

# Indian Opinion

No. 32—Vol. XXV.

Friday, August 12th, 1927.

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

## MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH AT ESCOMBE BEFORE A EUROPEAN AUDIENCE

**S**PEAKING to a crowded European audience at Escombe on July 28, Mr. Sastri made a stirring plea for mutual toleration and asked his audience to regard the problems with which they were confronted and which they were seeking to solve from the wider viewpoint of the British Commonwealth. Amid applause he said that wherever the Union Jack flew it encouraged the free sympathies of people and had brought peace, contentment and goodwill. He was not, he said, going to settle the Indian problem. That was their business. They were the people to settle the problem. He was in South Africa to take a humbler part in the matter if he were allowed to do so. They would remember not many months ago a very drastic remedy seemed to meet with the approval of great numbers amongst them and it led to the initiation of legislative measures of a correspondingly drastic character against Asiatics in general and Indians in particular. The Capetown agreement arrived at last January between the representatives of India and those of this country hit upon a solution which was a sort of compromise, which sought to attract the same end by means less drastic than those suggested. In consequence the contemplated bills were withdrawn. The remedy proposed was two-fold—in the first place by an approved system of assisted emigration, the Indian population was to be reduced considerably, so that the problems were brought within limits of managability. Then, seeing that the more backward part of the community were no longer here, the people of this country undertook, according to the agreement, by a process of upliftment, to help those people left here to become proper citizens of the sub-continent, and to fit them in with the South African order of things. He had no wish to enter into local politics even if he had necessary knowledge, but he understood that the Indian question and the Cape Town agreement and legislation recently passed to carry it out, had all been treated as non-party questions, he could not bring himself to believe that the desire of the people of this country was to put themselves into opposition with another part of the Empire.

It is the moderate man's point of view that prevails in the long run. In regard to this agreement I appeal to you to look at things from this point of view. However diffident you may feel let me appeal to you as citizens of the same Commonwealth to look at the question from the point of view that takes in the whole of South Africa and then the British Commonwealth. It does not affect India and South Africa alone. Any solution that you might reach will affect very much larger interests than those of Natal although I will not deny that you are concerned very much more than other people. Very often however indirect results are far more important than direct results. Remember that this is the first agreement concluded between different parts of the Empire without the intervention and assistance of Great Britain herself. (applause). Before one part of the British Empire has always treated with another part of the British Empire through the London authorities. For the

first time they have stood aside and South Africa and India resolved that they should sit round a table together and arrive at a solution. That solution has now been put forward and I appeal to you to consider this matter as one affecting the whole of the British Commonwealth. Consider the departure as on its trial. Hereafter, if we succeed in this agreement it will be compitent not only for South Africa and India but any two parts of the British Empire to settle their disputes between themselves and it is necessary, it seems to me to establish such a precedent. You are a self-governing nation and from all accounts as nearly equal to Great Britain within this Commonwealth. India does not possess this status but we believe, we have faith that we are also marching towards the same goal which you have reached already. It behoves us therefore to see that the experiment begun under these auspices is attended by such success that in the future its example will be followed all through the British Commonwealth. Moreover you have always to remember that the British Commonwealth—excuse me bringing up that point again and again but I am asking you to look at this problem from its chief aspect—the British Commonwealth stands in the world for certain high ideals far which other political organisations are not fitted. The British Commonwealth is composed of a variety of races, a variety of cultures and a variety of civilisations. The British Commonwealth has so far established a political supremacy over other political empires by being able to hold all these differing factors together in bonds if not of actual love at least in bonds of mutual tolerance and forbearance. Its great merit is that it recognises the great principles of fair-play and justice in an even-handed manner between people and people between race and race. It does not seek at any time to trample the principles, or the wishes, or the self-respect of any one of the numerous communities saluting the Union Jack. (applause). It gives them in so far as the suzerainty of Great Britain will allow free scope for individual characteristics. Whether in religion, social life, or even in the ways of economic prosperity Great Britain has allowed subject people to develop their own characteristics. (applause). The Union Jack wherever it flies has brought peace and good-will. Its high principles are recognised through-out the world and I hope that nothing will be done in South Africa or in Natal which will make any peoples whatsoever desirous of getting away from the protection of the Union Jack. I hope that whatever is done, whatever course is taken you will always proclaim to the world that those outside the Union Jack had better come under it. (At this stage there was some interruption.) "If my friend had not interrupted me at that time" proceeded Mr. Sastri, "he would have heard me pass on to another aspect of the question. (applause) I shall only say before passing on that we in India know no other flag. (applause). We have only got the Union Jack. Now, ladies and gentlemen, a great deal is at stake if a wrong solution of this problem is reached and a solution based upon justice and fairplay is avoided

