

Indian Opinion

No. 21—Vol. XXVI.

Friday, June 1st, 1928.

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

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

PART IV. CHAPTER XIV.

COOLIE LOCATIONS OR THE GHETTOS?

SOME of the classes that are rendering us the greatest social service, and whom we Hindus have chosen to regard as 'untouchables' are relegated to remote quarters of a town or a village, called 'dhedhwado' in Gujarati, and the name has acquired a bad odour. Even so in Christian Europe the Jews were once its 'untouchables' and the quarters that were assigned to them had the odious name 'ghettos.' In a similar way we have become the 'untouchables' of South Africa to-day. It remains to be seen how far the sacrifice of Andrews and the magic wand of Sastri succeed in rehabilitating us.

The ancient Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people of God, to the exclusion of others with the result that their descendants were visited with a strange and even unjust retribution. Almost in a similar way the Hindus have considered themselves *Aryas* or civilised and a section of their own kith and kin as *Anaryas* or 'untouchables,' with the result that a strange, if unjust, nemesis is being visited not only upon the Hindus in South Africa but the Mussalmans and Parsis as well, inasmuch as these belong to the same country and have the same colour as they.

The reader will have now realised somewhat the meaning of the word 'locations' to which I am going to devote this chapter. In South Africa we have acquired the odious name of 'coolies.' The word 'coolie' in India means only a porter or carrier but in South Africa it has a contemptuous connotation and means what a pariah or an 'untouchable' means to us and the quarters assigned to the 'coolies' are known as 'coolie locations.' Johannesburg had one such location, but unlike as in other places where there were locations and where the Indians had tenancy rights, those in the Johannesburg location had acquired their plots on a lease of 99 years. The Indians were densely packed in the location, of which the area never increased in population. Beyond arranging to clean the latrines in the location in a haphazard way, the Municipality did nothing to provide any other sanitary facilities, much less good roads or lights. It was hardly likely that it would safeguard its sanitation, when it was indifferent to the sanitary welfare of the people. The Indians living there were too ignorant of the rules of municipal sanitation and hygiene to do without the help or supervision of the Municipality. If those who went there had been all Robinson Crusoes theirs would have been a different story. But we don't know of a single emigrant colony of Robinson Crusoes in the world. Usually people migrate abroad in search of wealth and trade, and the bulk of the Indians who went to South Africa were ignorant, pauper agriculturists who needed all the care and protection that could be given them. The traders and educated Indians who followed them were very few.

The criminal negligence of the Municipality and the ignorance of the Indian settlers thus conspired to render the location thoroughly insanitary. The Municipality, far from doing anything to improve the condition of the location, used the insanitation caused by their own neglect as a lever for destroying the location, and for that purpose obtained from the local legislature authority to dispossess the settlers. This was the condition of things when I settled in Johannesburg.

The settlers having proprietary rights in their land were naturally entitled to compensation. A special tribunal was appointed to try the land acquisition cases. In case the tenant was not prepared to accept the offer of the Municipality he had a right to appeal to the tribunal, and if the latter's award exceeded the Municipality's offer, the Municipality had to bear the costs.

Most of the tenants had engaged me as their legal adviser. I had no desire to make money out of these cases, and so I said to the tenants, that I should be satisfied whatever costs the tribunal awarded, in case they won, and a fee of £10 on every lease, irrespective of the result of the case. I also told them that I proposed to set apart half of the money paid by them for the building of a hospital or similar institution for the poor. This naturally pleased them all.

Out of about 70 cases only one was lost. So the fees amounted to a fairly big figure. But INDIAN OPINION was there with its persistent claim and devoured, so far as I can recollect, a sum of £1,600. I think I had worked hard for these cases. The clients always surrounded me. Most of these were originally indentured labourers from Bihar and its neighbourhood and from South India. For the redress of their peculiar grievances they had formed an association of their own, separate from that of the free Indian merchants and traders. Some of them were openhearted, liberal men of high character. Their leaders were Sjt. Jairamsing, the president and Sjt. Badri, who was as good as the president. Both of them are no more. Both were exceedingly helpful to me. Sjt. Badri came in very close contact with me and took a very prominent part in Satyagraha. Through these and other friends I came in intimate contact with numerous Indian settlers of North and South India, and became more their brother than a mere legal adviser, and shared in all their private and public sorrows and hardships.

