

Indian Opinion

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MR. SRINIVASA SAS TRI ON THE INDO-UNION AGREEMENT

THE following interesting and informative article has been contributed by the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to the *Hindustan Review* of Patna:—

The dispute between South Africa and India is as old as Kruger, who has already receded into the dimness of the past. It has several sides and has passed through several phases, but never knew any assuagement till the other day. No settlement which was not the result of a severe armed conflict could in the circumstances be final or decide all the points at issue. The recent negotiations at Capetown have achieved no miracle. But they have borne unexpectedly good fruit and, what is more, have brought within the region of probability a satisfactory ending of a controversy that has vexed nearly two generations.

The enlarged outlook of South African statesmen, to which this auspicious turn is due, is indeed a phenomenon deserving of the psychologist's attention. Those who witnessed it do not hesitate to describe it as a real change of heart. It has caused pleasurable surprise to most students of public affairs. Even the distempered politician, who almost resents the removal of a grievance, recognises it in his own way—by refusing to believe it. How is it to be accounted for? Its beginning is clearly traceable to the final part of the work done by the Paddison deputation when they persuaded the Government of the Union, at a late stage of the Areas Reservation Bill, to suspend its course, pending the result of a Round Table Conference between its representatives and those of the Government of India. Sir George Paddison and Mr. G. S. Bajpai must have been gratified at the many tokens of appreciation which they received from leaders of opinion in South Africa on whom they had first impressed the gravity of India's feelings and the necessity of a thorough investigation. Then came the visit of the important Parliamentary deputation headed by Mr. Beyers. In a brief and hurried tour through India these representative South Africans took a measure of India, her resources and her peoples, and not only they, but their countrymen throughout South Africa who followed their movements were profoundly affected by the hospitality and courtesy manifested by Indian society and by the marvellous self-restraint by which politicians of every shade forbore to make any unpleasant references to the obnoxious Bill or indeed to any of the numerous quarrels of which it was the culmination. No better witness on this point can be cited than Dr. Malan. In presenting the settlement to the Union Parliament he said, "The invitation from the Government of India, of which we availed ourselves during the recess, to send a representative deputation on a friendly visit to India, which was prompted by feelings of genuine friendship, has offered to the Government and members of Parliament a much-valued opportunity of studying at first hand conditions in India and has been a potent factor in the creation of that atmosphere to which the success of the Conference must be mainly attributed. The hospitality which the members of the deputation received from the Government and the people of India could not be surpassed." The most potent cause, however, was the political evolution of General Hertzog, the present Prime Minister of the Union. The earnestness and innate candour of his nature brought him completely under the spell, which England knows how to cast over her political un-

friends. The new "status" of his country, hailed as the crowning triumph of his diplomacy, induced a high degree of exultation under the influence of which he was determined to vindicate the enlarged freedom he had acquired in the only way in which it could be vindicated—by magnanimous extension of it to the weak and powerless peoples under his sway, of whom hitherto the Empire has assumed the guardianship.

A feeling of mutual respect and equal association between specially chosen representatives is one thing; goodwill and fellowship between communities is another. The first may conclude an agreement; the second alone can carry it into full effect. It is open to doubt whether the public opinion necessary for translating into daily action the ameliorative provisions of the settlement is at present in actual being. A surprising amount of toleration was perceptible at the demonstrations held in honour of the Indian Delegation. For the moment hotels and civic halls opened their doors to the Indian community; they were allowed to sit at meals with whites and speak from the same platforms. Whether this happy understanding is kept up beyond the occasion depends on the care and wisdom with which it is nursed by those blessed souls on both sides who value peace and goodwill among men. Of such Mr. C. F. Andrews is the finest exemplar. No praise in the cheapened currency of the day is adequate for the patience, devotion and humbleness of spirit with which this saintly man has gone about on his work of healing and reconciling in all grades of society, among those who wield power and those who are their victims, among politicians, tradesmen, journalists and priests. The settlement was made possible by his exertions; it will be made fruitful by his exertions.

II.

South Africa, like India, is divided into provinces of unequal size, population and resources, the Cape Province alone being larger than the other three put together. Constitutionally the central government is described as unitary. Still in respect of those functions, which are actually transferred to the provinces or to local authorities, overlapping and interference from the centre are jealously guarded against. Unfortunately, sanitation, housing, trade licences, education, subjects, which most concern the welfare of Indians, all come within this category. The Union Government could only advise and recommend ameliorative measures under these headings to other authorities, and the intelligent reader will guess how difficult it will be, even when such measures have been passed by local authorities, to get them administered in the proper spirit. The necessity thus arises for some competent and duly authorised Agent of the Government of India to remain on the spot and establish direct contact with these local authorities.

The provinces differ one from another in their treatment of Indians. The Orange Free State excludes Indians altogether. There are only about a hundred serving as waiters or in similar capacities. In the Transvaal the Indian has neither municipal nor parliamentary franchise, cannot acquire fixed property, must reside in locations, and even there can only occupy houses on temporary tenure. Trade licences, which are really valued most by our people, are usually renewed, though here and there difficulty has recently been felt

