

Indian Opinion

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SOUTH AFRICA, THE INDIAN AND THE EMPIRE

THE *Natal Advertiser* editorially writes as follows under the above heading in its issue of the 9th January:—

The approaching session of Parliament is already big with fate concerning the welfare of the Indian in this country; and it looks perilously as if the fight to be waged over the Asiatic Tenure (Amendment) Bill will plunge us all back amid the evil humours that preceded the Capetown Agreement of little more than three years ago.

This is greatly to be regretted. It is, unhappily, only too apparent that, though the proposed legislation only concerns the Indian in the Transvaal, both European and Indian sentiment in Natal is prepared to vent itself with the old-time fury that marked the wrangles over the Class Areas Bill of five years ago. Rarely a day passes that does not reveal some vicious outburst of ill-suppressed feeling on the part either of the intolerant European or the equally irrational Asiatic; and the temper that would patiently thrash out the problems separating the two races sometimes grows a little disheartened at the ease and promptitude with which the old-time hates burst through the veneer of superficial agreement. The proposed Transvaal legislation will leave the Natal Indian untouched. In a double sense he has nothing immediately to fear from it, for he is prohibited from settling in the adjacent province and making its disabilities his own. But nothing can prevent the Natal Indian from making the quarrel of his Transvaal compatriots his own. He is doing so now. He did so very vocally at the recent Capetown Conference; and it would be idle of the South African Government to suppose that because the proposed Amendment Bill concerns the Transvaal only, the fight can be localised among the Transvaal Asiatics. For good or ill every Indian in South Africa is going to make this issue his own, and make it, too, so far as possible, an affair that may seriously perturb the relationship of India and this country.

No Moral Consent

We are not going to review the historic circumstances which, in the first place, enabled Indians in the Transvaal to secure the foothold they have in various urban areas, or tell anew how it was that State acquiescence in a succession of irregularities brought the present conditions to pass. There is no doubt that, in some of the lesser Transvaal townships, the Asiatic now has a hold that it might have been to the good of all concerned he never enjoyed. But again this is due in great measure to State approval, tacit if not explicit. The State condoned for very many years the conditions it now proposes to reverse, and it will be very hard put to find any moral consent to the course it proposes to pursue.

What is that course? It consists, in broad principle, of applying to the Transvaal Indian the principles of segregation and "class areas" which proved so repugnant in the measure that was abandoned five years ago for the better way of the Capetown Agreement. It proposes the application of restrictive conditions to the Transvaal Indian which will

steadily force him into "defined" areas which are not, and cannot, be other than either nurseries for ghetto life or locations that will reproduce in time the evil conditions of the ghetto.

An Evil Principle

We are well aware that many European traders in Transvaal towns fear the encroachment of the Asiatic, and that often that fear is well-grounded. No one would be so foolish as to say there is no deep-seated cause for disquiet in the minds of those who are goading the Union Government on in this foolish and short-sighted course. But we do say that statesmanship should not be so hasty in proclaiming its exhaustion as it shows itself in proposing so evil and unjust a remedy for all that might be approached in a far different spirit. Segregation digs deeper than merely to the level of a man's material foundations. It disturbs the very fundamentals of his race being, and it lets loose passions which ultimately set all prudence and reason at defiance. The proposed Bill does more than merely menace the economic life of the Transvaal Indian. *It puts on him the legislative stamp of perpetual race ignominy. It singles him out as a kind of "untouchable." It applies to him the mark of the beast, and, as a sort of leper he is set apart from any further contact with the world he has hitherto known.*

Now, as we have said, we do not deny the apprehensions of the European trader in the matter of Asiatic competition, though this competition is neither so menacing nor so increasing as some folk would make out. But we do protest most vehemently against the Government's studied violation of all the dictates of prudence in the steps it proposes for remedying this ill. The principle of segregation may check the economic menace of the Indian. But it is going to set the heath on fire in other directions, and is going to undo far more good than it can ever hope to do.