It may be of some interest to know how the Indians used to call me. Seth Abdulla refused to address me as Gandhi. None fortunately ever insulted me by calling or regarding me as 'saheb.' Abdulla Seth hit upon a fine appellation—'bhai,' i.e., brother. Others copied him and continued to address me as 'bhai' until the moment I left South Africa, but there was a sweeter flavour about the name when it was used by the ex-indentured Indians.

EDUCATION INQUIRY COMMITTEE'S REPORT

THE report of the Education Inquiry Committee is, we would almost say, not beyond our expectations. Although, in view of the generous treatment meted out to the witnesses during its investigations we did expect some better results. We expressed our disappointment with the personnel of the Committee when it was appointed, as we knew that a Committee composed of members of the Executive of the Provincial Council could not deal with a question which was of its own making disinterestedly nor was it competent to deal with a question which was neither in its line nor of which it had any experience. Hence the contrast between the findings of Mr. K. P. Kichlu who is an expert on the subject, and the masterly way in which he has dealt with it and the findings of the Committee which amounts in substance to nothing and is not without political bias. The report is more a sort of a defence than anything else, and that too not a successful one, of the past policy of the Provincial Administration in regard to Indian education. It commences by quoting a resolution passed by the Provincial Council and pointing out that it had nothing whatever to do with the Capetown Agreement—in other words with the conditions of Indian education, and goes on to say that their investigation was *merely* for the information of the Government. It then goes on to report that voluminous evidence was taken from witnesses including the Agent-General for India (the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri) and Mr. K. P. Kichlu (Indian Education Service). But what are its resultant findings? Nothing more than what has been known all these years, that (a) the existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas are inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population, (b) that the status, salaries and method of payment of Indian teachers are unsatisfactory and (c) that the grants-in-aid are inadequate on the present basis.

On the question of subsidy received in respect of Indian education, a subject which brought to light before the Committee the grossest injustice done to the Indian community and which caused even the European Press to severely criticise, the Committee seems to have indulged in a little quibbling. It has recommended that the total amount of Indian

education subsidy should be allocated to that service thus admitting that it was unjustly misused in the past. But evidently in order to save the Administration of its obligation of restituting what has been already misappropriated the Committee has defended its action by saying that a restrictive policy in regard to Indian education has been pursued by the provincial Council up to the present moment, and that in so doing the Council was interpreting the views of the general community. By this excuse it has rendered the position of the Provincial Council more awkward than it had already become, for it has confessed that Indian education has been made to suffer owing to political reasons. There are instances of political feelings running high in other parts of the world but South Africa and especially Natal, its most loyal Province, has gone a step further by even denying educational facilities to Indians as a result of those feelings which is indeed not very creditable especially in view of its frenzied imperialistic professions. The Committee has, moreover, taken no notice whatever of the elaborate memorandum of Mr. Kichlu, the Indian educational expert, nor has it thought fit to deal with any of his specific recommendations. It has neither condemned nor discussed them nor even referred them for the guidance of the Education Department and the Executive with its approval. In the circumstances it is unfortunate that Mr. Bryan the superintendent of Education who is conversant with the evidence and is proved to be sympathetic towards Indian education should be absent from Natal just at this juncture. It is to be hoped, however, that he has left a memorandum of his views for the guidance of his officiating successor. It would perhaps not have been out of place for the Committee to have made reference to the self-help on the part of Indians especially in view of the serious charge proffered against them of having done nothing on their own for their education. According to the findings of Mr. Kichlu, during the period 1910 to 1928 the Administration spent a sum of £22,843 on school buildings whereas the Indian community contributed during the same period a total sum of about £50,000 towards the cost of Government-aided and Private school buildings and, in addition, they have now subscribed about £20,000 towards the cost of the proposed new Training College. All