even in this matter, but as a rule no new licenses are given. In Natal the parliamentary franchise was taken away from our people long ago in 1896; the municipal franchise was taken away quite recently. But the individual voters are allowed to continue on the register and it is possible in certain localities for Indians, if they combined, (which however they seldom do) to send in a representative or two of their own, though these must necessarily be white persons. Our people can acquire fixed property anywhere, but municipal authorities have within the last few years begun to sell the lands at their disposal with restrictions on transfer of a racial character. Such restrictions are common in private sale deeds, but to these our countrymen raise no special objection. As regards trade licences new ones are no longer possible. The Cape has always been known for the absence of an acute Indian problem. Rhodes's formula of equal laws for all civilised peoples is still the prevailing doctrine, though its spirit is no longer maintained as in the old days. The Indian retains the franchise and can acquire property. Trade jealousy has just made its appearance here and there, and new licenses are occasionally refused. In long distance trains and even in the tram-cars in certain places the Indian can only share the scanty accommodation provided for coloured persons; walking on foot-paths, once sternly forbidden to our people, is now tacitly allowed in most places. Hotels and theatres do not admit Indians. No Indian is admitted to Universities. Only one institution for higher education is open to our people, namely, the missionary college at Fort Hare. Our children can only go to primary schools specially maintained for them by Government or mission agencies. These are too few in number, especially in Natal, and have no classes above the fourth. The whole situation is admitted to be "grave" by the authorities. Everywhere Indians repose the utmost confidence in the courts of the land, and they would be prepared in the last resort to acquiesce in the grant of full powers as to trade licences to local bodies provided they enjoyed the right of unrestricted appeal, to the supreme judicial tribunals. The above enumeration of disabilities might create the impression in the mind of the hasty reader that Indians in the Union of South Africa were the victims of a cruel system of persecution, or, from a material point of view, were sufferers from poverty, beggary, or chronic unemployment of the acute kind that we are familiar with in this country. There can be no doubt that speaking generally, even the lowest classes in South Africa are better off than they would be here, while a great number of Indians are in easy circumstances and some have amassed fortunes, which in this over-crowded land would have been almost impossible to men of their education and status. In fact, intelligent Indians who are in a position to compare the conditions in the two countries, have no hesitation in giving the preference to South Africa. Another fact, exactly the reverse of what one would ordinarily expect is, that of the various provinces of South Africa. The Cape is the one which records a decrease in the Indian population, while the two other provinces show a perceptible increase. This is noteworthy because the position of the Indians is by all accounts the best in the Cape whether from a political, social or educational standpoint. Moreover the laws of the provinces allow the Indian to migrate to the Cape from the other provinces on satisfying an easy educational test, while movement in the contrary direction is prohibited. The explanation of the surprising phenomenon is perhaps to be found in the greater competition in the economic life of the Cape which makes it difficult for the simple Indian trader to make his way there. Notwithstanding the unpropitious conditions of life which the Indian has to face in the Transvaal, he would appear to make money more easily there, and the trader class on the whole would perhaps place a higher money value on a Transvaal domicile than on one in either of the other provinces. But South Africa is not the only land in which economic prosperity and political freedom do not march together, or an unsophisticated person who is driven to make a choice would attach more importance to the former than to the latter.

The Indian population in the Union, as estimated for the year 1926, is 174,000. Of these the Cape, though much the largest province, has 6,500, the Transvaal has 15,500 and Natal has 152,000. In the last-named province the European population is roughly 150,000, so that our people are in a slight majority. About 15 years ago the majority was much more decidedly in our favour. To reduce, if not neutralise this majority, European immigration was stimulated, while Indian immigration was practically stopped, and even repatriation was after 1914 resorted to in the case of Indians. Owing to these special measures the disparity between the two populations was in the course of being effaced. For some reasons, however, during the last three or four years European immigration has practically ceased; at the same time repatriation of Indians seems to have slackened greatly. This slackening is admittedly attributable in a great part to the racial bitterness and ill-will created by the Class Areas Bill introduced by the Government of the South African Party. The result is that the numerical balance threatens to continue in our favour, and a few alarmist agitators have succeeded only too well in filling the minds of the Natal whites with the fear of being swamped. Some extremists would like the Indians to be driven out of Natal altogether; the majority would be content with a material reduction of the Indian population. An easy calculation shows that, even if the number of Indians was to be kept stationary, by neutralising the natural increase, as many as three thousand should be induced to leave South Africa every year. It may also be mentioned at this point that the maximum of repatriates in any year so far has just fallen short of this figure.

The white population in Natal is mostly British, and supports in politics the South African Party headed by Gen. Smuts. In the earlier years our main difficulty was with the Boers in the Transvaal. Since the British established themselves in that sub-continent, they have taken the lead in the anti-Asiatic campaign, and the fact is universally admitted that the position of Indians has become steadily worse since the Treaty of Vereeniging and is now most acute in the most British of the provinces. Gen. Smuts was right when he objected to my fixing the responsibility on the Boers. "Were I to yield to Mr. Sastri's demands," he protested in effect, "I should be betraying the Natal Britisher, who has placed his trust in me." Recent cables make it clear that the Natal white will oppose the settlement bitterly. In the circumstances it is a consoling reflection that the present Government does not derive much support from Natal and can afford to pursue its own course without being unduly frightened by the threats of their opponents. In this course Gen. Hertzog and Dr. Malan would find their task rendered easy if our fellow-countrymen conducted themselves, as there is every reason to believe they would, with dignity and moderation.

III.

Mr. Andrews is never tired of pointing out that in essentials the Indian problem in South Africa is the same as it was at the time of Mr. Gokhale's visit towards the close of 1912. With unerring insight that great Indian statesman laid it down first that the European mind must be relieved of the fear of being swamped by an excess of Indians, and secondly, that the right of the Europeans to political domination must be neither disputed nor endangered. Two quotations from his speeches of that time will put this matter beyond doubt:

"The position was a most complicated one, and while it was to be expected that they (the European community) would be true to the traditions associated with British rule, they had also the right to ask the Indian community to understand and realise the difficulties, and not expect what was practically impossible. The European community was a small community in this country in the midst of a large indigenous population and the situation necessarily became more complicated by the presence of a third party, differing in tradition and mode

of living. There was no doubt that the European element must continue to predominate in this land—that it must be made to feel that its position and its special civilisation were absolutely secure; the government of the country must be in accordance with Western traditions and modes of thought." (Speech at Durban).

"Now one thing is quite clear, that if a solution of this problem is to have any permanence and finality, it has to be such as will be acceptable to the European community, who are, after all, the dominant people in this country. And as long as there exists in the European mind the fear of a continued influx of Indians, there cannot be that frame of mind on its part which would allow of any settlement being a success. The European community must therefore receive, and the Indian community must be prepared to give, the necessary assurances to remove the fear on this point. Again, there must be no room for a reasonable apprehension in the minds of the Europeans that the presence of the Indians in this land would lower the character of the political institutions under which they desire to live. I fully recognise that South Africa must be governed along the lines of Western political institutions and by men who understand the spirit of those institutions, and the European community are entitled to an assurance that this shall remain so." (Speech at Pretoria).