for nothing is as terrible for the people to look forward to as the prospect of a struggle between continent and continent, between race and race, between the different colours amongst humanity. More than one observer is frightening us with the prospect if the present order of things continues of there being a world war. Whether that prognostication is wise or unwise it is not for a very small person like me to examine but some of the best thinkers of the time have discussed how we may best avert such a calamity. It appears to me who have seen some parts of the world that the greatest protection lies within the British Commonwealth. It is here that the most contrasted civilisation comes together and here that there is something which enables us to overcome the difference in practical politics in a spirit of mutual good-will. Now what a mistake it would be if a wrong turn were taken within this British Commonwealth, if we do anything which will accentuate this difference in politics instead of composing them as much as possible. The Capetown agreement seeks by means of a compromise to abridge these differences to help us to look forward to a time when these differences will have totally disappeared. You are invited to consider the Indian population living here as co-citizens of the same political system. At the present moment I am to speak to you only about the agreement and what it includes. Anything beyond the agreement I am not commissioned or authorised by the Government of India to mention and I have no desire to open ground already spoken about. The agreement deals with two or three matters of the greatest consequence to the Indian community here. I will not deal with all of them but deal with those of them of the greatest possible moment. That is the requirement that every provincial administration should conduct an enquiry into the conditions of education in the Indian community in their province. For, although the agreement was concluded between the Government of India and the Union Government the matter of education and sanitation have come to be entirely a provincial discharge. In connection with this arrangement the Union Government has only promised to recommend this course to the provincial administrations. That course to be taken is one of the things to be done here in Natal and it devolves upon you to see that that agreement is carried out. Now this inquiry into education will take a long time to complete the work and it will be a long time before any perceptible difference may be detected. It is necessary, however that there should be as little delay as possible I know that the Provincial administration can do nothing which requires the expenditure of money without being fairly sure of the support of the provincial council. Now the provincial legislative council will act only in accordance with the opinion of the province and I trust that this opinion will be given along the lines, the guiding lines, of the agreement. That is the appeal that I desire to make to this audience. You who are the electorate must see to it that your opinion is stated that the commission of inquiry to be appointed by the province to look into Indian education receives your support. I am not in possession of all the facts and it will be some-time before I master that part of the question but

you are living in daily contact with the facts of the question and you will realise the necessity of the necessary steps being taken at once. In India there is a certain scepticism in regard to this agreement. As you know it is best that this agreement starts with the good-will and cordial support of both communities. You know there are people everywhere who will not easily pass from one idea to another unless taken by main force through the process. It is necessary to convince those people of the good which will be wrought by this "gentleman's agreement" of Capetown. This conviction you will agree, it is necessary to produce without delay. It is in your power to bring about that consummation, the appointing of an education commission to enquire into the conditions of Indian education in this province.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there are certain other subjects included in the agreement, one for instance deals with the housing conditions of the Indian community, another deals with trading licenses, yet another with the position created by the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wages Act. Although these are important it is not my purpose to deal with them in my address to you now. All that I desire is to see the agreement started in fair effort. If you concern yourselves with the appointment of the commission I referred to it seems to me that you will have done all we can expect you to do in the immediate future for the Indian community.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you have the political power. The Indian community lost the political franchise two or three years ago. They are therefore entirely in political bond to you—they are in fact your subjects. They have no part or letter in determining any point. You are the arbitrators of their destiny. It is not right for me to remind you of the righteous principles of the British Commonwealth? You are mostly British in this province and there are certain ways in which you can use your political power. Before the Capetown agreement there was a great danger that the political power might have been used as it should not have been used. But after the agreement was brought about it seems to me that a new spirit began and I am loath to believe that it will again lose ground in Natal or in other parts of South Africa. I believe that its just here that the word "cricket" will be understood, that here there will be even-handed justice and fair-play of which the British Commonwealth is but a synonym. (applause). I have come to the end of my remarks. My wish is to further the good-will between our peoples. Far be it from me to say anything that will prevent that happy consummation. If I have erred in that direction believe me it is owing to an inability to express my thoughts and not at all to a desire to be offensive in any way (applause). I desire solely to understand you and if possible, to beseech you to understand me (applause).

Mr. Sastri addressed an exclusively European audience at Maritzburg on Thursday on "South Africa, India and the British Empire." He also addressed the Rotary Club at their fortnightly lunch at the Imperial Hotel.

## Notes and News

THE Indian community joins South Africa in welcoming a distinguished visitor to this land in the person of Mr. L. M. S. Amery the Secretary of States for the Dominions and Colonies. Mr. Amery comes here to study at first hand the conditions prevailing in this country and to meet its public men on the spot, in order that on his return he would be more useful both to his own Government and the partner Governments with which he has to deal.

A very interesting point in regard to the definition of Indian immigrant seriously affecting especially the colonial-born Indians was raised in a test case in which the Directors of the Eagle Cabinet Works, Limited were charged under the Wages Act in the first Criminal Court, Durban for underpaying their Indian workers. Mr. W. Burns Assistant Protector of Immigrants, when cross-examined for the defence, stated that descendants of Indian immigrants, although born in Natal, were regarded as being Indian immigrants for the purpose of the quarterly returns. Judgment in the case which was reserved will be awaited with great interest by the Indian community.

We reproduce elsewhere in this issue a memorandum addressed by Councillor Kemp to the Durban Town Council in connection with the Indian Agreement in which he asks the Town Council to enter into official communication with the Union Government and the Agent of the Government of India in connection with Indian housing conditions provided for in the uplifting of the Indian community Clause (2) (c). If Mr. Kemp wishes to wear a feather in his cap for being instrumental in calling the Round Table Conference we will not begrudge him doing so. But in fairness we should remind Mr. Kemp that it was long before Mr. Kemp came on the scene that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu made the first suggestion of a Round Table Conference and it was repeated later by Mr. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary under the Labour Government, when he visited South Africa. Mr. Kemp's desire to see that the Agreement is honoured in every way in so far as Durban is concerned will indeed be appreciated by the Indian community. A first step in that direction would be to support the Agent of the Government of India in his move to improve the educational conditions of the Indian community which forms the first part of the uplifting clause of the Agreement referred to by Mr. Kemp. He has perhaps forgotten to refer to it in his memorandum. In view of the fact that Mr. Kemp is desirous, of honouring the Agreement he will no doubt correct his mistake and do everything in his power to assist in the fulfilment of the first part of the clause before proceeding to the second.