these important omissions and the defence and not the condemnation of the Council's past policy even after being faced with glaring facts go to show that the Committee was apathetic and did not use its own independent and unbiased judgment as it was expected to do. What little it has done is certainly something to the Indian community but it amounts to nothing more than what it was actually forced to do in face of facts. The definite gains to the Indian community from the Committee's report are the unanimous recognition of the inadequacy of the existing facilities and the recommendation for expansion and improvement of those facilities. This, of course, is qualified by "as and when funds permit" and if no endeavour is made they may never permit. The recommendation to allocate the whole of the subsidy earned by Indian school-going children to their education is the most important gain and in this connection it is gratifying to note that steps are already being taken, as will be seen from the Budget speech of the Administrator, to utilise the whole amount on Indian education as from the current year. The Committee has also recommended the maintaining of the proposed Training College on the same basis as the European Training College. Thus while the Committee's report is not as one would expect it to be the Indian community will certainly derive some benefit by it and the Committee is to be thanked for its more beneficent attitude towards Indian education as compared to the hostile attitude in the past.

The Hon. Secretary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Natal) writes:—

It has been decided at a conference held under the auspices of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Natal to hold a conference of all the Hindu Sabhas and Societies of Natal for the purpose of establishing one central organisation to represent our views. For this purpose a conference will be held on the 5th day of August 1928 commencing at 2-30. p.m. at the Hindu Tamil Institute, Cross Street, Durban, wherein 2 delegates from each Sabha or Society will be allowed representation. Should any further information be required a small note posted to Mr. Satya Deva, Secretary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Box 1770, Durban, will bring the necessary requirements. Those wishing to participate in the deliberations must inform the Secretary by the 1st of July 1928.

Report Of The Indian Education Inquiry Committee

The following report has been submitted to the Administrator of Natal by the Committee appointed to enquire into and report upon the question of the education of Indian children and is published for general information in the Provincial Gazette dated May 24 :—

May it please Your Honour :

1. In terms of Provincial Notice No. 82 published in the *Natal Provincial Gazette* of the 15th March, 1928, the following Committee was appointed :—

J. Dyson, Esq., M.E.C. (Chairman), F. H. Acutt, Esq., M.P.C., C. F. Clarkson, Esq., M.E.C., F. W. Fell, Esq., M.E.C., F. C. Hollander, Esq., M.E.C., J. A. Lidgett, Esq., M.P.C., A. L. Pretorius, Esq., M.P.C., and Mr. C. A. B. Peck as Secretary.

with the following terms of reference :—

- (a) The existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas;
 - (b) The conditions of service of Indian teachers in Government and Government-Aided Schools, including salary, promotion, discipline and pension;
 - (c) The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid and any change which may be considered to be necessary;
 - (d) The financial basis of Indian education, having regard to the resources of the Province, the various demands upon them, and the adequacy or otherwise of the existing Union Government subsidies in so far as they affect Indian education.
2. The investigation was conducted at the special request of the Union Government arising from the Indian Agreement. This Agreement was entered into by the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India without any reference to or consultation with the Governments of the Provinces, and your Committee desires to record that as soon as the text of that Agreement (as contained in the White Paper presented to Parliament) was known, the Provincial Council of Natal passed a resolution in the following terms, which was adopted on the 10th May, 1927 :—

- (1) That this Council views with misgivings the general conditions of the Agreement entered into between the Government of South Africa and the Government of India in respect to the Indian question.
- (2) This Council further deplors that this Province (which is more seriously affected than any other part of the Union) has not been consulted through its Provincial Council on those points of the Agreement which contemplate—
 - (a) A relaxation of existing licensing legislation and
 - (b) The provision of increased education facilities for the Indian community.
 This Council respectfully represents to Parliament that these two matters involve not only questions of definite Provincial policy, but in the latter instance considerable financial obligations. Under these circumstances this Council urges that any contemplated action in these two directions should be deferred until the fullest opportunity has been afforded to this Council to represent its views thereon.
- (3) That, in the opinion of this Council, the Agreement does not solve the Indian problem nor does it give protection to the European population against Asiatic encroachment.

3. Your Committee emphasises that the request to the Provincial Administration was merely one for an investigation in order that the Government might be informed as to the position of Indian education in this Province.