Mr. Gandhi has repeatedly disavowed designs of political ascendancy and responsible leaders have loyally followed this policy of renunciation. The fear of numerical swamping was neutralised for the time by our acquiescence in the almost total exclusion of Indians decreed by the Immigration Act of 1913. And this principle has since received the clear concurrence of the Government of India at successive Imperial Conferences. For the benefit of the young student of the subject of Indians Overseas I shall insert here to extracts setting forth the views of Mr. Gandhi. One is from a famous letter of his of June to Mr. Georges, the other is of somewhat later date and is taken from his farewell letter to the European and Indian public of South Africa.

"I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day to go further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition they, the Europeans, will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to."

"The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to almost the total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-Provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future."

Mr. Gandhi is justly regarded as an idealist who adheres to a principle in the face of adverse circumstances. If he has been a consenting party to this compromise, it must be because the conditions of the time made it inevitable. Yet both he and

Gokhale were criticised with asperity for surrendering a vital principle by champions of the party of moderation. And although the nation has now definitely submitted to the logic of facts, echoes of the old opposition are still occasionally audible. It is true Mr. Gandhi expressly reserved to his countrymen the right of re-opening the subject matter of the settlement as well as other points; but he advised at the same time that the time for reconsideration would be when passions had subsided on both sides and mutual understanding and goodwill had been firmly established. Unfortunately, conditions in South Africa have shown no improvement at all; in fact, Mr. Gandhi had not long left South Africa before each side accused the other of having violated the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. It was asserted that Indians were still pouring into South Africa and that white civilisation, white standards and white supremacy were as much in peril as ever. And the cry has not abated to-day. The fact that Indians by word or deed have given no cause for alarm makes no difference. Is it reasonable to expect that either the Government of India or their representatives should be able to open afresh the matters then compromised? We all live in the hope that the day will arrive when within the British Empire the right of free emigration and settlement and other rights of a common citizenship will be acknowledged. But it is in the distant future, and in the meantime we have to remember that in 1926, when the negotiations for a Round Table Conference were afoot, the situation was much more stringent than in 1914, and the existence of the Areas Reservation Bill was a sword of Damocles held over our countrymen.

As early as 1914 the principle of repatriation was accepted and found embodiment in Sec. 6 of the Indians Relief Act. At that time the only consideration offered to the intending repatriate was a free passage back to India. The Act was in fulfilment of a part of the settlement that had been arrived at, and it is worth while, in view of the unsavoury nature of repatriation, to set down a few declarations of authority made both then and after.

The following passages are culled from Mr. Gandhi's farewell speeches and letters of the second half of 1914 :

"The settlement was honourable to both parties."

"To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected."

"A word about the settlement and what it means. In my humble opinion it is the Magna Charta of our liberty in this land."

"I call it our Magna Charta because it marks a change in the policy of the Government towards us and establishes our rights not only to be consulted in matters affecting us but have our reasonable wishes respected."

"The settlement finally disposes of all the points that were the subject matter of passive resistance, and in doing so it breathes the spirit of justice and fairplay."

"The presence of a large indentured and ex-indentured Indian population in Natal is a grave problem. Compulsory repatriation is a physical political impossibility. Voluntary repatriation, by way of granting free passages and similar inducement will not, as my experience teaches me, be availed of to any appreciable extent."

"He knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians Relief Bill was not satisfactory. It would be a singular thing if in this world they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but in the condition of things in South Africa at the present time he was certain they could not have had a better measure. 'I do not claim credit for it;

it is rather due to the women and children and those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. I shall not forget that General Botha showed the greatest "statesmanship when he said that his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate, historic to me, historic to my countrymen and possibly historic to South Africa and the world.' It was well known to them how Government had done them justice, and how the Opposition had come to their assistance."

The next extract is from the evidence of Mr. Andrews before the Select Committee on the Areas Reservation Bill, dated the 5th March, 1926 :

"I was present with Mr. Gandhi when we talked over carefully an extremely important clause which is now called the voluntary repatriation clause, and he discussed the clause with me, discussing it with the object of reducing the fear in this country of the Indian population. At that time there was an atmosphere of wonderful friendliness between Mr. Gandhi and those he represented and General Smuts and those that he represented. The consequence was that Mr. Gandhi cordially, with the consent of everyone in India, agreed to that voluntary repatriation clause, namely, that everyone who liked to take the bonus passage back on the forfeiture of domicile would be allowed to do so and no objection would be raised by India. That clause was inserted simply because there was an atmosphere of give and take. Now to-day there is no such atmosphere at all; there is just the opposite. Even to mention the word "repatriation" to-day, with this present Bill threatening India, is to wound and sting and burn. Therefore, to-day it is not possible in this atmosphere for the Indian Government to co-operate in this way. But after the atmosphere itself has changed—completely changed as it was in 1914—I think there are many ways in which, as the Indian Government itself has expressed, the voluntary repatriation clause might be re-examined."

