ones? No. The secret was persistent non-violent conduct—or, better still, suffering in one's own person. Vaikam was an instance in point. It was the silent, patient, loving suffering undergone by the young men of Vaikam that had made untouchability in Travancore lose its foothold.

Summing up Gandhiji said. "Suffering then is the secret. Hatred is not essential for nationalism. Race hatred will kill the real national spirit. Let us understand what nationalism is. We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. For my own part I do not want the freedom of India if it means the extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen. I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us to-day that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the provinces, and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love therefore of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be

the whole of the country may die, so that the human races may live. There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism."

A question from Mr. Chapman, the Librarian of the Imperial Library, at the conclusion of the speech, drew a telling reply from Gandhiji. "Was not the insistence on political freedom and political equality on the part of Indians, conducive to race hatred, when Indians themselves were not capable of ruling themselves" was in effect Mr. Chapman's question. "If you have drawn the deduction from what I said that we should tolerate your rule so long as we are not capable of managing our affairs, you are mistaken. We can develop that capacity only by resistance to the system. And may I say that the questioner unconsciously betrayed his own race prejudice when he referred to Indians as incapable of ruling themselves. Underlying that prejudice is the idea of superiority and the conceit that the Englishmen are born to manage the affairs of the world. That is an idea to fight which my whole life has been dedicated. Unless the Englishmen are dislodged from that position there is no peace in India, nor any peace for the weaker races of the earth. It is the absolute right of India to misgovern herself. My heart rebels against and foreigner imposing on my country the peace which is here called '*Pax Britannica*.'"

The President, an Oxford Father, in his concluding speech said that Mr. Gandhi, he had no doubt seemed 'to combine more than any other Indians ardent, fervent, almost militant patriotism, with an entire absence of race hatred.'

Notes and News

IN the course of an interview to a representative of the Associated Press of India at Karachi Mrs. Sarojini Naidu touching on the Indian question in South Africa is reported to have said, she did not believe that the proposed anti-Indian legislation would ever become law. After all South Africa had to maintain her reputation for equity and civilised justice. Mrs. Naidu blamed the Government of India more than any one else for allowing such an injudicious Bill to be brought forward. A year ago she suggested a Round Table Conference to South Africa's political leaders who agreed that it was an excellent practical suggestion. Ever since she had been patiently waiting for the Government of India to act in the hope that they would do the duty towards Indians overseas. She thought a year quite long enough to wait and her next step was to stir up the whole of India to agitate as in Gokhale's time until something was done in the matter. When in South Africa she pledged herself to do her utmost to effect a settlement of the Indian question. She intended to keep that pledge, and if the Government of India did not feel strong enough to protect the interests of Indians abroad, she thought the people of India would at least exhort themselves to the utmost to give both moral and material support to their compatriots in South Africa, in their struggle against injustice and prejudice.

An interesting discussion took place on the "White Australia" policy at a dinner given in honour of the visiting pressmen recently by the State Government at Sydney. The Governor presided over the occasion. Minister Loughlan opened the subject by explaining the policy on which Australia was unanimous and which was not based on any idea of the racial superiority of the Whites, but on the well-known dissimilarity of the whites and the coloureds in feeling, sentiment and other respects. Mr. Arthur Moore of Culloutta is reported to have asked, how from a military point of view Australia could be held

in the event of a war with a strong Asiatic power. In such an eventuality, she would need assistance from outside, and the nearest place for her to appeal to, would be India, the country, whose people, she would not admit in peace time. India would, of course come to her aid and it might turn out that the danger to Australia did not come so much from inside as from outside, which was worth remembering in connection with immigration.

There has been felt for some time a sense of indignation at the statue of Lord Lawrence in Lahore which bears the inscription: "Will you be governed by the pen or the sword." The removal of the statue was urged by the public but the Government, as it is usual for them to do in practically every matter, totally ignored the voice and feelings of the public and the statue has since been very carefully guarded. Notwithstanding however, according to a Reuter's message from Lahore, some person has had the courage of replying to the above inscription that "We will neither be governed by the pen nor the sword," by removing the pen held in the fingers of the left hand of Lord Lawrence's statue and half of the sword from the right side.

A mass meeting to protest against the Asiatic Bill is to be held under the auspices of the Maritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress at the Maritzburg Town Hall on Saturday evening the 21st instant at 8 p.m.