A serious charge was made against Indian tailors in the *Natal Advertiser* dated August 8, by Mr. Admund Weston, a partner in the firm of Messrs Weston Bros, of the Cloth Hall, West Street. Among other things Mr. Weston said: "a point which might be noted by those who deal with Indian tailors is that in many cases the suits are made under the most unhygienic conditions and with sweated labour, and should disease be about infection may be readily transmitted from the maker of the suit to its wearer." It is easy to make an assertion but it is difficult to prove it and Mr. Weston might find it difficult, if put to the test, to prove his assertion. Is that assertion not made perhaps to scare the European customers away from Indian tailors? But assuming it to be true in some cases it only points to the need

of more vigilance on the part of sanitary inspectors and above all to the improved facilities for education among Indians.

We have received a cable message from Mr. C. F. Andrews in which he wishes us to convey his love to all.

### "CART BEFORE THE HORSE"

MR. Sastri's move in the direction of improving the facilities for education of the Indian community in accordance with Clause 1 under the heading "the uplifting of the Indian community" in the Agreement which reads *inter alia* that, "in the provision of educational and other facilities a considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people," and Clause 2 (a) which provides, "in view of the admittedly grave situation in respect of Indian education in Natal," for the appointment of a Provincial commission of inquiry and for obtaining the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such inquiry, is described by the *Natal Mercury* as putting the cart before the horse, and it suggests that Mr. Sastri should leave the question of education in abeyance and jump on to the second part of the Clause dealing with sanitary and housing conditions. Our contemporary was satisfied with Mr. Andrews when he said that the question was one of better housing and better education. But when Mr. Sastri took up one of the two questions, namely, the question of education our contemporary blamed Mr. Sastri for giving a more political edge to the Indian demands. Now Mr. Sastri has not alluded to the political question at all, and, in fact, he has stated most emphatically on more than one occasion that he is going to stick to the four corners of the Agreement. One would like to know, in the circumstances, what precisely is in the mind of our contemporary. Would it like the matters contained in the Agreement to be dealt with all together? Mr. Sastri is of course taking it step by step and that is as far as one could expect Mr. Sastri or anyone to go. Does our contemporary fear that if Indians be given better facilities for education they might become educated and claim equal political rights? If that is so then that will be another problem which will require another round table conference to decide! But if the real grievance against the Indian is that his standard of hygiene

and sanitation is lower than that of the European then that could be improved only by bettering their standard of education. It is up to those that agree that the Capetown Agreement is a "Gentleman's Agreement" and that desire to honour that Agreement to give their fullest support and assistance in the fulfilment of every one of its clauses. But the *Natal Mercury* has not a word to say in support of the very first step taken strictly in accordance with the very first clause of the Agreement, and has actually come out to dictate to the Agent of the Government of India to leave all his activities in connection with the first part of the clause and to jump on to the second part, just because that is to its liking. Apart from the wisdom or otherwise of it there is certainly a smell of insincerity in such an attitude and we will leave it to the reader to judge whether it is Mr. Sastri that is putting the cart before the horse or whether it is not the *Natal Mercury* that is trying to do so in the present instance.

## Arrival of Pundit Bhawani Dayal Message From Mrs. Naidu

We welcome Pundit Bhawani Dayal who comes amongst us with a further title of Sanyasi on this occasion. Pundit Bhawani Dayal it will be remembered was one of the members of the South African Indian Congress Deputation that went to India in connection with the Areas Reservation Bill. Pundit Bhawani Dayal arrived by the *Khandalla* last Wednesday and was received by the officials and members of the Congress and was given a welcome reception at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall the same evening. The Pundit has brought with him a message from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu which reads as follows:—

Dear friends,— I am sending you this message of my affection by the hand of Bhai Bhawani Dayal who is returning to South Africa after a long and severe illness to continue his labour of love among the poor brethren of the community on whose social and moral uplift and advancement so much of the future of the Indians in that country depends.

I would urge you once more, as I used to so often when I was in your midst, to feel and think and act with one heart, mind and strength; to be perfect in your unity in all struggles and demands and undertakings. I would urge you again to look on yourselves as true and responsible citizens of South Africa with equal right and duties in that beautiful land which has for so many generations been your real motherland.

The highest token of love you can place towards India, your old ancestral country, is by devoting your best energies and talents in making a fine moral and intellectual and economic contribution to the prosperity and progress of South Africa itself.

This can only be achieved by wide-spread education among every section of the Indian community and by the recognition of the common brotherhood that binds every Indian whether colonial born or Indian born irrespective of his status, vocation, creed or capacity. Every Indian should consider

himself his brother's keeper and the guardian of India's honour in South Africa. I hope that you will all give Mr. Srinivasa Sastri your loyal and loving co-operation in his difficult and delicate task on your behalf and interest. Your unity would be his chief source of encouragement and his best authority to speak and act in your name. I send to each of you and all of you my love and friendship.