4. Your Committee reports that it has taken voluminous evidence from witnesses representing the Indian community from every part of the Province, including that of the Agent-General for India (the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri) and has also been furnished with a comprehensive review of the position compiled by Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu (Indian Education Service) and published in a separate memorandum by him.

Your Committee records the fact that demands were put forward from all the witnesses for a far-reaching system of educational facilities based upon those presently enjoyed by the European population.

6. After fully reviewing all the evidence tendered and taking into consideration the factors of the problem as affecting the general community of this Province, your Committee finds—

- (a) That the existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas are inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population;
- (b) That there is little left to be desired in the Government schools, but that in the Grant-Aided schools the general conditions of the buildings and the status, salaries and method of payment of Indian teachers are unsatisfactory;
- (c) That the grants-in-aid are inadequate on the present basis and that certain changes are desirable.

7. It was urged that there was an obligation under the Provincial Subsidies Act 1925 for the Provincial Administration to spend on each section of the school-going population not less than the amount earned by that section, and in this respect the full amount received on account of Indian school-going children had not been spent on that service. Your Committee is satisfied that this interpretation cannot be put upon this legislative enactment and that the Provincial Council has not exceeded its powers in allocating a smaller expenditure to this section of education than that earned by its school-going children. Your Committee also records the fact that a restrictive policy in regard to Indian education has been pursued by the Provincial Council up to the present moment, and is of opinion that in so doing the Council was interpreting the views of the general community. It should further be recorded that this policy existed prior to the Provincial Subsidies Act 1925, and has in no way been affected by that legislation.

8. Your Committee desires to make the following recommendations:—

- (a) That as it is necessary to extend the existing facilities for the education of Indian children, the most speedy alleviation of the present conditions can be found by an extension of the Grant-Aided schools throughout the Province together with the provision of Government schools in large centres of Indian population as and when funds permit, and that there should be no alteration in the present system of voluntary attendance;
- (b) and (c) That the present system of Grants-in-Aid which are now paid purely and simply on a capitation basis should be changed. The Aided schools should be graded by average attendance and the financial aid should be in the direction of a Provincial responsibility for the total cost of the teachers' salaries. A proper scheme of salary scales and conditions of service should be introduced on a more liberal basis than is at

present in existence, and it should be made applicable to the whole of the Province. It is absolutely essential to establish an Indian Training College in order to supply the necessary qualified teachers to provide for the extension which has been referred to, and in this connection the Administration should accept the gift of the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri of a fully-equipped Training College and assume responsibility for its conduct and maintenance, and, further, as it is quite impossible to find professors in this country capable of starting the Training College, the first opportunity should be taken to import them from overseas.

9. Under the heading of Section (d) of the terms of reference, your Committee has considered the possibility of imposing some form of taxation on the Indian community for educational purposes, but has found this to be impracticable. Your Committee is entirely opposed to any increase in the general taxation of the Province to provide for the contemplated expansion. If the Union Government subsidy is to remain at the present figure of £5 5s., which does not err on the side of generosity, the full amount earned by Indian school-going children will hardly be sufficient to finance the proposed alteration of salary scales in the Grant-Aided schools. Your Committee is of opinion that the total amount of Indian education subsidy should be allocated to that service.

It must be pointed out that under these circumstances the mere continuance of the present subsidy will leave no funds available for any proposed extension. Your Committee is satisfied that a large and immediate increase in attendance can be anticipated but, as the Provincial Subsidies Act provides that the subsidy is only to be paid on the attendance figures of the previous year, a financial problem of some magnitude is presented. It can be stated safely that the Act above referred to only contemplated dealing with conditions existent at the time that it was passed, and did not take into consideration any abnormal demands such as have undoubtedly arisen as the result of the Capetown Agreement. Under these circumstances your Committee recommends that immediate representations be made to the Union Government to meet the financial obligations that will ensue, by providing that the subsidy for this abnormal increase of Indian children should be granted year by year in respect of the current year's increased attendance, for such period as the anticipated annual abnormal increase shall continue, instead of the deferred system which at present prevails; and further recommends that in the event of such financial assistance being agreed to the total amount of such funds available be allocated to the provision of Indian education. In this connection attention is drawn to the fact that the Provincial Subsidies Act makes no distinction as to the payment of subsidy in respect of the nationality of student teachers, and your Committee urges that the proposed Indian Training College should be subsidised on similar lines to those of the European Training Colleges.