The condition on which a free passage was given to an Indian wishing to go back to India permanently was that he should sign a statement "that he abandons on behalf of himself, and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein." Without doubt this statement involves a humiliation, and one cannot wonder that the pride of any patriot would be hurt at the sale of his birth-right for a mess of pottage. But the stream of emigration back to India, which started at that time, has gone on since then, with fluctuations, it is true, but never wholly dried up. The Government of South Africa found it necessary about the year 1921 to add to the free passage an additional inducement in the shape of £5 bonus per head, subject to a family maximum of £25. In 1923 the bonus was raised £10 per adult and £5 for each child, subject to a maximum of £50. Although several thousands of Indians returned to India under this scheme, the anti-Asiatic feeling became worse and worse. It led to the harassment of our population in trade and kindred matters, and culminated in their being deprived in Natal of the municipal franchise. The Government of General Smuts felt it necessary to introduce the Class Areas Bill, which would have enacted a species of segregation of our people. But the Government fell before the Bill could be passed into law. The present Ministry took up the matter in their turn, and brought forward a more thoroughgoing and drastic measure, which was referred to as the sword of Damocles. Amid the consternation which it occasioned, both

in the Government of India and the people, Lord Reading's diplomacy found its opportunity. To the Paddison deputation, which he despatched to South Africa for the purpose of conducting an enquiry on the spot, must be assigned the honour of having effected the first favourable turn in the situation. Before the Round Table Conference could be decided upon, two points of consequence had to be definitely yielded. As they formed the preliminary basis of the Conference they must be carefully remembered. (1) The existing scheme of repatriation and its working were to be carefully examined with a view to discover any difficulties that might have arisen and to smooth these away, and (2) no settlement of the dispute would be acceptable to the Union Government which did not guarantee the maintenance of western standards of life by just and legitimate means.

At this point it may be useful to turn aside for a moment and point out an anomaly which proves how strange is the way of politics and how curious the solution which the politician has often to accept. The class of Indian against whom the brunt of the agitation is directed and whom the agitator is most anxious to get rid of is the trader, who undersells his Jewish rival and rouses his worst jealousy. No bonus that the Government can conceivably promise will ever be a sufficient inducement to this class. On the other hand, it is the poor unorganised agricultural labourer and the thriftless section amongst the Indian farmers of Natal who will avail themselves of the free passage and bonus. But this class, far from exciting anybody's jealousy, are in much request in the farms and plantations in Natal owned by whites. In fact it is well known that the white farmers and planters actually paid men a few years ago to dissuade intending Indian repatriates. Quite recently, however, they have been silenced by the raging and tearing propaganda of the trading community. So that in proportion as the new assisted emigration scheme is successful, the really aggrieved class among the whites will get little relief, while a hitherto uncomplaining class will suffer from a genuine grievance. The new settlement, however, justifies the same results on a more intelligible theory. The maintenance of western standards being a *sine qua non*, some Indians could be enabled by suitable ameliorative methods to conform to them, while other Indians might not by any process of upliftment ever be enabled to do so. There are no visible marks by which the one class might be distinguished from the other. A rough test is afforded by the offer of a free passage and bonus. Those who accept it belong to the second class; those who do not must be presumed to belong to the other. Lest anyone should over-interpret this paragraph, it must be added that the white farmer in opposing repatriation is only friendly to the Indian up to a point and in his own way. He wants him only as a cheap and unresisting labourer. As soon as he sets up on his own or his children go to school and seek other employment, even the farmer joins the general crusade.

But what are these western standards, which an Indian has to reach or quit? No logical or legal definition need be attempted. It is a matter of general knowledge that different grades of people live up to different standards. Speaking of communities rather than individuals, no one can fail to notice the difference in the general layout, cleanliness, the absence of evil smells and the elegance or refinement of a cantonment as contrasted with its adjoining city. This will help

MR. SASTRI'S APPOINTMENT

THE appointment of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as the Government of India agent in South Africa in accordance with the recent agreement between the Union and Indian Governments will be hailed with the greatest satisfaction by Indians throughout South Africa. Both the Government of India and that of the Union of South Africa are to be congratulated for having respected the wishes of the Indian people in this connection. The most important of the provisions of the Indo-Union agreement was the one dealing with the appointment of an agent, as the carrying out of the agreement, which was really of more importance than the paper which contained it, depended largely on that appointment. It is therefore a matter of no small consolation to the Indian community that an agent of the Government of India will be present in South Africa to see the agreement being carried out. The present appointment is satisfactory, firstly, because an Indian has been appointed. No matter how capable and how sympathetic a European may be, an Indian alone can enter into the real feelings of his brethren and he alone can feel the humiliations inflicted on his brethren as though they were inflicted upon himself; and a responsible and self-respecting Indian would immediately resign his post should he find that he could no longer bare those humiliations. It would be too much to expect a European to do likewise. The appointment is satisfactory, secondly, because in the Hon. Mr. Sastri we have a person on whom the late Mr. Gokhale had reposed his trust. Moreover, Mr. Sastri, has won the high esteem and confidence of the Indians of South Africa by the way in which he had championed their cause in the Imperial Conference and by the way he had carried out his responsibilities during the recent Round Table Conference. Although Mr. Sastri belongs politically to a party which is unpopular in India that need cause no fear in the minds of Indians in South Africa. Whatever the views of that party or of Mr. Sastri may be about the ways and methods of attaining freedom for India we know that on the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa all parties in India stand united. Mr. Sastri's knowledge and ability pertaining the post he is to hold cannot be

doubted. While congratulating Mr. Sastri on his appointment we pray that he may be blessed with the health and strength to fulfil the responsible and heavy task imposed upon him.

MR. SASTRI'S ARTICLE

WE have devoted a large portion of the present issue to the publication of an article by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the Indo-Union agreement which he has contributed to the *Hindustan Review* of Patna. The article gives a historic review of the whole Indian position and explains the settlement as clearly as it could possibly be explained. We would therefore ask our readers to study the article carefully and we have no doubt that those who are dissatisfied with the present settlement and are crying for the whole loaf will after reading this article realise that it is better sometimes to be satisfied with half a loaf than to get nothing in the struggle to devour the whole.

Owing to lack of space and time we have had to leave over for our next issue important matter which includes the reply of the Minister of the Interior to the South African Indian Congress Deputation that recently waited upon him in connection with the new Asiatic Bill.