Your affectionate friend and president,

SAROJINI NAIDU

## Capetown Agreement and Housing

### Councillor Kemp's Memorandum

The following memorandum in connection with the Indian Agreement and its provisions in their relation to Durban has been addressed to the Town Council by Councillor H. H. Kemp:—

"With reference to the agreement between the Governments of the Union and of India, as the result of the round table conference initiated more or less on my motion in the Durban Town Council on April 20, 1925, and as it is in my opinion desirable that that agreement should be honoured in every way so far as Durban is concerned, I wish to draw the attention of the Town Council to that portion of the Agreement which deals with the uplifting of the Indian community Clause (2) (c) which indicates that the Union Government is willing '(c) to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into the sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban which will include the appointment of an advisory committee of representative Indians.

"On my suggestion in February, 1924, and with the aid and assistance of the late Dr. Ross, the then Chairman of the Local Association, the Town Council undertook a close investigation into the sanitary and housing conditions of the Indian community at South Coast Junction and Sea View. The result showed an appalling state of affairs. In other areas, on the outskirts of the Borough, I have noted similar conditions, and quite apart from the question of the extension of the Borough boundaries and all that, which I trust will be dealt with at the Council meeting on Aug. 22, 1927, I think that the Town Council should enter into official communication with the Union Government and the Agent-General of the Government of India with a view to implementing the section of the Agreement referred to above."

## Durban Town Council Committees

The standing committees of the Durban Town Council, which constitute, in effect, the internal machinery for the management of the town, were appointed at a meeting of the Council-in-Committee on Tuesday afternoon, the Mayor (Mr. H. L. Buzard) presiding.

Following is the personnel of each committee, the Mayor being an ex officio member of all standing committees:—

**FINANCE COMMITTEE.**—Mr. John Williamson (chairman), Mr. F. H. Acutt (vice-chairman), Mrs. Siedle, Mrs. Benson, Messrs. T. Burman, A. Eaton, H. H. Kemp, J. Hutt, A. L. Clark, M. Cornelius, and the Rev. A. Lamont.

**GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE.**—Mr. T. Burman (chairman), the Rev. A. Lamont (vice-chairman), Mrs. Knight, Dr. H. E. Arbuckle, Messrs. P. S. McNamee, W. Wanless, O. Lea, A. L. Clark, H. R. Wiggins, and F. H. Acutt.

**PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE.**—Mrs. Siedle (chairman), Mrs. Benson (vice-chairman), Mrs. Knight, Dr. H. E. Arbuckle, Messrs. H. H. Kemp, P. S. McNamee, and W. Wanless.

**WORKS COMMITTEE.**—Mr. John Hutt (chairman), Mr. O. Lea (vice-chairman), Mrs. Benson, Messrs. M. Cornelius, A. Eaton, H. R. Wickins, and F. H. Acutt.

**ELECTRICITY COMMITTEE.**—Mr. A. L. Clark (chairman), Mr. A. Eaton (vice-chairman), Mrs. Siedle, Messrs. M. Cornelius, H. R. Wickins, A. Lamont, and P. S. McNamee.

**MARKETS ABATTOIR AND NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE.**—Mr. M. Cornelius (chairman), Mrs. Knight (vice-chairman), Mrs. Benson, Dr. Arbuckle, Messrs. J. Williamson, Wanless, and H. H. Kemp.

**JOINT ADVISORY BOARD.**—Mr. A. Eaton (recommended by the Council as chairman), Messrs. H. L. Buzzard, T. Burman, O. Lea, H. R. Wickins, and J. Williamson.

**BUILDING PLANS SUB-COMMITTEE.**—Mr. O. Lea (chairman), Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Siedle, Messrs. F. H. Acutt, M. Cornelius, and H. H. Kemp. In view of the greatly increased work dealt with by this committee, it was decided to give it practically the status of a standing committee, with certain limited powers, and in order to expedite its business it will report direct to the Council, instead of through the Works Committee, in the case of approved plans.  
—*Natal Mercury.*

## Mr. Sastri Addresses City Indian Women

The H. Y. M. A. Hall was crowded on Tuesday the 2nd inst, when the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri addressed the gathering under the auspices of the Maritzburg Indian Women's Association. The front part of the hall presented a gorgeous mass of colours of the saris of the women, while the background to the gallery was a contrast to the more somber dress of the men.

Mrs. A. J. Chonoo presided, and on behalf of the Indian Women of Maritzburg extended a very cordial welcome to Mr. Sastri.

When the picturesque ceremony of garlanding the guest was over, Mrs. R. B. Maharaj, speaking in Hindustani associated herself with the remarks of Mrs. Chonoo.

Mr. Sastri received a great ovation. He pleaded ignorance as to the objects of the association or their past work. When he saw among the audience women dressed as the women of India, said Mr. Sastri, he felt that he was back among his own sisters. He wished to know more about the circumstances in which their life was cast, their duties and their daily task. For the difficulty of his position he asked them for their sympathy and consideration.

### Women in India

Mr. Sastri then spoke of the condition of the women in India. There is a wall, he said, and as far as one can judge it is still as unbroken as ever.

"Throughout upper India, Bengal, Punjab and the greater part of India, women still live in the seclusion of the 'purdah.' One does not know how far knowledge has penetrated through the veil."