A general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held last Monday evening at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, Durban, to elect the Natal delegates for the South African Indian Congress to be held in Capetown in November. Mr. J. W. Godfrey was in the chair. It was decided on a proposal by Mr. S. R. Naidoo to authorise the Congress Committee to elect the delegates.

An unusual number of deaths took place during the last week end among prominent Indians. The first death was of the young son Yusuf of Mr. A. C. Jadwat of Isipingo who passed away after a very long illness. The same day the death took place of the aunt of Mr. P. R. Pather the jt. hon. treasurer of the Natal Indian Congress. On Sunday morning the death took place of the second son of Mr. Ismail Gora of Durban who had just recently arrived from India. All these funerals were largely attended. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved.

We also note with regret the death of the wife of Mr. Devi Dayal in India. Mr. Devi Dayal is the brother of Pandit Bhawani Dayal and was expected shortly to return from India and Pandit Bhawani Dayal was awaiting his brother's return in order that he may himself proceed to India. This unexpected calamity has however interrupted their programme. We extend to Mr. Devi Dayal our deepest sympathy in his very sad loss.

Prominent among the passengers sailing by the s. s. *Karagola* which leaves on Monday morning is Dr. R. M. Nanjee the well-known Doctor of Durban. Though Dr. Nanjee has not of late taken a prominent part in public matters he has always shown a keen interest in the welfare of the community and his advice at times has been very useful. Dr. Nanjee was one of the closest friends of the late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, and both Dr. and Mrs. Nanjee had attended Mrs. M. K. Gandhi during her serious illness by very generously taking her in their home in 1910 when the passive resistance struggle was at its height and the leader Mr. Gandhi was also imprisoned. Dr. Nanjee will be missed by many of his friends in Durban. We wish him a very pleasant voyage a safe return.

Concerning Freedom

(BY L. W. R.)

THE way to liberation is the same for a people as an individual. Since bondage is the result of ignorance—of mistaken thoughts, desires and actions the only path to freedom is the dispersal of ignorance by the light of true knowledge and by conduct that is wise instead of foolish. A man may be physically a chattel—slave yet freer far spiritually than his owner. The slave owner may be free of movement physically, yet spiritually more a bondsman than his slave. The darkest ignorance is perhaps the ignorance that results in wrong discrimination.

For instance, the appetite for worldly power and domination has filled the pages of history with record of the struggles of tribes and nations. Yet we see that even when attained the possessions so hardly won have proved to be impermanent. The unreal mistaken for the real, the shadow mistaken for the substance, goes the way of all things perishable. Forces misdirected through wrong discrimination produce the results sought, the fruits, however, commence to rot almost before they are gathered and the inevitable reaction upon their source of the forces generated and expressed bind the peoples from which they emanate and the oppressor becomes the oppressed and learns wisdom.

The temptation to focus human energies so as to achieve results that are tangible and concrete by tangible means, by the employment of physical force that is, is instinctive and difficult to resist.

The fruits that are tangible and concrete do seem to be so substantial, so real; physical force methods do seem to produce manifest results, so that to abandon both for the spiritual calls for the presence and exercise of a high degree of discrimination born of assimilated knowledge that is sometimes called Faith.

Yet it is just towards this that human experience tends; to learn this lesson and assimilate the wisdom so acquired that lives are lived—the lives of units called men and of larger units called peoples. This I believe, to be the moral that Mahatma Gandhi is trying so patiently, by example as well as by precept, to bring home to the people of India. His success may mean the world's redemption; it will certainly mean India's spiritual supremacy and leadership in things that alone matter.

Indian Press On South African Indian Question

The *Hindu* (Madras) in the course of a leading article on "The New Menace in South Africa" criticises the Union Government's Asiatic policy as follows:—

"A man meets his enemy, gives him a severe slap on his face and coolly tells him that he is prepared for a compromise. General Hertzog's Government introduces a most provocative and reactionary measure in order to render the life of the Indian more miserable than it is and tells this country through the Minister of the Interior that the door is still open for negotiation. If the Union Government places this outrageous Bill on the Statute Book, it means war, not negotiation. It is now clear why the South African Government has been delaying to reply to the suggestion of the Government of India regarding a Round Table Conference. Dr. Malan has been preparing a measure which, according to his conception, should be the last word in the science of extermination by starvation. Before he entered into a talk with India, he desired to tighten the

screw on the Indian to such an extent as to impart an appearance of moderation to the decision arrived at after negotiation. Indians have now, say, sixty grievances in South Africa, and want some settlement of the points at issue which would reduce this number. Dr. Malan is, however, an adept in the political game and he is now consciously increasing this number to ninety-nine, so that ultimately, after compromise, the number may be reduced from ninety-nine to, say, eighty. While the net result, when compared with the existing situation would be intolerably bad, the Union Government would be able to tell the world that they were reasonable and wanted to redress the just grievances of Indians and that they were astonished at their own moderation."