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to a realisation of the difference generally between western and eastern standards. In individual lives the difference is to be found in personal cleanliness, mode of dress, furniture, mural decorations, sanitary arrangements and habits, etc. If we add the categories of style of conversation, amusements and cultivation of fine arts—we get a whole range of headings under each of which great disparities exist between class and class in the same society as well as between individuals in the same class. The mere possession of wealth does not betoken a high standard of life. It is notorious in India how great trading and money-lending castes lead bare and crude lives in comparison with the professional classes, who are on the whole not nearly so well off. To come to the immediate point, those who visit Durban and notice the difference between the quarters which are predominantly Indian will not ask for precise definition of standards, though each observer may be ready with his own explanation of how the difference arises. Offence is caused and a rankling sense of injustice is produced by omitting to acknowledge that there are many in the one community who live up to the standards of the other and many in the latter who sink to the level of the former. Sweeping generalisations are to be avoided, and laws and regulations based on them and discriminating between communities are a prolific source of social jealousy and conflict. Philosophers and moralists may contend with some justification that civilisation has taken the wrong road and that

the ultimate interests of humanity require a return to simpler and more ascetic modes of life. But in South Africa the white community, whose right to regulate the polity and civilisation of that sub-continent we have admitted, will not wait till these fundamental questions are settled but press for rough and ready methods of settling everyday problems. The multiplication of wants, the cultivation of tastes, the increase of elegancies and refinements and the incessant striving for the means of acquiring and satisfying these are the outward marks of modern civilisation, and it is no use our trying to run away in the opposite direction. European and Indian, however, may unite heartily to honour those rare individuals who teach by example how riches are not necessary to happiness nor elegance to real goodness.

IV.

We are now ready for a discussion of the main features of the settlement. At the head of India's gains must be placed the abandonment of the oppressive Bill known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. To all appearance people in this country have already forgotten the horrors with which our countrymen in South Africa were threatened under this Bill. By a very slight exaggeration it was described as compulsory repatriation without compensation, bonus or free passage. It would have reduced Indians to live "by taking in each other's washbids." It would have violated the Smuts-Gandhi agreement in all essentials. The brevity and directness of the Minister of the Interior in introducing the measure were indicative of the iron resolve that lay behind it. These were his words:—"I must say that the Bill frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population, and that no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country. But, on the other hand, the method of dealing with this question will not be the employment of any forcible means. The method which this Bill will propose will be the application of pressure to supplement, on the other hand, the inducement which is held out to Indians to leave the country. This Bill to a certain extent follows well known lines. To a certain extent we go on the path which has been trodden before by my hon. friends opposite, but the Bill does not rest there, it goes a good deal further." The best summary of the provisions of the Bill was made by Lord Olivier in the House of Lords about this time last year.

"That is to say, that as the present inducements of offered passages and bonuses are not sufficient to uproot the population of Indians settled in Natal, as they could not possibly be expected to uproot them, pressure has been exercised. Their existing rights and amenities, which they have acquired under the ordinary laws of the land and under the guarantee of His Majesty's Government, are to be very much diminished in South Africa, and life there will become intolerable to a very large number of Indians.

"That is more than pressure, it is oppression. It is not to be wondered at, when Indians in India see their relations exposed to this oppression, that they become restive and ask: What is the use of our belonging to an Empire which guarantees to protect us if, again and again, the promises that have been made in the name of that Empire to our kinsmen are not to be maintained; and those kinsmen subjected to oppression to induce them to relinquish the privileges that they have acquired? "The pressure on Indians is to be exercised in several ways. First of all, by restricting, in townships, the rights to acquire or lease real property, or to be licensed to trade, to defined areas. Urban authorities are to advise as to the setting up of those areas. The power to grant a renewal of a trading licence anywhere is also discretionary, and this discretion is meant to be used. The question of granting trade licences already created in times past produced a considerable storm between India and Africa, and on the

last occasion, in 1908, when power was definitely taken to withdraw licences to Indians then trading, the legislation was not allowed at that time by His Majesty, and it did not come into operation on the ground—the ground on which we are arguing this case—that vested and guaranteed interests were being interfered with.

"Secondly pressure is exercised by taking away the right of buying or leasing land anywhere in South Africa except in such areas in Natal only as may be allowed within thirty miles of the coast. Thirdly, it increases from £30 to the crushing sum of £100 the bail which may be demanded from a returning domiciled Indian pending the hearing of evidence that he has been domiciled, but the mere certificate is not considered sufficient evidence of that domicile. The presumption is, I suppose, that it may be forged. Therefore he is treated at once as a prohibited emigrant and subjected to a bail which has hitherto been £30, but which is now, without any reason as far as I have been able to find out, raised to the enormous and crushing sum of £100. This is to be imposed on him before he can be allowed to produce the definite evidence required that he is the emigrant he purports to be. That is a piece of oppression.

"In the fourth place it includes in the Transvaal, for the purpose of this Act only, the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid, in order to enable Indians to be expelled from those mining districts by the operation of the Transvaal law. In order to restrict the freedom of Indians in Natal, and simply for the purpose of this Bill, these districts are nominally put back into the Transvaal area in order that Indians working there may be deprived of their employment and driven out. This is what Dr. Malan mildly describes as "pressure." In the fifth place it encroaches upon or opens the door to infringements of existing rights of domicile. The purpose is to reduce the numbers and this Bill restricts the importation of wives and children of domiciled Indians and curtails existing rights of registration of employment in the Transvaal. I have stated that Lord Reading's opinion and certainly that of anyone connected with the India office, is that these oppressive enactments are a distinct infringement of the rights of Indians which His Majesty's Government are bound in honour to maintain and safeguard."

Our countrymen in that sub-continent have a vivid conception of the oppression and hardship that such a Bill would have inflicted on them, and it is no wonder that they hail with joy a settlement which rids them of such a nightmare.

But not only have they escaped from this nightmare; they have been accepted as a part of the permanent population entitled, like other elements of it, to the fostering care and protection of the Union Government. The noble words, which embody this generous policy, are well worth quoting. Under the heading "Upliftment of Indian community", the first paragraph runs:—

"The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised government to devise ways and means, and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Dr. Malan and his compatriots have shown rare wisdom in changing from the one position to the other and rarer courage in admitting and announcing the change, and it is impossible to withhold from them a tribute of admiration for qualities all too uncommon in the sphere of politics. Public opinion and the attitude of local bodies may delay the translation of this policy into positive acts of amelioration, but their clear enunciation on paper gives our people a sure foothold in the path of progress which they have hitherto lacked. When things refuse to move forward or threaten to move backward it is a blessing, as we have often realised in our own history, to be able to point as to a guiding star to a clearly-expressed ideal of administration.