"That the men of India had enjoyed the fruits of civilisation and that women have remained without any share of it," was to Mr. Sastri a sad thing to contemplate. "Women kept in that condition," he said, "were bound to draw men down to their level. Even in Bengal, with the exception of those of the Brahma Samaj, men with extraordinary intelligence and cultured in the fine arts, the position of women was anything but cheerful. In the Deccan and Madras one sees improvement. There she enjoys the great-

est possible freedom. She remains unmarried until 21 or 22, and has an education to the university standard. She has falsified the prognostication of the great aunts, who held the belief that an educated woman would refuse to perform the duties of her home or write letters to the wrong sort of people." (Laughter.)

### Eastern Womanhood

Mr. Sastri said the educated women with the culture of the new still possessed the grace of Eastern womanhood. She was just as modest and retiring as before. She vied with others in the entertainment of her guests, even if she had obtained the M.A. degree, though some now were even taking law.

In the Deccan at public meetings women filled quite half the hall and took an intelligent part in the discussion.

Mr. Sastri related that at a meeting the father spoke against women's franchise, when the daughter made a fine fighting speech for the other side. He quoted this instance as by no means unparalleled.

In Madras there were two large colleges teaching up to M.A., which were chock full, and if a third college was opened he thought that in three weeks there would be no room, so great a demand was there for education among women. In Madras also was the first appointment made of women as honorary magistrates, and there were two women municipal councillors who were doing excellent work.

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said that the last few years had witnessed great developments, and women were managing organisations without the assistance of men.

Political franchise was a recent acquisition, originating from the Indian Reforms Act.

In most of the Provinces women had already secured not only the franchise, but also were allowed to stand as candidates for the Legislative Council. To Madras has fallen the honour of electing Dr. Muthulutchmi, the first Deputy President.

Even in England, where women were equal to men, there were only three women in Parliament. Mr. Sastri did not think that the wear and tear of public life was good for women; in this respect she was unequal to men.

In concluding Mr. Sastri said it was still true that it was mainly women on whom fell the burden of preserving the religious practices and ceremonials, observance of the old Hindu religion, for men in many ways have fallen far from the old ideals. They have drifted into agnosticism and scepticism, and to them there are left none of their ancient beliefs.

## Mr. Sastri's Speech At Maritzburg

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri delivered the following speech at the welcome meeting held in his honour at the City Hall on Monday August 1:

"It is difficult to express the gratitude I feel for the welcome that has been accorded to my colleagues and myself. I feel that when the news of the warm welcome we have received from the administrator of the Natal and from the Mayor and people of Maritzburg reaches India, there will be great rejoicing, and Indians will feel that they have not sent an Agent across the water a minute too soon. Let me say at once that I fully concur in the settlement of the late Mr. Gokhale — first that the Europeans must be free from the fear of being swamped by the Indians, and secondly that the political ascendancy of the Europeans in this country must never be questioned. Both these principles have been accepted by the Indians. The fear has been expressed in some quarters that I might go outside the four corners of the Capetown Agreement, but I am here as a servant of the Indian Government, and therefore

cannot possibly open any question which that agreement does not cover. I will take this opportunity of answering that small section of the local Indians who are opposed to the agreement. These Indians do not believe that the agreement will better their position or that I can help them by coming to South Africa as the official representative of the Indian Government. The agreement provides not only for those who wish to be repatriated but also for those who have decided to remain in South Africa. It was undoubtedly felt that when a portion of the Indians had been repatriated, the remainder could be comfortably settled here without the Europeans feeling that they were being swamped. It is felt at the present time that the masses of the Indians at present in Natal were unfit to live amongst the Europeans, and therefore, it appears to me that the basis of the compromise was to uplift the remaining Indians in order to solve this part of the problem. It is in connection with this contention that most of the Indians who are opposed to the agreement made their objection. They felt that they, descendants of one of the oldest civilisations, could not justly be classed as unfit to live among the Europeans of South Africa. Under the Indian Relief Act of 1913, provision was made for free passages and bonuses for Indians wishing to be repatriated. This scheme worked well for a time, but later the number of applicants for repatriation diminished so much that the Union Government realised that the serpent was again raising its head, and it was then that they invited the Government of India to agree to a step towards solving the problem. It came to the notice of the Indian Government that the Union Government intended to pass certain Bills that would prove detrimental to the welfare of South African Indians, and were framed, it was openly admitted, with the deliberate intention of forcing the Indians to leave South Africa. On realising this, the Indian Government decided that it was a matter of urgency to stop these Bills going through, and to make an agreement between the two countries. They went into this agreement very carefully and decided that it was of the utmost necessity. One of the most important clauses in the agreement is that dealing with Indians remaining in South Africa. These Indians must look to the uplifting of their nation and endeavour to fit into South Africa and become good citizens of this country. The Europeans must not allow these Indians to lag behind the rest of the population. Hitherto Indians have been looked upon as a menace in South Africa and have been thought fit only to be sent back to India. The agreement is a compromise. There must be give and take and it seems to me that the Indians have given something and have received something very substantial in its place.