Three Wrongs

First of all it constitutes a general flouting of the Capetown Agreement, which is equal to saying that it destroys at a blow the mutual good faith that that Agreement is supposed to symbolise. The Agreement is due for survey and revision in another year or two. *Is it too much to ask that at least so contentious a measure as the proposed one should be deferred until the mask of friendliness is dropped as between Nationalism and the Asiatic, and the issue is fought out in an atmosphere of honest hate? In asking for this we are thinking more of our European prestige than of the well-being of the Indian.* The white people of South Africa as a whole are, by implication, signatories to the Capetown Agreement. Let us keep faith over that until, if it has to be denounced, the proper moment strikes to denounce it.

But it does more than outrage the Capetown Agreement. It gives India cause once more to

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THE WAY TO FREEDOM

LIFE expresses itself in "action". Human beings engage in activities which may be "rightful" or "wrongful"; or mixed; wise or unwise, "lawful or unlawful". Disciples of Truth, seekers of the Real, endeavour to learn what is wisdom in action and to perform only such actions as are in harmony with The Law. Actions so performed are "Sacrifice", literally holy or sacred doing or right action. Things ("things") done, that are prompted by self-interest, the exclusive interests, of the personality "I", are reactions to the promptings of desires, lusts, ambitions, hates and the like, and are the causes of bondage. Who would be free, at one with Reality, and in harmony with "the Law that makes for Righteousness" must learn to resist the seductions that make for bondage; to disobey their insistent appeal. He who would achieve liberation from bondage must fight to break the chains already forged and "file his firm mind" to repel the reactionary forces that endeavour to perpetuate his enslavement. The so-called Passive Resister is the Satyagrahi, he who refuses to be party to un-Truth, to un-Reality in any shape or form, who refuses to bow the knee to the false gods, the creatures of ambition, pride, egotism, greed of possessions and the rest, worshipped by the materialistic civilisation of this Kali Yuga. Enslavement is but enforced limitation of freedom; it may be complete, it may be partial. It implies a denial of the right to full self-expression. Every unit of life aspires to complete self-expression, to achieve which it has to develop its latent powers and then to exercise them in a stern battle to overcome environing opposition. The struggle may be difficult, may be painful, but it is the only way to growth. Mankind is to-day groaning under enslavement by Mammon and racial and national egoisms. These impose their yoke by means of the machinery of brute force. Self-aggrandisement through the suppression of others, self-enrichment at the expense of others, millions of human lives in the form of cannon fodder offered up on the altars of these twin idols, such is the spectacle with which mankind is to-day confronted. The Satyagrahi is the regenerator. He challenges the supremacy, the real power as against the awakened soul, of these false gods; refuses to bow the knee to

them. He claims that his soul-force is more than a match for brute force, the Spiritual in action incomparably more powerful than the material. To the demand that he accept the bondage assigned to him under penalty of suffering or death, he answers with Lowell in words that a soul-sick world may well ponder:

'Endurance is the Crowning Quality, and
Patience all the Passion of Great Hearts, these
are their stay;

And when the leaden world sets its dull face
against their fateful Truths

"and Brute Strength, like a scornful conqueror
clangs its huge mace into the other scale

"The inspired Soul but flings its

Patience in, and slowly that

"Weighs down the ponderous globe

"One Faith against a whole world's unbelief

"One Soul against the flesh of all mankind."

Mahatma Gandhi, could the purblind world but realise it, is offering mankind a gift more precious than all its prized material wealth: the Key to spiritual emancipation that alone is real Freedom.

THE "NATAL MERCURY" ATTACK

THE Editor of the *Natal Mercury* has charged me, in a leading article, with 'Guile' and has entitled me 'an habitual special pleader'. I am also called 'the wily Mr. Andrews' and a 'propagandist'. Such words as these contain no argument, and I have refrained from offering any reply in the *Natal Mercury* itself; but the Editor's own justification of his position reveals such an extraordinary misconception of the Bill and of its effect on the Indian community in the Transvaal that it will be necessary to deal with it briefly in the present article and refer to it again in a future issue. "The Bill", he states, "as the wily Mr. Andrews should be aware, actually mitigates the effect of the measures on the Statute Book; it in no way increases their prohibitions."

It seems almost impossible that the Editor of the *Natal Mercury* could have read through the whole Draft of the new Bill; for if he had done so carefully, he could never have made such a statement.