10. Capital expenditure will be necessary in order to make provision for some of the recommendations contained herein and, as this can only be dealt with in the ordinary way on the capital estimates of the Province, the Committee recommends that the question of the funds now in hand belonging to the Indian Immigration Trust Board should be explored with a view to ascertaining whether these funds could not be made available for the purpose of forming a special capital fund for the erection of Government Indian schools and, in special circumstances, for the improvement of existing Aided schools; and, further, that representations be made to the Union Government urging that the necessary action, legis-

lative or otherwise, be taken to give immediate effect to this proposal.

11. Your Committee desires to place on record its appreciation of the action of the Government of India in placing at its disposal the services of two educational experts in the persons of Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu, M.A., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces of Agra and Ondh, Vice Chancellor of the University of Agra, and Miss C. Gordon, B.Ed., Professor, Teachers' Training College, Saidapet, Madras, and to acknowledge the valuable services which they have rendered to the Committee during the course of the Enquiry.

12. The Committee records its appreciation of the services of Mr. C. A. B. Peck, who has acted as its Secretary, and of the courtesy and attention given by all the Provincial officers during the course of the Enquiry.

J. DYSON, (Chairman).
FRANK H. ACUTT.
CHAS. F. CLARKSON.
F. W. FELL.
F. C. HOLLANDER.
JOHN A. LIDGETT.
A. L. PRETORIUS.

Provincial Council Buildings,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
16th May, 1928.

"A Pretty Poor Bit Of Work"

'Natal Witness' On Education Committee's Report

The Natal Witness has the following leading article in its issue of May 25:—

The report issued yesterday by the committee appointed to inquire into Indian educational facilities (or the lack of them) in Natal, is as sorry and shame-faced a document as we have read for some time. It deserves, indeed, to be filed beside Labour's apologia in re McTaggart, some of the manifestoes of the National Council and Dr. Malan's choicer pieces of casuistry over the Flag Bill. Having been forced against its will into instituting this investigation, the Council has discovered, what its Superintendent of Education has been telling it in his annual report for years, that "the existing facilities, as a whole, in town and country areas, are inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population," and that the buildings, the status, the salaries and the method of payment of the Indian teachers in Grant-Aided Schools are unsatisfactory. So far, however, from endorsing Mr. Bryan's dictum (unaccountably suppressed) that the Province "is neither proud nor satisfied" with this position, or accepting any responsibility for it, it takes refuge behind the fact that "a restrictive policy has been pursued by the Provincial Council in regard to Indian education for years" and considers that, in pursuing it, the Council was "interpreting the views of the general community." This high conception of its functions has, of course, already been expressed once for all by Mr. Acutt when, in a debate on this very subject, he roundly declared: "We are not here to say what is right or wrong. We are here to do what the public wants. But one hardly expected to see it repeated in writing, with the signature of seven members attached to it. On the specific point that, while spending nothing itself, it has devoted to other purposes a large portion of the subsidy received from the Union Government for Indian education; the committee (for convenience we may call it the Council) pretends to be unacquainted. No

doubt fearing that, if it pleaded guilty, it would be bound to surrender something of what it has misappropriated, it "is satisfied that it has not exceeded its powers in allocating a smaller expenditure to this section of education than that earned by its school-going children," and that the contrary interpretation cannot be put upon the Provincial Subsidies Act of 1925. We need not argue that matter again. If anyone remembering Mr. Havenga's statement that:

"The grants were deemed by the Baxter and Education Administration Commission to cover what was considered to be the reasonable cost of education for the whole of the Province, and what should be the responsibility of the Union Government,"

and remembering that they were based on school attendance, can persuade himself that the Council was not morally bound to spend them on education in the case of the Indian community, as it has regularly done in the case of the European and coloured communities, then he deserves a seat on the Provincial Council. As a fact, the Council gives the game away by recommending that these peculations shall cease and that, for the future, the whole subsidy shall be spent as it was obviously intended to be spent. The "unnecessary" inquiry has, therefore, done that much good. But that is the extent of the Committee's magnanimity. With perfectly amazing effrontery, when one recalls that it does not even spend on Indian education what it has been given, it tells us that it "considered the possibility of imposing some form of special taxation on the Indian community for educational purposes." If it had seen its way to impose it, it would then, presumably, have pocketed the whole £5 5s. That amiable solution being impracticable, it commits itself to a benevolent desire for the provision of Government Schools in large centres of Indian population "as and when funds permit," (they will probably be opened at the Greek Kalends), is graciously in favour of accepting the fully-equipped training college which Mr. Sasuri offers to provide (will it also help him to secure sufficient ground for it?), but otherwise "is entirely opposed to any increase in the general taxation of the Province to provide for the contemplated expansion." Well, we are entirely opposed ourselves to any increase in taxation, or indeed to its existence, from a personal and selfish point of view. Nor do we contend that Natal should at once increase its expenditure on Indian education by some huge amount. But it seems to us quite extraordinary that, agreement or no agreement, the Council can definitely repudiate all responsibility for the education of a large section of the population of the Province, and say, as it does say in effect, "We will spend what you give us, and if you want us to spend any more you must give us more." How on earth can any member of the Committee reconcile this attitude with an expenditure of £13 2s. per head on coloured education, against a subsidy of £5 5s.—the identical subsidy that is given for the Indian? Why is it "entirely opposed" to paying for any education for the Indian out of Provincial revenues and yet prepared to pay £7 17s. per head for the coloured? The answer, we are afraid, is prejudice, that prejudice of which it accuses the Province but which, we venture to guess, is not nearly so rife outside the Council as it appears to be within it. The impression is confirmed by the quite gratuitous republication of the protest made, after a singularly inept and platitudinous discussion, just over a year ago. The Council is apparently opposed at heart to the Capetown Agreement and anxious to return to the good old days of a "restrictive policy," but does not like to say so. If that is the case, it is a very good thing that it was not consulted before the Agreement was arrived at, *was there not surely the possibility of the Government's*

within the British Empire which would not spontaneously agree with Mr. Bryan that "no Province can afford to sustain deliberately a large section of its population in enforced ignorance," which would have needed such strong external pressure to make it realise that this question "cannot be burked much longer," or which would be ready, when compelled to face it, to burke it again.

A Union Liability

Thus the *Natal Mercury* under the above heading :

The Indian Education Commission has not added very greatly to our knowledge on the subject into which it inquired, but it has made some useful suggestions towards meeting a need which the Union Government virtually promised should be met, if it were found to exist. The report which appeared yesterday collates a number of facts, the majority of which were already public property. There has been admittedly a tendency upon the part of the Provincial Administration to go slowly in respect to Indian education, and the facilities made available did not nearly equal the demand made by the Indian community. The causes of this state of affairs are equally common property. The first is the state of European public opinion; the second the lack of funds. During a series of years when the Province has found the very greatest difficulty in balancing its accounts it would have been useless for the Executive to have submitted estimates which provided for any substantial increase in the vote for Indian education; the Council would have at once suggested that here was an opportunity to use the pruning knife. But it is a fact, and here the Indian has a distinct grievance, that all the moneys received as subsidy from the Union Government for Indian education in Natal have not been spent in that direction. Rather the Administration has preferred to lump the amount received for the education of Coloured and Indian children, and has framed its total expenditure for these two sections at a sum approximating the total received. In a sense the Coloured community has benefited at the expense of the Indian—that is to say that the cost above the subsidy which the Coloured education has involved has been met by the surplus from the subsidy received for Indian scholars.

But admitting the Administration has been ungenerous to the Indian, it is faced with very definite difficulties in meeting the demand for additional education facilities. The cost per pupil in the limited number of Government schools for Indians which at present exist is approximately 40 per cent, above the amount of the subsidy. It has not been a matter of practical politics to extend this system the cost of which would have fallen almost entirely upon the European taxpayer, and chief reliance has been placed upon the aided schools to which a grant based on attendance has been made. These have been established by missionary societies and other bodies, and while all applications by suitable persons have been met, such a system must necessarily prove far from adequate. While something can be done as is proposed by the Committee by a rearrangement of the grants so that they are definitely earmarked to meet the salaries of staffs at these schools, and by taking steps to ensure that the whole of the amount received as subsidy is definitely set aside for Indian education, any additional funds required should come from the Union Government, not from the Province, and in this respect the Committee makes two interesting suggestions.