Nor is this policy of equal treatment and fair-play left altogether in the air. Several directions are indicated in the Annexure, which need not be particularised here, in which the policy is to be carried out for the betterment of the Indian population. Housing and sanitation, the organisation and wages of workmen, trade licences are some of the headings under which improvement will be aimed at, and in favourable conditions, may be attained. But the most important of these, the one which lies at the foundation of all progress, is the topic of education. It must be admitted that the leaders of our community have been unable hitherto to show much self-help, and the wealthy numbers cannot escape blame for the neglect of the coming generations. Let us hope that they will respond to the loud call that will be made on their public spirit and munificence as a result of the educational commission of enquiry which the Natal Administration will be induced to appoint in the near future. If the Indian educational expert associated with this commission has an engaging and persuasive personality we may expect some benefactions on a liberal scale which will supply the woeful deficiency in Indian education.

Some explanation will be required of a provision which has been newly made, and which is in the nature of a restriction. Minor children will not hereafter be admitted into the Union unless accompanied by their mothers. The figures under this head supplied by the Immigration Department showed that more than ninety children out of a hundred admitted every year left their mothers in India. There was some reason to suspect fraud in several cases. Anyhow it was clear that the children were taken into the Union, not for the purpose of enabling their parents to lead healthy family lives, but for enabling the former to acquire a South African domicile in their turn, for trade and other material purposes. It is impossible not to sympathise with the complaint that a large proportion of domiciled Indians keep their families in India and do not regard South Africa as their home. It will help to regularise the whole matter of the admission of wives and minor children when the Government of India undertake, in pursuance of the settlement, to certify "that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child, as the case may be, of the person who makes the claim." In the case of the other Dominions the Government of India issues these certificates of identity in accordance with the Reciprocity resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918. The Union Government have now expressed their willingness that the Government of India should undertake a similar responsibility with reference to South Africa.

V.

The settlement casts other responsibilities also on the Government of India. Hitherto they have remained passive spectators in the scheme of repatriation. Though it was their duty, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, to look after returned emigrants, nothing stands to their credit so far except an occasional subsidy to relieve acute distress. The Union Government naturally think that their repatriation scheme will become more attractive if it becomes known in South Africa that at this end something will be done to receive those who return and help them to settle down. The Government of India will not be called upon to contribute anything from their treasury. There is a lot however that could be done without incurring financial liability. The emigrants will be received in Bombay and Madras by our officers and helped to proceed to their destinations by rail or otherwise. Meanwhile their monies will be taken care of if they desire it, and their bonuses will be paid through official agency at their destination. To enable them to settle down in the occupations for which they are suited, official bureaus will supply the necessary information and advice. It is expected that, without detriment to the interests of the labour force here, it will be possible for the railway, harbour and other schemes now afoot to absorb the main part of the returning Indians. They will also be eligible to

benefit by the emigration schemes which may from time to time be sanctioned by the Government of India, such as are now open to the Federated Malay States and Ceylon. In fact, it is these two countries and Mauritius which are contemplated in the provision which says that the Union Government may organise schemes of assisted emigration to India and "other countries." Seeing that Mr. Gandhi, and following him, many others have criticised this provision, it may be of use to set out below a statement which Sir Muhammad Habibullah made the other day in the Council of State:—

"The Government were aware that there was some apprehension in India regarding the exact intention of the provision in the recent agreement of the Indian question in South Africa that the Union Government would organise a scheme of assisted emigration to countries other than India. The phrase "other countries" was intended to cover migration to Ceylon and Malaya to which countries emigration from India was already allowed and to enable the Union Government to meet applications from Indians born in Mauritius and elsewhere who wished to return to their place of birth. If at some future date the Union Government decided to afford facilities for emigration to other countries they would doubtless consult the Government of India."

The name "repatriation scheme" is to be replaced by the name "the scheme of assisted emigration." The change not only takes away part of the odium that has attended the scheme, but is more in accord with facts; for more and more of those that avail themselves of the scheme will be those born in South Africa; and in their case, the word "repatriation" is obviously inapplicable. The most important change, however, is that the intending emigrant will not be required to sign a declaration surrendering his domicile and that of his family for a pecuniary consideration. He will have the right, after the first year of his return and before the expiry of the third year, to return to South Africa, provided he refunds the bonus and the cost of passage received by him. The right of re-entry is a concession to Indian sentiment, while it might attract many who would have recoiled from the irrevocable step of surrendering their domicile once for all. Even after the expiry of three years the emigrant need not sign a document yielding up his rights of domicile; for, under a new law which will soon be enacted and which will apply to all emigrants alike, whether white or coloured, domicile will expire automatically after three years continuous absence except in cases where the Minister of the Interior permits a longer stay outside the Union. A novel feature is the provision for the payment of monthly pensions to decrepits in lieu of, or in addition to, the bonus. The Government of India will undertake to distribute this pension out of funds allotted for the purpose by the Union Government. One more change deserves mention. Hitherto for the purpose of admitting minor children of parents domiciled in the Union the age of majority has been fixed at 16 years, but for the purpose of repatriation a man has been required to take away all his children under 21 years. This anomaly is now removed, the age of majority being 16 both ways. It will be admitted that, taken along with the considerable increase in the scale of bonuses, these improvements are calculated to enhance the effectiveness of the old repatriation scheme. It is obviously impossible to estimate precisely how many will return every year to India, but we must impress it on South African whites that it is possible to be too sanguine in their anticipations, and by premature expressions of disappointment, to retard the movement they desire.