The Bill, which he supposes to be a relief measure, places fresh restrictions on the Transvaal Indians and assumes the harshest interpretation possible of previous legislation. To take one instance, some of the land in the Transvaal, which was proclaimed

under the Gold Law as mining land, is now either already deproclaimed, because the mines have been worked out, or else will be deproclaimed in the near future. In proportion as the Reef gets worked out the amount of deproclaimed land will increase. Yet under this new Bill, all the disabilities imposed upon Indians on *proclaimed* land will remain, even when the land is *deproclaimed*. That is to say, even when all mining is finished, the Indians are to suffer the same disabilities which they suffered from on mining land. Thus the question of mining land passes entirely out of sight, and Indians are penalised even on land where mines no longer exist.

How unjust this is, may be seen from a State Paper, which was issued by the Secretary of State, in London, dealing with the actual conditions on which the original Gold Law of 1908 was signed. This State Paper was published in order to show the terms on which, and on which alone, the Crown of England allowed the Gold Law of 1908 to be passed.

Mr. Jacob De Villiers, who was then Attorney-General for the Transvaal, requested Lord Crewe to obtain the consent of the Crown to the Bill on the express understanding that the Bill only affected *mining* rights. His words were as follows (Report on Act No. 35 of 1908):—

"The position of coloured persons under the Act calls for some explanation, especially as the special disabilities and restrictions put upon these persons by the Act have necessitated its reservation for the special consideration of His Majesty. In every previous mineral law of the Transvaal the right to acquire mining title or privileges incidental thereto has specially been withheld from persons who do not belong entirely to European races and certainly public sentiment in this Colony would not tolerate a departure from the practice of withholding such a right from coloured persons. The Act, therefore, throughout specifically provides for the issue of prospecting permits, prospecting and diggers licences, stand licences, and other privileges to white persons only; but no right or privilege which a coloured person has at the present time is taken away by this Act."

Lord Crewe replies:

"I am glad to note the assurance of the Attorney General that no right or privilege which a coloured person has at present is taken away by the new Gold Law, but I do not understand its effect on the position of coloured

persons, including Asiatics, of Sections 130 and 131. The new law may deprive those coloured persons who have not actually acquired vested rights on gold fields of power to acquire rights which were not open to them before. I should be glad if you would explain whether and how far this is really so."

Lord Methuen, Deputy Governor of the Transvaal, answers as follows:

"Under Article 133 of Law 15 of 1898 coloured persons were prevented from directly holding certain rights. What the exact extent of this disability was has been a matter of question. The Government has always maintained that the giving of subleases of stands and mining stands to coloured persons was illegal but the matter has never been tested in the courts. Section 130 clears up the position and in view of the Government carries out the spirit of Article 133 of the Gold Law. But the saving clause in Section 131, subsection 3 was added to protect those who might have acquired a right of the kind specified above in case the view of the Government were not upheld by the Courts."

Lord Crewe replies:

"His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his power of disallowance with respect to Act 35 of 1908. I note with satisfaction the new provision in Section 131 (3) safeguarding any rights which coloured persons may at the present time have of occupying land on the mining areas and also the assurance of the Attorney General that no right that a coloured person has at the present time is taken away by this Act. I further note that the powers vested in the Mining Commissioner enable him to exempt coloured persons, including Asiatics who are of superior class, from being obliged to live in bazars, locations or compounds. I understand that the far-reaching effect of Section 131 upon present Asiatic residents has been practically obviated by the safeguarding amendment in sub-section 3."

No one can read this correspondence without coming to the conclusion that the purpose of the Gold Law was to prohibit to Indians, *mining* rights. Yet the way that the Gold Law has been interpreted since has made it more and more difficult for Indians to exercise those occupancy and trading rights which they undoubtedly exercised before the Gold Law was signed by the Crown in 1908.

Other disabilities will be pointed out in a future article, but the simple statement that I have made here appears to me to have no guile at all about it and to be entirely free from any special pleading.

C. F. ANDREWS.

(Continued From Front Page)

Guile

denounce the bad faith of a British Government, and places a further powerful weapon in the hands of the irreconcilables who to-day are making the Viceroy's task the most difficult in the world. They are matters of this kind which nowadays menace the powder magazines of mankind; and we are guilty of no exaggeration in saying that the Asiatic Land Tenure (Amendment) Bill to-day is as good as an army corps to the implacable extremists of the great Dependency.