To the European section of my audience I would appeal to them to remember that my mission here is one of peace, I wish to leave things better than I found them—to leave Europeans and Indians determined to work together as co-citizens of South Africa. You are members of a self-governing race, and your legislature depends largely upon public opinion. It cannot move until you move it by the momentum of your wishes you must move it in this question, both in the repatriation part of this agreement and also in the uplifting of the Indian left behind. It is my hope and my most sincere prayer that in carrying out the uplifting clauses of the agreement the government of this country will never find itself in advance of public opinion. I beseech you to lay aside the idea that you in Africa have hitherto had about Indians. Times have changed, the world has moved on and, I hope that you will all enter into the spirit of the agreement. That agreement provides that you shall have an Indian community in your midst and that you shall endeavour to uplift

them. South Africa, I know, is harassed by a variety of problems both racial and political. We in India have our problems too, ten times more acute than yours. We have often made mistakes, but we have learnt one lesson through the ages, which in all humility, I would pass on to you. We do not say to any race or community no matter how they have been brought into our country "we don't want you, clear out." Rather do we take them to our bosom and we all live together. We make no law to punish any people for their race or colour. We have learned that lesson under the British flag, which guarantees to all alike, peace, full opportunity for development. It does not allow one race to dominate over another. I implore you to treat Indians with sympathy and toleration. They have their defects and weaknesses, but who have not? We are all victims of circumstances, and these Indians are here under circumstances over which they have had no control. Oppressed, as they have undoubtedly felt themselves to be, they have not yet risen to their full stature. If you help them, you will find them fit to live among you as good South African citizens of whom you need be neither ashamed nor afraid. But do not believe for a moment that I advocate race mixture. All who have lived in India have seen the disastrous consequences which come from such attempts at removing racial distinction. I myself come from a race—Brahmin—which amid a sea of surrounding nationalities, has kept its blood pure. We are proud of it, unduly proud perhaps, but our belief is that the races can meet together socially, can live together economically and politically, can work together and yet preserve their own individualities. No race need become impure unless it makes the choice deliberately.

I appeal to Europeans and Indians alike to help carrying out the agreement by drawing together and exhibiting more active sympathy with one another's point of view, I have ventured to plead to-night in a manner which is foreign to my usual practice because I feel that here in the capital of Natal I may get to the very root of the question by indicating that the solution of the problem requires a changed mentality on the part of both races. If I have ventured too far let me apologise but if you feel that I have shown you the heart of the problem then I think that you will acquit me both of impertinence and also of wasting several hours of your time. ✓

## The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

### Part III.

#### Chapter III.

##### THE CALM AFTER THE STORM

I had not yet left the police station when after two days I was taken to see Mr. Escombe. Two constables were sent to protect me, though no such protection was then needed.

On the day of landing as soon as the yellow flag was lowered, a representative of the *Natal Advertiser* came to interview me. He asked me a number of questions, and in reply I was able to refute every one of the charges that had been levelled against me. Thanks to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, I had delivred only written speeches in India, and I had copies of them all, as well as of my other writings. I gave the interviewer all this literature and showed him that in India I had said nothing which I had not already said in South Africa in stronger language. I also showed him that I had no hand in bringing the passengers of the *S. S. Courland* and *Naderi* to South Africa. Many of them were old residents, and most of them, far from wanting to stay in Natal meant to go to the Transvaal. In those days the Transvaal offered better prospects than Natal to those coming to search for



wealth, and most Indians, therefore, preferred to go there.

This interview, and my refusal to prosecute the assailants, produced such a profound impression that the Europeans of Durban were ashamed of their conduct. The Press declared me to be innocent and condemned the mob. Thus the lynching ultimately proved to be a blessing for me, that is for the cause. It enhanced the prestige of the Indian community in South Africa and made my work easier.

In three or four days I went to my house, and it was not long before I settled down again. The incident added also to my professional practice.

But if it enhanced the prestige of the community, it also fanned the flame of prejudice against it. As soon as it was proved that the Indian could put a manly fight he came to be regarded as a danger. Two bills were introduced in Natal Legislative Assembly, one of them calculated to affect the Indian trader adversely and the other to impose a stringent restriction on Indian immigration. Fortunately the fight for the franchise had resulted in a decision to the effect that no enactment might be passed against the Indians as such, that is to say the law should make no distinctions of colour or race. The language of the Bills above mentioned made them applicable to all, but their object undoubtedly was to impose further restrictions on the Indian residents of Natal.

The the Bills considerably increased my public work and made the community more alive than ever to their sense of duty. They were translated into Indian languages and exhaustively explained, so as to bring home to the community their subtle implications. We appealed to the Colonial Secretary, but he refused to interfere and the Bills became law.

Public work began to absorb most of my time. Mr. Mansukhlal Nazar who, as I have said, was already in Durban, came to stay with me, and as he gave his time to public work he lightened my burden to some extent.

Seth Adamji Miyakhani had, in my absence, discharged his duty with great credit. He had increased the membership and added about £1,000 to the coffers of the Natal Indian Congress. The awakening caused by the Bills, and the demonstration against the passengers, I turned to account by making an appeal for membership and funds, which now amounted to £5,000. My desire was to secure for the Congress a permanent fund with which it might procure property of its own and then carry on its work out of the rent of the property. This was my first experience of managing a public institution. I placed my proposal before my co-workers and they welcomed it. The property that was purchased was leased out and the rent was enough to meet the current expenses of the Congress. The property was vested in a strong body of trustees and is still there to-day, but it has become the source of much internecine quarrelling with the result that the rent of the property now accumulates in the court.