These two suggestions are the kernel of the report. The first is that in order to meet the increased charges which must fall upon the Province if an endeavour is made to provide the additional facilities required, the subsidy should be calculated on the

attendance for the current year, not on the previous year as is the present practice. If, as anticipated, the Indian school population grows rapidly the adoption of this course will make a substantial difference to the amount received. It is altogether a fair request to make to the Union Treasury, for it is because of an agreement made by the Government, regarding which the Province was not consulted, that these claims for additional consideration arise. The second suggestion is that a portion of the funds invested by the Public Debt Commissioners on behalf of the old Indian Immigration Trust Board should be made available for the erection of Government Indian Schools. This fund shows a balance of £110,000, only a small proportion of which can be required to meet any liabilities which might arise. The greater part of it presumably consists of amounts paid in by employers of indentured Indians in order to secure to them their return passage to India. Those Indians have abandoned the right they possessed, and part from this the Government has taken over the liability for the passage of any Indian who desires to proceed to that country. The money is thus lying idle, and will continue to accumulate. It was paid into the fund for the benefit of Indians, and though legislation will be required before its diversion takes place, there can be no doubt that these funds, if they are disbursed, should be expended on behalf of these people. Their representatives, both official and unofficial, claim that schools are their most pressing need, and therefore if these moneys can be utilised they should be released for these purpose. In these directions the Committee has done useful work, and their recommendations should gain the approval of Government for it is in order to implement an agreement for which the central authority is entirely responsible that this question has now been brought to a head. The inquiry which the Government promised should be held has taken place, the Committee has shown what is required, and indicated how the need to some extent can be met. Government undoubtedly desires to carry out the Gentlemen's Agreement; and it will be foolish if it does not accept the suggestions by which it can meet with comparative ease some of the liabilities it then accepted.

Social Paralysis And Foreign Rule

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Views

(Continued on page 150)

Playing for Safety

The normal routine which has become a rigid convention, is for the foreign ruler in all social matters to 'play for safety'. He dodges the plain issue, fearing an upheaval. A Mustafa Kemal Ghazi can carry out sweeping social changes, because his hand is on the pulse of the people over whom his sway is almost absolute. He is their hero and supreme patriot. But a Viceroy, however noble-minded, is rather like a suspected enemy, who comes over from England to exploit India's weakness. This suspicion of British rule in India has become deep as life itself, and even noble acts come under its miasma.

It has been my daily experience for nearly a quarter of a century to watch the course of events in India, with an eager longing for advance in humanitarian directions. Every day my own conviction—slowly and painfully formed—has grown stronger, that the rule of the foreigner is now definitely standing in the way of healthy social reform. Even with the very imperfect Legislative Councils, under

the Reform Act of 1919, progress has been far more rapid than under the autocracy which preceded. But it has not been rapid enough; and the official vote is continually given for reaction. It has been a commonplace of these recent years to watch the British Government in India relying for its support on those nominated and elected members who stand out for blank conservatism without progress. Government officials have been told to go into the lobby side by side with these conservative reactionaries.

A Crucial Question.

It may be asked, in criticism of what I have written, whether the depressed classes themselves would stand to gain or to lose under Swaraj. This is a crucial question. Unhesitatingly I would say that today the strongest forces working for their emancipation are to be found outside Government circles. By far the most powerful movement for their upliftment is the national movement. If the British rule were to cease tomorrow, the depressed classes would at once be brought into the foreground of the national programme. Japan was able partly to solve its own 'untouchable' problem, because it had the matter in its own hands from the very first. But in India the spirit of reform is continually defeated by a laggard administration. While writing this, I am not unminded of the fact that the rule of law in India, without respect of persons, has been one of the most persistent cause of whatever upliftment has already been made. But here again the evil of foreign rule is apparent because the one person who claims exemption and privilege under the law is the foreigner himself.