Finally it embarrasses—it is bound to embarrass—the British Government in Downing Street. We know of course that our impatient fellow South Africans are very touchy nowadays when it is suggested that Empire considerations should sometimes come before their own. Nevertheless if our talk about the Motherland is not mere lip service we in Natal at least should be prepared on occasions to ask ourselves how our actions in this country are likely to react on our own kinsmen at the Heart of the Machine. Britain to-day has an almost insoluble task to perform in India. Are we going to make it wholly insoluble by providing the recalcitrants with one more occasion for distrust and ill-will towards the English-speaking folk who are trying to solve India's problems for her?

What We Owe Britain

There is one last point we want to submit to those readers who are just enough to consider calmly the unpopular side of this present controversy. Has it not occurred to them that, in the last year or two, the Nationalist Government has gone out of its way to cultivate and water those problems in which British sentiment is most likely to clash with Nationalist feeling in this country? Already, in respect of his utterances on native questions, General Hertzog has adroitly sought to show that Britain's way with the black man is not the popular South African way; and it would not be difficult to submit a *prima facie* case demonstrating that the Premier is deliberately allowing "points of irritation" to widen the gulf between the Home Government and the South African one. If his Government can do this also in the matter of the Indians in the Union; if he can incense them till they raise dumb and helpless eyes to Britain and find no help there; he will be a step nearer—a big step nearer—to a complete detachment from and independence of the British tradition of fairness and goodwill towards her subject peoples. To-day every unwarranted Union blow that falls on the shoulders of Indian or Native in South Africa has its repercussion in the nerve centre of the Empire. Britain suffers for every wrong that, in our thoughtlessness overseas, we do to the subject peoples left in our care. To this extent at least is it true that the chastisement of our peace is upon her, and with her stripes we are healed.

RELEASE OF MR. V. J. PATEL

Rousing Welcome In Bombay

A large crowd in Bombay gave a rousing welcome to Mr. V. J. Patel, the former Speaker of the House of Assembly, but now a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, on his release from prison. He was imprisoned for participation in the civil disobedience movement, and has been released on account of ill-health.

In a leading article in its issue of Jan. 8 the *Natal Mercury* writes under the above heading:—

There have been indications during recent weeks that one of the minor excitements of the coming Session is to be provided by the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Amendment Bill. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is acting as chief propagandist on behalf of the Indian interests affected, is leading the campaign against it and has recently circulated a lengthy statement in which he claims that this measure seeks to impose fresh indignities upon the Indians of the Transvaal Province and to inflict upon them the harshest interpretations of the Gold Law. As a piece of special pleading by an habitual special pleader Mr. Andrews's effort may be regarded as excellent, but he adroitly ignores so many inconvenient facts that his statement gives a completely distorted idea of the situation. This Bill, though introduced as an ordinary Government measure, comes before the House with a special *imprimatur*, for it was drafted and approved by a Select Committee, which decided on the proposals embodied in the Bill after a very long inquiry, and on only two occasions during the Select Committee's deliberations were there divisions and neither of these was entirely on Party lines. The Bill is, therefore, not one for which the Minister in charge is primarily responsible. He, in fact, asked that in view of the confusion which had arisen in the Transvaal in connection with Asiatic holdings and licences a Select Committee should investigate the situation and it is their Bill, not his, which is now creating so much protest.

What are the facts? Briefly, they are that it appears to have been nobody's business to enforce the law of the Transvaal which imposes certain restrictions upon the occupation and ownership of land by Coloured persons, which term includes Asiatics. Those restrictions are rather complicated, but they apply chiefly to proclaimed mining land and to Government and private townships under covenants prohibiting occupation by Coloured persons. The restrictions appear to have been consistently ignored by Indian traders, and the extent of the evasion may be gathered from the statement that of the trading licences now held by Indians on the Rand from 60 to 75 per cent. are held in respect of premises which they are prohibited from occupying. When the Municipality of Johannesburg took the matter up and refused licences to men whom they knew were illegally occupying the premises in which they traded the Supreme Court of the Transvaal held that this illegal occupation was none of the Municipality's business, and that if the city's regulations had been complied with they must issue the licences demanded. And so the matter stands.