This sad situation developed after my departure from South Africa, but my idea of having permanent funds for public institutions underwent a change long before this difference arose. And now after considerable experience with the many public institutions which I have managed, it has become my firm conviction that it is not good to run public institutions on permanent funds. A permanent fund carries in itself the seed of the moral fall of the institution. A public institution means an institution conducted with the approval of and from the funds of the public. When such an institution ceases to have public support, it forfeits its right to exist. Institutions maintained on permanent funds are often found to ignore public opinion and are frequently responsible for acts contrary to it. In our country we experience this at every step. Some of the so-called religious trusts have ceased to render any accounts. The trustees have become the owners and are responsible to none. I have no doubt that the ideal is for public institutions to live, like nature, from day to day.

The institution that fails to win public support have

no right to exist as such. The subscriptions that an institution annually receives are a test of its popularity and the honesty of its management, and I am of opinion that every institution should pass through that test.

But let no one misunderstand me. My remarks do not apply to the bodies which cannot, by their very nature, be conducted without permanent buildings. What I mean to say is that the current expenditure be found from subscriptions voluntarily received from year to year.

These views were confirmed during the days of the Satyagraha in South Africa. That magnificent campaign extending over six years was carried on without permanent funds, though lakhs of rupees were necessary for it. I can recollect times when I did not know what would happen the next day if no subscription came in. But I shall not anticipate the future events. The reader will find the opinion expressed above borne out in the coming narrative.

## BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders to be made payable at Durban.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	2	0
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	1	6
A Book—and its Misnomer	1	0
Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908) in English and Gujarati		
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2	6
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak (Helots within Empire and how they are treated)	2	0
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2	6
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion" Paper covers	2	0
Bound in Cloth	2	6
Speeches on Indian Affairs, by John Morley	3	9
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa: Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	2	6
Essay on Indian Economics, by Mahadev Govind Ranade	3	3
Vaishavite Reformers of India	2	6
M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem	1	0
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Mrs. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1904 to 1917	4	0

# ઈન્ડિયન ઓ પિનિયન.

પુસ્તક રૂપ યુઃ

ફીનીક્સ, શુક્રવાર, તારીખ ૧૨ ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૨૭

ક્રમ ૩૩૨

## નોંધ અને સમાચાર



સંસ્થાન પ્રધાનનું આગમન

સંસ્થાન પ્રધાન શ્રી. એમ્સ્ટ્રી જેની ગયા સોમવારે યુનીયન માં પ્રવરણથી થઈ છે તેમને આવકાર આપવામાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની સાથે હોદી કામ પણ સામેલ છે. શ્રી. એમ્સ્ટ્રીની આ મુલાકાતને હેતુ આ દેશમાં વર્તેલી સ્થિતિને જાતે અભ્યાસ કરવાનો અને દેશના જાહેર પ્રશ્નોના સમામમમાં આવવાનો છે કે જ્યાં તે પોતાની સંસ્કારને અને પોતે જેની સાથે સંબંધ ધરાવે છે તે બાઈબંધ સરકારને વધારે ઉપયોગી થઈ શકે.

કોલોનીયલ ઓર્ન પશુ વસાહતી ગણાશે?

ઇંગ્લેન્ડ રાષ્ટ્રીય વસ્તુના ડીરેક્ટરોએ પોતાના હોદી કામ-દારોને જાણ કરી પગાર આપવાથી પગારને લગતા કામવાની રજા તેઓની સામે ડરખાતની કોર્ટમાં કામ ચલાવવામાં આવ્યું છે. બર્માઈ પશુ તરફથી "ઇન્ડિયન ઇમ્પ્રોવ્ડ" યાંત્રે હોદી વસાહતી એટલે કે હોદીથી અહિ આવેલા હોદીની વ્યાખ્યાનો મુદ્દા ટેસ્ટ કેસને માટે ઉઠાવવામાં આવ્યો છે. જુઓની દરમિયાન આસીરન્ટ પ્રોટેક્ટર એફ ઇમ્પ્રોવ્ડ સી. ડબલ્યુ. એચ. એલ. બેન્સે જણાવ્યું કે હોદી વસાહતીઓની ઓલારો જે નાટાલમાં પેલા થએલી હોય તે પશુ પગારને લગતા કામવાની રજા બંધવાની ત્રામાસીક પરકના હેતુ માટે હોદી વસાહતી, તરીકે જાણાય છે. કેસનો મુકાદો મુલતવી રહેશે છે અને ખાસ કરી એ મુદ્દા કોલોનીયલ ઓર્ન હોદીઓને મંજૂર રીને લાગુ પડતો હોવાથી હોદી કામ એ મુકાદાની આંતરતાથી રાહ જોશે.