A little reflection on various parts of the agreement is enough to show how useful, nay how indispensable, an Agent of the Government of India would be in South Africa. The Union Government have requested ✓

the Government of India, and these have agreed, to appoint such an officer. Mr. Gandhi, whose knowledge of South African affairs has been kept up-to-date, has told us indeed that the ultimate value of most of the provisions contained in the agreement depends on the character, ability and standing of our Agent. The Government of India are no less aware of the importance of this office and will doubtless make the best selection that is possible. The designation, the precise duties and the status of the officer have not yet transpired. Perhaps they can be finally determined only after consultation with the Union Government, but one may be permitted to express the hope that the office will really rank high, betokening the status which South Africa has recently attained and India will soon attain. This is the first time that India makes an ambassadorial appointment to a Dominion, and all future possibilities must be present to the consciousness of those who choose the person and determine his style, procedure and privileges.

The Viceroy is indeed to be congratulated on his courage in choosing an Indian for leadership of this Delegation. The result has amply vindicated his choice. Let us trust that it will embolden him to select Indians for responsible offices of this kind in future, and thus dispel once for all the impression which long practice has created abroad that the paucity of qualified Indians makes it necessary to hold the country in the leading string of Britishers. No one will venture, in matters of this higher order of importance, to deprecate caution, but even a conservative student of Indian affairs will allow that Britain has never taken a forward step a day too soon. On the contrary, by being behindhand even in second rate innovation, she has again and again lost credit for courage and generosity. May we indulge the hope that the lesson will not be lost on the Secretary of State for India? He and his Council have allowed South Africa to settle their dispute without intervention of the India Office. If the experiment has succeeded it may well be repeated with equal chances in its favour. It may be hard to stand aside and let others do the job which one has considered one's own. But constitutional progress is a series of such self-denying acts, and Lord Birkenhead, we trust, is as capable of them as any Secretary of State before him.

V. S. SRINIVASA.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

PART II.

Chapter XXII

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

If I found myself entirely absorbed in the service of the community, the reason behind it was my desire for self-realisation. I had made the religion of service my own as I felt that God could be realised only through service. And service, for me, was the service of India, because it came to me without my seeking, because I had an aptitude for it. I had gone to South Africa for travel, for finding an escape from Kathiawar intrigues and for gaining my own livelihood. But, as I have said, I found myself in search of God and striving for self-realisation.

Christian friends had whetted my appetite for knowledge which had become almost insatiable, and they would not leave me in peace, even if I desired to be indifferent. In Durban Mr. Spencer Walton, the head of the South African General Mission, found me out. I became almost a member of his

family. At the back of this acquaintance was of course my contact with Christians in Pretoria. Mr. Walton had a manner all his own. I do not recollect his ever having invited me to embrace Christianity. But he placed his life as an open book before me and let me watch all his movements. Mrs. Walton was a very gentle and talented woman. I liked the attitude of this couple. We knew the fundamental difference between us. Any amount of discussion could not efface them. Yet even differences prove helpful where there is tolerance, charity and truth. I liked Mr. and Mrs. Walton's humility, perseverance and devotion to work, and we met very frequently.

This friendship kept alive my interest in religion. It was impossible now to get the leisure that I used to have in Pretoria for my religious studies. But what little time I could spare I turned to good account. My religious correspondence continued. Rayachandbhai was guiding me. Some friend sent me Narmadashanker's book '*Dharma Vichar*.' Its preface proved very helpful. I had heard about the Bohemian way in which the poet had lived, and a description in the preface, of the revolution effected in his life by his religious studies captivated me. I came to like the book and read it from cover to cover with attention. I read with interest Max Muller's book *India—What can it teach us?* and the translation of the *Upanishads* published by the Theosophical Society. All this enhanced my regard for Hinduism and its beauties began to grow upon me. This however did not prejudice me against other religions. I read Washington's Irving's *Mahomed and His Followers* and Carlyle's panegyric on the Prophet. These books raised Mahomed in my estimate. I also read a book called the *Sayings of Zarathustra*.

Thus I gained more knowledge of the different religions. The study stimulated my self-introspection and fostered in me the habit of putting into practice whatever appealed to me in my studies. Thus I began some of the yogic practices as well as I could understand them from a reading of the Hindu books, but I could not get on very far and decided to follow them with the help of some expert when I returned to India. The desire has never been fulfilled.

I made too an intensive study of Tolstoy's books. *The Gospel in Brief, What to Do?* and other books made a deep impression on me. I began to realise more and more the infinite possibilities of universal love.

About the same time I came in contact with another Christian family. At their suggestion, I attended the Wesleyan Church every Sunday. For these days I also had their standing invitation to dinner. The Church did not make a favourable impression on me. The sermons seemed to be uninspiring. The congregation did not strike me as being particularly religious. They were not an assembly as devout souls; they appeared rather to be worldly-minded people going to Church for recreation and in conformity to custom. Here, at times, I would involuntarily dose. I was ashamed, but some of my neighbours who were in no better lightened the shame. I could not go on long like this and soon gave up attending the service.

My connection with the family I used to visit every Sunday was abruptly broken. In fact it may be said that I was warned to visit it no more. It happened thus. My hostess was a good and simple woman but somewhat narrow-minded. We always discussed religious matters. I was then re-reading Aronld's *Light of Asia*. Once we began to compare the life of Jesus with that of Buddha. "Look at Gautama's compassion!" said I. "It was not confined to mankind, it was extended to all living beings. Does not one's heart overflow with love to think of the lamb joyously perched on his shoulders? One fails to notice this love for all living beings in

the life of Jesus." The comparison pained the good lady. I could understand her feelings. I cut the matter short and we went to the dining room. Her son, a cherub scarcely five, was also with us. I am happiest when in the midst of children and this youngster and I had long been friends. I spoke dirisively of the piece of meat in his plate and in high praise of the apple in mine. The innocent boy was carried away and joined in my praise of the fruit.

But the mother? She was dismayed.

I was warned. I checked myself and changed the subject. The following week I visited the family as usual but not without trepidation. I did not see that I should stop going there, I did not think it proper either. But the good lady made my way easy.