Admittedly, there has been remarkable laxity upon the part of some administrative authority, for while it appears that the Indians have consistently ignored the Act of 1919, which was passed to give legislative effect to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, the Government has made not the slightest effort to enforce it. This Act, while retaining the restrictive provisions of the law, gave protection to Indians trading on prohibited areas who had established themselves before May, 1919, and the Select Committee which dealt with that Bill recommended that a list of persons so protected should be drawn up. That list was never prepared. The same Act prohibited the ownership of landed property by a company the controlling interest in which was in the hands of a native of Asia. But that provision—also the outcome of a voluntary settlement—appears to have been treated as so much waste paper, for the Town Clerk of the small town of Vereeniging was able to produce to the Select Committee last year an imposing list of properties

owned by companies the control of which obviously lay in the hands of Indians.

Mr. Andrews, of course, desires to consolidate the gains the Indians have made in the years which have elapsed since the Act was passed and is denouncing the "iniquity" of what he describes as the segregation proposals contained in the Bill. But these proposals are made to mitigate the force of the present law, under which very many traders could be at once compelled to remove from the premises they are at present occupying. While the Bill provides that all Municipalities and townships shall set aside an area approved of by the Minister which will be available for trading and occupation by Asiatics the Select Committee also recommends that the owners of illegal businesses shall be given five years to dispose of them; that a list of these concerns be compiled by voluntary registration and that those whose owners do not register shall be closed down. Thus the Bill—as the wily Mr. Andrews should be aware—actually mitigates the effect of measures on the Statute book; it in no way increases their prohibitions. The Indians affected were fully aware of the provisions of the 1919 Act; the agreement which led to it was negotiated by one in whom they have always had the fullest confidence. But the authorities entirely forgot to see that modified prohibitions contained in the Act were enforced, and when it was realised that an infraction of the law involved no penalty a large number of Indians proceeded to break it. Doubtless it will be claimed that this proposed legislation run counter to the spirit if not the actual letter of the Capetown agreement of three years ago. But it really does nothing of the sort. There is nothing in that agreement which remotely suggests that the law, as then and now existing in the Transvaal, would be modified, nor does it in any way indicate that breaches of the law would be condoned. Dr. Malan went a good way a year or so back to condone illegal entries into the Transvaal; his experience then is not likely to encourage him to proceed much further in offering to condone other offences. The only claim that Mr. Andrews can reasonably make is that in view of the laxity on the part of the authorities the offending traders should be given a reasonable time to re-establish themselves in areas where their activities are permitted. This the Select Committee has recommended shall be done, though, since it is a matter for administrative rather than legislative action, no mention is made of it in the Bill. Mr. Andrews has been exceedingly ingenious in his endeavour to put the Government, or rather the Select Committee, in the wrong, but he forgets, or conveniently ignores, the fact that if his very adroit friends had obeyed the law which was passed to give effect to the agreement between their own leader, Mr. Gandhi, and General Smuts they would not be in trouble now.

Students Hostel At Sydenham

This Hostel affords an opportunity to up-country students who intend studying at one or other of the Darban Colleges or schools.

The Hostel is within 3 minutes walk of the Sydenham school. This school teaches up to Standard VII and also has a Teachers Course.

We believe this institution supplies a long felt want. It is situate at Sydenham which is an exceedingly healthy locality and is within easy reach by tram or bus of the Sastri College and other schools.

Adequate arrangements have been made for board and lodging. A responsible and highly respected

man and his wife have been placed in charge. The fees are moderate.

Details can be obtained from Rev. W. H. Satchell, 13 Bawsey Grove, Darban.

Meeting Of Cape Town Hindus

Addresses By Sir Kurma Reddi And Rev. C. F. Andrews

A successful meeting was held at Mowbray on Sunday afternoon called by the Cape Town Khatriya Mochi Mandal. Mr. Bullabhai Bhikha presided, and Mr. B. E. Chawada acted as secretary. The Agent of the Government of India, Sir Kurma Reddi, and his secretary Mr. Evelyn Baring, were present, and the Rev. C. F. Andrews also attended. The hall was crowded and a large number of Indian women were present.