કાઉન્સીલર કેમ્પની યાદી

કાઉન્સીલર કેમ્પે ડરખાતની ટાઉન કાઉન્સીલને મોકલેલી યાદી આ અંકમાં અન્ય સ્થળે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવામાં આવી છે. તેમાં કાઉન્સીલર ડાઉન્સના પ્રયોજક પોતે હોવાનું તેમણે જણાવ્યું છે. એ માન જે તેમને ખાતરું હોય તે એમને તેની અદેખાઈ કરવા માંગતા નથી. પરંતુ ન્યાયને ખાતરું એમ્સ્ટ્રી શ્રી. કેમ્પનું એટલું ધ્યાન એવું જોઈએ કે કાઉન્સીલર ડાઉન્સની પહેલવેરેલી મુદ્દામાં તે શ્રી. કેમ્પે દેખાવું દીધું. તે પહેલાં શ્રીમતી સરોજની નામકુ તરફથી થઈ હતી અને તે પછી મજુર સરકારે વખાતા સંસ્થાન પ્રધાન શ્રી. થોમસ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની મુલાકાતે આવેલા તે વખતે તેમણે કરી હતી. બીજું મજુર કાઉન્સીલરો અચલા કરારને ડરખાતને લાગે વળે છે તેટલું દરેક માન આપવાની શ્રી. કેમ્પે ઇચ્છા દર્શાવી છે. એ શ્રી. કેમ્પની ઇચ્છાને હોદી કામ આભારની લાગણી સાથે વધાવી લેશે અને એ દિશાએ પ્રયત્ન પૂર્વક તે હોદી કામની ઉત્તરને લમતી કલમનો પ્રથમ ભાગ જે હોદીઓની કોળવણીને લગતી સ્થિતિ સુધારવાનો છે તે બાઈબંધ અમલ કરવાની શાખાએ તાલુ કરેલી હિલચાલને સંપૂર્ણ

ટકા અને મલક આપવી એ જ મહત્ત્વ: એ ટકા અને મલક આપવાનો ઉદ્દેશ્ય કરવાનું શ્રી. કેમ્પે પોતાની યાદીમાં જુલી મયાં જણાવ્યું છે. કરારને માન આપવાની તેમની ઇચ્છા હોય એ જુલ તેઓ હવે સુધારીને લેશે એવી આપણે આજા રાખી શકીએ

હોદી દરજ્જા સામે આરોપ

તે ટકાના નાટાલ એમ્સ્ટ્રીજરે માં વેસ્ટ ટેકાના એમ્સ્ટ્રી વેસ્ટન બધસની પેટીના શ્રી એમ્સ્ટ્રી વેસ્ટને હોદી દરજ્જાની ઉપર મંજૂર આરોપ મુક્યો છે. હોદી દરજ્જાની મુરોપીયન દરજ્જાને આમળ વધવા નહિ હેતા હોવાનું કારણ તેઓ હલકો માલ વાપરી ખરાબ કામ કરે છે અને માહકોને ઉધાર આપે છે એ જણાવી છેવટમાં તેણે જણાવ્યું છે કે "હોદી દરજ્જાની સાથે વ્યવહાર રાખનારોએ એક બાઈબંધ એ માં રાખવાની છે કે જ્યાં કેસોમાં તેઓના કંપડા અલગ બનાવવાની સ્થિતિમાં અને પરસેવાની મજુરીથી કરવામાં આવે છે; અને જે કામ પણ જ્યાંએ રોગ વરતો હોય તે તેના એક કંપડા બનાવનારની ઉપરથી પહેલાંને તુરતજ લાંબી જવાનો સંબંધ રહે." આરોપ મુકી દેવા તે હોદીનાં સંલક્ષ્ય હોય છે પરંતુ તેને પુરવાર કરવા મુશ્કેલ હોય છે; અને શ્રી. વેસ્ટન પણ જે બોલી ગયા છે તે જ તેમની કસોટી કરવામાં આવે તે પુરવાર કરવાનું તેમને કંઈક મુશ્કેલ લાગે પણ સંબંધ રહે. એ આરોપનો મુખ્ય હેતુ મુરોપીયન માહકોને હોદી દરજ્જા પાસેથી બમાડી મુકવાનો જ હોય એ જ અમને લાગે છે. પરંતુ યોગ્ય કેસોમાં આપણે ક્યાંએ એમ માની પણ લઈએ કે એ હરીકત ખરી છે તે તેના હલાંબ તે સુધારામાં પોતાના ઇન્સપેક્ટરોની વધારે કાળજી અને મુખ્યત્વે કરીને તે હોદીઓની કોળવણીને સાર વધે સમવડો કરવામાં રહેશે છે.

આટીશને હોદી માટે જરાએ દરકાર નથી?

—શ્રી. સી. એસ. રંગાચાર તેમના લડનથી લખાણેલી અને કાનપુરના પ્રતાપ પરમા પ્રગટ થયેલા પરમા જણાવે છે કે આટીશ યોગને હોદી માટે બંધ પશુ દરકાર નથી તેઓ પોતાના કામમાં વેપારવચનમાં અને સમતમત માં મુદ્દાઓમાં છે. પરંતુ પોતાની આશીસ પોતાની કોરોપારમાં મચી રહેલી છે. તેમના માં મોગ મત મુજબ હોદીના ઉદાર કરવા માટે લડત ચલાવવાનું યોગ્ય મુદ્દા પરંતુ મુદ્દા નહિ પણ હોદી છે. લડનની મુલાકાતથી તે વિખેતી મારી મન્યતા સંકેત બની છે. હું કહ્યું કરે છું કે દરેક મજુર પક્ષના સમાસો હોદીની ખાખતમાં કંઈક ઉભર લે છે પણ હોદીઓએ જુલું જોઈએ નહિ કે એ મજુર પક્ષના વખતમાં જ ખગાળના દેશબકતોને વમ: તપાસે જેલમાં પુરવા માં લીધ્યાં છે. દીકમાં જ્યાંસુધી લાગવળે છે તે સુધી હોદીઓએ હોદીમાં રહીને કામ કરવું જોઈએ.