In the end our contemporary asks:—

"In the face of this relentless policy, will the Government of India tell the public what steps they propose to take to defend the helpless community which is threatened by slow but sure death? It appears to us that after this gesture on Gen. Hertzog's part, there could be no more talk of a Round Table Conference from this side. That stage, if it ever existed, has long ago gone past by. Neither is there any further room for representations and protests. If the Government in India represented the people in a real sense, South Africa would not have dared to behave in the fashion it has been doing. The Union Government know that Indians are helpless, that the Reciprocity Act is lying idle, that India is not even bold to levy a countervailing duty on Natal coal. They realise that while Great Britain would not interfere in the affairs of a self-governing Dominion, she dare not countenance any retaliatory measures in India in view of the complications which would result in South Africa. India is thus between the devil and the deep sea, owing to the studied indifference of the Government which is alien. It is not surprising in the circumstances, that there is a movement in South Africa to revive the passive resistance struggle. Lord Hardinge sympathised with it; will Lord Reading follow that noble example?"

Mombasa Indian Association

Supports South Africa

The hon. Secretary of the Indian National Association, Mombasa, communicates to us the following:—

A mass meeting of the Indians of Mombasa and Kilindini was held to-day under the auspices of the Indian National Association to protest strongly against the "Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill" that is going to be brought for the second reading in the South African Union Parliament. Mr. R. M. Shah explained the purport of the Bill reading a telegram sent by the President of the Natal Indian Congress to India. He explained how far the Bill affected the position of the Indians there, and showed in conclusion how the bill was directed towards the total expulsion of the Indian community from the South African territories.

The following resolution was then moved by Mr. D. B. Desai and seconded by Mr. M. A. Parakh and passed unanimously:—

"This mass meeting of the Indians of Mombasa and Kilindini held under the auspices of the Indian National Association strongly protests against the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill now before the South African Union Parliament and further urge the Indian as well as the Imperial Governments to use their utmost influence in preventing that Bill from being passed."

The Marks Of Christianity

Bishop Fisher's Sermon

Continued from page 265

We Christians do not believe in marks. In many ways we do not believe in divisions. We object to have ourselves marked in any way, then we must have our distinctions in spirit and in our lives. You and I must have the mark in our spirit. Jesus said 'Behold my hands' and Paul said 'I bear in me the marks of the Lord Jesus.' What are the marks of the Lord Jesus? So far as I can see there were three, the spear-point in the side, thrust by a soldier near the heart to see whether the blood as it gushed forth, would be blood and water, signifying death. He had a second mark of nail prints in his hands and feet, the prints of the Cross, and in the third place the marks of the thorn wounds on His brow. Just three distinguishing marks upon the body of Jesus, and after His resurrection everyone knew him by those marks. It is the most effective preaching in the world; it is the only preaching in the world. I might preach to you from the pulpit, but if on Monday I did not bear about me the marks of the Lord, all my ideals are naught if I do not believe and live in them. My preaching would be a mockery. Did I bear a sword print in the side? It signifies sympathy. We say our sympathies are from the heart, then this spear-print beside the heart of Jesus causes sympathy to gush forth, love and understanding to gush forth. Sometimes I think we are all too unconscious of the need the world has for sympathy. We are all busy preparing houses for ourselves and we are all busy preparing economic conditions to be of advantage to ourselves, we are all busy thinking of our own families. We are busy thinking of ourselves. We want to see to-day that we live well. We want to see that certain opportunities come to us. We are not anxious to die. We are not anxious to have some man nail us to the Cross and say 'there goes a self-denying Christian, that man has nothing, behold him.' As a matter of fact we shrink from that type. We would rather have a man of whom it is said 'that is his house and his possessions' We are eager to acquire, but we are not so eager to serve or die. Sometimes I think we are not conscious of the sufferings of the world. Sometimes we are not conscious of the slums of the world. We are not conscious of the struggles of the world. We do not see. We are eager to live our own lives and to forget the need of sympathy and sometimes the worse the condition is, the more it drives us away from it. We must feel with Florence Nightingale, who, when she looked upon a wound, bound it up. That is the spirit we must foster. Our sympathies are not enough even if we have the sympathy I think we have. Sometimes it is because we do not have the knowledge of the world's suffering, but even if we have, we do not have the sympathy for it. We have to have the nail-prints in the hands that serve and work, the print in the feet to bring relief, to bring all sorts of kindness to bear upon the open wounds of the world. We shall never be satisfied with sympathy alone. We shall have to have not only the mark in the side but the nail-print in the hands and feet, and we shall have to have these thorn-prints in our brow. I should say the thorn-print in the brow would typify faith. Faith is the instinct of victory. Sometimes if we look at our problems we look pessimistically. We do not have that Christian attitude that leads us to believe that Jesus Christ is able to win the victories if we will but trust and follow the instinct of faith. Let problems come and solve them in the Christian way. Have the difficulties, but have that attitude of life that will make victory possible in spite of it all. The spear-prints in the side typify sympathy for