Sir Kurma congratulated those present on their enterprise in building the hall with their own money. He spoke to them of the great need of maintaining their religious life in this country and in that way keeping up a high moral standard of living. Mr. Baring spoke in Hindi and urged those who were present to remain united and to support in every way possible those who were in authority among the Indians in this country. Both speeches were received with prolonged applause.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews referred to his first visit in 1913, when he had been the guest of the Hindu Association in Cape Town at their annual meeting. After his speech a collection was made and the sum of £50 was subscribed.

Dr. Patel Masters, Mr. Manchurjee, Mr. Medh, and Mr. P. K. Desai also spoke, and the meeting concluded with a cordial vote of thanks to the Agent.

British Ideals In South Africa

At the weekly luncheon of the Sons of England Society in the Metropolitan Hall recently, Mr. J. W. Mushet, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, discussed the British ideal in relation to the native problem of South Africa.

He said that the British ideal of liberty, justice, and equal opportunity for all was a fundamental principle of English character and the birthright of every Englishman. He was a good South African and ready to make any sacrifice to attain the goal of complete brotherhood with the Afrikaans-speaking section.

The one great "rock of offence" between English and Dutch was their different attitude towards the native population, and no true Briton could be expected to sacrifice his principles in that respect.

The attitude of the Voortrekkers had been that of the Israelites and all ancient nations, namely, the wish to "dispossess the infidels." The Voortrekkers had fought. The British people, on the other hand, had come as missionaries to proclaim New Testament ideals, as opposed to Old Testament principles of the Dutch.

Whites "Mostly Loafers"

As instances of this, he quoted Queen Victoria and President Kruger, the former with her proclamation, "no differences as to creed or colour," and the latter with his assertion that he would permit "no equality in Church or State between black and white." To the old burghers the natives were mere "skepels," scarcely men at all.

Politically, he said, the Dutch people had made no advance in this respect during the past century. Religiously, however, the change had been very great, as was shown by the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church was, for its size, the greatest missionary church in the world. He had no desire to pamper the native, but justice must be maintained.

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Mr. Musbet next discussed the importance of native labour. "The white people of South Africa," he declared emphatically, "are mostly loafers." "South Africa was dependent for her wealth on the gold mines, which were worked "entirely by the natives."

He gave an account of his recent tour through the Cape, Free State, and Transvaal, and told how he had come to realise the enormous part the native played in farm life, especially in the Free State.

Enthusiastic End To Indian Round Table Conference

London, Jan. 19.—The Indian Round Table Conference ended, as it had opened, in an atmosphere of subdued enthusiasm. Queen Anne's Drawing Room in St. James's Palace was packed for the historic meeting, when Mr. Ramsay Macdonald delivered his long awaited speech. Journalists for the first time were admitted to the drawing room and also to the adjoining saloon, where microphones were fitted. Talkies were installed in the drawing room to record the final proceedings.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's speech, reviewing the work of 10 weeks, was cordially cheered when he renewed the promises of conferment of Dominion Status on India and gave assurances that India was destined to achieve full self-government.

The Maharajah of Patiala, Sir Muhammad Shafi, and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri spoke thanking Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues, and also the Conservatives and Liberals, for their help, guidance and encouragement, to which Mr. Macdonald replied thanking them and saying that much work had still to be done. He hoped that all would be spared to see it substantially advanced.

King's Message

Mr. Macdonald read a message from the King replying to the Conference's loyal message and wishing the delegates good-bye.

Mr. Macdonald concluded his speech by adjourning the Conference *sine die*. The delegates gave three hearty cheers for the King Emperor, the Prime Minister, Lord Sankey and Colonel Wedgwood Benn (Secretary of State for India).

The Conference at this morning's session unanimously passed a resolution expressing the opinion that the reports of the Sub-committees afforded material of the highest value for use in framing a Constitution for India, embodying as they did substantial agreement on a main ground plan. The Conference also expressed the opinion that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work on which the Conference had been engaged, including a provision in the Constitution of adequate safeguards for Mussulmans, the depressed classes, Sikhs and all other important minorities.