"Mr. Gandhi," she said, "please don't take it ill if I feel obliged to tell you that my boy is none the better for your company. Every day he hesitates to eat meat and asks for fruit, reminding me of your argument. This is too much. If he gives up meat he is bound to get weak, if not ill. How could I bear it? Your discussions should henceforth be only with us elders. They are sure to react badly on children."

"Mrs...." I replied, I am sorry. I can understand your feelings as a parent, for I, too, have children. We can very easily end this unpleasant state of things. What I eat and omit to eat is bound to have a greater effect on the child than what I say. The best way, therefore, is for me to stop these visits. That certainly need not affect our friendship."

"I thank you," she said with evident relief.

વાંચવા લાયક વેચવાના પુસ્તકો

	શી.	રૂ.
રાજમાયા	૩	૬
બનીસ પુતળીનીવાર્તા	૧૦	૬
ચંદ્રકાન્ત ભાગ ૧	૧૨	૬
" " ૨	૧૩	૬
" " ૩	૧૨	૬
આંકની ચોપડી	૦	૩
દેશી હિસાબ ભાગ ૧	૦	૬
મણીકાન્ત	૧૦	૬
પક્વાન પોથી	૭	૬
મેધકુત	૭	૦
બળવાનો ઇતિહાસ ભાગ ૧	૧૧	૬
" " " ૨	૧૧	૬
પાટલી પુત્ર	૧૨	૬
કલાપીનો કેકારવ	૧૦	૦
ધરવેદુ	૧૫	૦
લોકમાન્યની વધિ	૨	૦
(આ પુસ્તકમાં અનેક વખતના લોકમાન્ય તીલકના ચિત્રો છે, તેમજ અંગ્રેજી, ગુજરાતી અને ટામીલ ત્રણ ભાષામાં લોકમાન્યની જીવન કથા આંગ્રેજી છે.)		
કબીરવાણી	૭	૬
(મહાત્મા કબીરજીનાં ચુંટી કાઢેલાં ૬૦૬ દોહરાઓ ૨૫ બજનો તથા તેમના ખાસ ૩૦ બંજો. અર્થ સાથે, તથા કબીરજીનું જીવન વર્તાવ.)		
સૌરાષ્ટ્રની રસધાર ભા-૧	૩	૬
" " " ૨	૩	૬
" " " ૩	૩	૬

" " " ૪	૪	૬
લોહીનો વેપાર	૬	૬
ચંનતાની વાતો	૭	૬
મહીલાની મહાકથાઓ	૮	૦
સ્વર્ગમાં સેશન્સ	૭	૬
અધકાત પર પ્રકાશ	૭	૩
આદર્શ ચરિત્રાવલિ	૪	૦
વિશ્વ લીલા	૫	૩
અબળાની આત્મકથાઓ	૬	૦
દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાનો ઇતિહાસ (વેબક મોહનદાસ આંધી)		
" ભાગ ૧	૩	૦
" " ૨	૩	૦
દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાનો ઇતિહાસ (હોંદીમાં)	૨	૬
વિરાજ વહુ	૨	૦
ત્યારે કરી શું શું? ભાગ ૧ લો	૨	૬
" " " ૨ જો	૩	૦
અમલાયતન (ટાગોરકૃતપરથી અનુવાદ)	૨	૦
ઓતરાની દિવાલો	૧	૬
ત્યાગ મુર્તી	૧	૦
શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવત	પાઉં ૧	૧
સ્વામી વિવેકાનંદનું જીવન ચરિત્ર (ભાગ ૬ મો)	૭	૦
સ્વામી વિવેકાનંદ અંશ ૧ ભાગ ૧ થી ૪	૭	૬
બ્રહ્મચરકૃત રામાયણ	૭	૦
બંકીમ નિંબધ માલા (એટલે જ્ઞાનનો બંધાર)	૭	૦
" " " ૨ " ૪ થી ૬	૭	૬
" " ભાગ ૬-૭	૪	૬
" " " ૮	૬	૬
" " " ૧૦	૫	૦
આદર્શ દર્શાવ માલા (દાખલા દહીલ)	૫	૦
ટોડકૃત રાજસ્થાનનો ઇતિહાસ (હોંદુસ્તાનનો		
ઇતિહાસ ભણવો હોય તો ભરૂર વાંચો) અંશ ૧ લો.	૧૬	૦
" " " ૨ જો.	૧૬	૦
માત્ર એજ નકલો આવી છે.		
દાનવીર કાર્નેગી (એક યુરોપીય ધર્મવિરનું		
જીવન લે. મીસીસ કાર્નેગી ખાદીના પુસ્તકમાં)	૭	૬
બકત ચરિત્ર (આદર્શ બકતોના સંપૂર્ણ જીવન વર્તાવ)	૭	૦
શિવાજી જીવનવિત (એટલે હોંદુસ્તાનના મરાઠા રાજાનો		
પુનઃ ઉદ્ધાર)	૮	૬
મહાત્મા ટોલસ્ટોય	૧૦	૦
સતરમી સહીનું ક્રાંસ	૭	૬
જીવન સુધારવાના માર્ગ	૪	૬
મોહીલ વિર હમીરજી (રબુતોની શુરતાનો દાખલો)	૬	૬
દર્શાવેલ સતક	૪	૩
દીક્ષાનેરી ઈંગ્લીશ ઇન્ડિયન ગુજરાતી મોટી સાધક	૧૭	૩
" " " " પોકેટ	૬	૬
" " " " વલન ન્હાનો સાધક	૬	૬
દીક્ષાનેરી ગુજરાતી ઈંગ્લીશ પોકેટ	૫	૬
પંચરત્ન ગીતા (સંપૂર્ણ ટીકા સહીત)	૫	૦
મૃણાલીની (કવિશ્રી ટાગોરકૃત)	૩	૦
મીસરની મહારાણી	૨	૬
નીતિ સુધારકાંચીણી (નીતિ-આર્થ)	૩	૦
જન કબીર	૧	૦