the needs of man. The nail-prints in the hands, service following sympathy, the thorn-prints on the brow, faith, faith in the destiny of man, faith in the outcome of the world, faith in the redemption of promises through God, plunging into it not in the spirit of fatalism, but of dynamic Christian faith. If the world could see in us these three marks we would not need prints upon our forehead, nor a particular dress. Henceforth no man would bother us, because he would see that we bore about in us the marks of our Lord. If I had the power this morning I would walk up and down these aisles and I would place upon your foreheads the thorn-prints of faith and I would stamp upon your hands the nail-print of the Cross, but I have not the power. Only Christ can stamp your life with His image and likeness and I pray that to-day He will mark mine and yours.

Hindu Tamil Institute

Annual Prize Distribution

A very brilliant function took place last Sunday afternoon at the Rawat's Bio Hall, Durban, the occasion being the Annual Prize Distribution of the Hindu Tamil Institute. The Hall was fully packed which was a proof of the keen interest taken in that Institution. There were very interesting dialogues and songs by the children both boys and girls and one of the most interesting items was the Merchant of Venice staged by the children in the vernacular. This was indeed far too advanced for the children who performed it and yet it was amazing how wonderfully well they performed it. On the whole every item was interesting and well performed which was creditable not only to the children but also to the teachers. The only defect that should be taken note of for future precaution was that the proceedings were made too lengthy which caused a great deal of unnecessary and undesirable strain on the children. The children however were too lively to feel the fatigue, in anticipation of the prizes they were to get.

Mr Godfrey spoke in eulogistic terms of the Institution and those responsible for conducting it and paid a special tribute to the teachers who had trained the children so well. The speaker urged the necessity of helping such a useful Institution financially and otherwise and a collection being made on the spot brought a little over £10 within a few minutes.

A report was submitted by the head teacher of the school and Mrs. J. W. Godfrey also addressed the gathering in the vernacular on the necessity of educating our children.

Prizes and refreshments were then distributed to the children and the enthusiastic function which commenced at 2 p.m. terminated at 7 p.m.

Somerset East Indians

The following donations have been sent from the Indian Society of Somerset East (C.P.) to the Natal Indian Congress and to the Das Memorial Fund in India —

	N.I.C.	Das Mem Fund
Mr Krishnasamy (Chairman)	0 2 0	0 2 9
„ K. T. Gajjar (Vice-Chairman)	1 1 0	2 2 9
„ Govindasamy (Jt Secretary)	10 6	0 5 6
„ Lalbhai Jerambhai (Treasurer)	1 1 0	2 0 9
„ Karabhai Bhanabhai Member	1 1 0	
„ Heerabhai Bhanabhai „	10 6	0 11 3
„ Makanbhai Kushabhai „	10 6	0 11 3
„ Jerambhai Nanabhai „	0 10 6	0 11 3
„ Himatlal K. Gajjar „	10 6	0 15 3
„ Karabhai Govindbhai „	0 5 6	7 0 9
	6 3 0	