When to-day's session began, the Maharajah of Patiala resumed the general discussion. He emphasised that the Princes could only federate with a British India which was self-governing.

Mrs. Subbarayan urged that women must be given full opportunity to contribute their service if India was to take her rightful place among the modern nations.

Conservative Standpoint

Lord Peel said that the outstanding fact of the Conference had been the great change of opinion that had brought the conception of Federal India to

a state of reality. He said that the future attitude of the Conservatives would depend upon complete equality of treatment being granted to British traders and British trade, in which connection he was surprised to see that reservations were made in some quarters on Jan. 16.

Lord Reading said the Liberals supported the policy of conferring responsibility at the Centre, provided safeguards were adequate; after listening to the debates, they saw no reason to change their attitude.

Lord Reading hoped that the Indian delegates on their return to India would be able to convince their compatriots; India would then walk in the ways of constitutional progress and development. Great Britain would not be deterred from performing the duty of discharging her obligations by threats of violence. She could and would be won, as she hoped to win India, by sympathy, goodwill and co-operation.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru appealed to the Prime Minister to take his courage in both hands and release political prisoners. "Let a new era be established," he said, "and the struggle of the last few months will be forgotten."

In response to the appeal for an amnesty made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who more than anyone else can call the proposed Constitution his work, the Premier held out the hope of the release of Gandhi and other political prisoners, if they accept the offer, conditional on good behaviour, made to them by the Viceroy.

A Friendly England

Sir Tej Sapru began his speech by stressing the unanimity of feeling of the Indian delegates that they were leaving behind a friendly England, whose greatest statesmen came to talk on terms of equality, and in a spirit of "give and take," and not to dictate to India. Three central ideas emerged from the Conference, he said:

First, the materialisation of the idea of an All-India Federation, largely owing to the patriotic attitude of the Indian Princes.

Second, the idea of responsibility at the centre.

Third, that India must in future be prepared to defend herself.

He was prepared for many doubts in India about the scheme, said Sir Tej Sapru, but there had not been a single constitutional establishment in any Dominion, whether Ireland, Australia or South Africa, which had not been taken exception to by a certain number of people.

The speaker referred to the recent remarkable change in the attitude of the Conservative Party as voiced by Lord Peel. He paid tribute to the wisdom and statesmanship of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey), who was largely responsible for the success of the Federal Structures Committee. He appealed to his countrymen in India to make a further contribution to the improvement of Lord Sankey's scheme, of which one of the chief merits was that it did not bolt the door against further suggestions.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald then made his historic declaration, speaking for exactly an hour. When he sat down he was loudly cheered.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Speech

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in winding up the Indian Round Table Conference, began his historic announcement of the British Government's policy with a handsome tribute to the Simon Commission.

Expressing regret at the absence of Congress

representatives, Mr. Macdonald said that he was one of those who believed that the enmity between peoples was not going to advance liberty in the world.

The Government was not pro-Hindu or pro anything, the Premier said, and he felt proud that the gap between the Hindus and minorities had been much narrowed. He eulogised the Princes for their magnificent part in making a Constitution based on federation possible.

Mr. Macdonald proceeded to review the labours of the various sub-committees, which the Government proposed immediately to study very carefully, in order to face the problems they presented.

Referring to the plea put forward by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru regarding an amnesty, with which he was in sympathy, Mr. Macdonald said that if Sir Tej Sapru's appeal to India was responded to and civil quiet was proclaimed, it was certain that the Government would certainly not be backward in responding to the plea which so many of his colleagues had endorsed.

The Premier endorsed Lord Peel's remark that the British Constitutional machinery could not be regarded as the only successful plant. Types and methods in various parts of the world would be further studied.

Some of the conditions attached to the working of the Constitution had been practically agreed to by the Conference, but he pointed out that important conditions were outstanding, including the problems of the communities and various details of safeguarding. This work must not be left to the bureaucracy of either country.

Mr. Macdonald hoped that the British Parliamentary parties would continue to co-operate in the furtherance of the negotiations and explorations. He appealed for the continuation of a frank and candid expression of opinion.

With regard to the next step, the Premier proposed to confer with the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, immediately, and to agree to a plan for the continuance of negotiations and the maintenance of personal contacts.