All that I have tried to state cannot be reasoned out here. But what may carry conviction is the fact that the conclusions I have reached have been against the natural bent of my own mind, when I first came out to India many years ago.

The Dead Hand.

I can see that I have left three vital questions almost without a direct answer:—

(1) Will the acknowledged social evils, which have grown up along with the whole caste system, especially those relating to child marriage and widow remarriage, be remedied more quickly under Swaraj, or will their removal be retarded?

(2) Will the *pardah* system, leading to the unhealthy seclusion of women among the higher classes, especially in Northern India, be brought more quickly to an end under Swaraj, or will it be strengthened?

(3) Will the existing absence of elementary rights of justice and civic freedom, noticeable in many of the Indian states, be relieved more speedily under Swaraj, or will its area increase?

My own personal experience has been that all these necessary changes are being retarded rather than accelerated under the present system of government. It is true a slight 'speeding up' immediately appeared when the semblance of Swaraj was given under the Reform Councils. But the unsatisfactory and half-hearted character of those reforms soon led to the very best and ablest Indian statesmen giving them up, after having tried them, as being essentially unworkable. That initial impulse, which promised to lead to something, has now died away; and the suspicion of British rule has darkened every prospect. One of the finest members of the Indian Civil Service said to me: 'The best that can be said for diarchy is this, that it is absolutely impossible to continue it. By its very nature it drives us forward to something more responsible.'

The greatest of all hindrances to rapid social progress to-day is the almost complete lack of confidence between the rulers and the ruled. In such an unhealthy atmosphere no thoroughly healthy social reform is possible.

Added to this, a stage has been reached in all these great issues, wherein the presence of a third party becomes hindrance, rather than a help, to progress. It is true that there might be for a time, more confusion if the third party—the foreigner—were not in evidence. But there would be also infinitely more inner urge towards self-recovery and improvement. For initiative comes along with responsibility, not through dictation. The hand of the foreigner after all, in the long run, is a dead hand; it cannot bring life.

News In Brief

In the course of his budget speech last Tuesday Mr. H. Gordon Watson, Administrator said:—

I think it advisable to say that the Executive Committee is in full agreement with the conclusions arrived at by the Indian Education Enquiry Committee, and propose to ask the Council to approve of an amount of approximately £9,000 being added to the Estimates for further education of Indian children. If the Council approves, the position will be that the whole of the subsidy received in respect of attendance of Indian children will be used for educating these children. It is hoped that the Union Government, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, will grant subsidy in respect of the attendance of Indian children during the previous calendar year, as laid down by the Financial Relations Act of 1925. If this proposal is agreed to it will be possible to extend further the educational facilities for Indian children from funds to be made available by the Government during the present year, and the Executive Committee is prepared to recommend to the Council that the whole amount so made available should be expended on Indian education, the necessary provision for any expansion by reason of this arrangement being provided for in additional estimates. The Committee recommended that steps should be taken with the view to ascertain whether certain funds at the disposal of the Indian Immigration Board could be used for the erection of buildings for Indian schools. This matter has been referred to the Government, and a reply is awaited.

In accordance with the provision in the Indo-Union Agreement, "to take special steps under the Public Health Act, for an investigation into the sanitary and housing conditions in and round Durban, which will include the question of (1) the appointment of advisory committees of representative Indians and (2) the limitation of the sale of municipal land, subject to restrictive conditions" steps are now being taken by the Union Health Authorities. In a communication to the town clerk, who opened negotiations with the Secretary for the Interior on this matter, Dr. Mitchell, Secretary for Public Health Department writes that it is proposed to appoint a committee to investigate the sanitary and housing conditions and to consider the appointment of advisory committees of representative Indians and the limitation of the sale of municipal land. It is proposed, he writes, that the committee consist of Sir Edward Thornton as chairman and two other members constituting the executive committee of the Central Housing Board; the assistant health officer for the Union stationed in Natal, one member nominated by the Administrator of Natal, one member nominated by the Durban Borough Council, and one member nominated by the Minister of the Interior, and two assessors nominated by the South African Indian Congress through Mr. Sastri. It is further suggested that the committee might meet in Durban on some convenient date within the next two or three months and that it should be possible for it to complete its labours within a week;