Then Mr. Macdonald read the Government's declaration. In the view of the British Government, he said, responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon the Legislative—Central and Provincial—with such provisions as might be necessary to guarantee, during the period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as were required by the minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. In such statutory safeguards for meeting the needs of the transitional period it would be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers so framed were exercised so as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for their own government. (Applause.)

Federal Structure

His Majesty's Government, while making this declaration, was aware that some conditions essential to the working of such a Constitution as was contemplated had not been finally settled, but it believed that, as a result of the work done at the Conference, they had arrived at a point which encouraged the hope that further negotiations after this declaration would be successful.

The Government had taken note of the fact that the Conference's deliberations had proceeded on the basis—accepted by all parties—that the Central Government should be a Federation of All-India, embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-cameral Legislature.

The precise form of the structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and the representatives of British India. The range of subjects to be committed to it would also require further discussion, because the Federal Government would have authority only in such matters concerning the State as would be ceded by their rulers, in the agreement made by them on entering into the Federation.

The connection of the States with the Federation would remain subject to the basic principle that, in regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations would be with the Crown, acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

With a Legislature constituted on a Federal basis, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature. Under existing conditions, the subjects of defence and external affairs would be reserved to the Governor-General and arrangements would be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as a last resort, be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquility of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the Constitutional rights of the minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

Financial Responsibility

As regards finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as would ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India.

The report of the Federal Structures Committee indicated some ways of dealing with this subject, including a reserve bank service of loans and an exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, would have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution. It was in the vital interests of all parties in India to maintain fiscal confidence.

Subject to these provisions, the Indian Government would have full financial responsibility for the methods of raising revenue and the control of expenditure on non-reserved services. This would mean, under existing conditions, that the Central Legislature and Executive would have some features of dualism, which would have to be fitted into the Constitutional structure.

Provision for reserved powers was necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation had indeed been incidental to the development of most free Constitutions. But every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which would necessitate their use. It was, for instance, undesirable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which properly were their own, thus defeating the development of responsible Government bringing into use powers meant to lie in reserve and in the background.—Ranjiv r.

"INDIAN OPINION" SOUVENIR

OF
The Late Hon. G. K. Gokhale's
Tour in South Africa.
OCTOBER 22nd 1912 NOVEMBER 18th
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Estcourt News

[BY JAMES AUGUSTINE]

A General Meeting of the Estcourt Indian School Committee was held at the Sample Room, Estcourt, on Sunday the 18th inst, for the purpose of arranging a definite site for the new Indian School. The house was full. Among those present were Messrs. Sorabjee Rustomjee, A. Christopher, P. R. Pather, S. R. Naidoo (officials, Natal Indian Congress) G. Beattie, J. Winter, E. M. Haffjee and many others. Mr. Rustomjee made it clear to the meeting that they were not there to propose any sites etc., but just for the purpose of giving their opinions.

After a lengthy discussion Mr. Peerbhoy put two propositions before the meeting regarding the site, one near the reservoir and one Mr. Haffjee's land, in the corner of Hardinge and Alfred Streets. The majority voted for the latter, and moved that they purchase it for the value the landlord paid. Mr. Haffjee kindly offered it for the price he purchased it despite the Rates etc., the value of same being £300. The following offered in kind towards the purchase of the land.

Messrs. E. M. Haffjee £100, Mahomed Sayed £100, M. Peerbhoy £50, D. Kovarjee £25, Sorabjee Rustomjee £25, Augustine Thomas £2 10s., J. J Winter £2 10s., Noby Namjam £2 10s., Budoo Abir £1 10s., Gundiyaal Bhebwoty £1 1s., S. Lalla £1 1s., Bhagwandeem 5s., —Total : £311 7s.

Mr. Peerbhoy and Mr. Haffjee thanked the members of the Congress on behalf of the Indian community for

their kindness in attending, and Mr. Winter on behalf of the Coloured community also thanked them. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

The Awakening

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
It is the voice of God!
Awake, awake, the night is past, Ye sleeping ones!
Arise, arise, lift up your heads, Ye dreaming ones!
Your ancient glory shall return,
And your high star of destiny more brightly burn!

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
The voice has sounded forth!
Japan's bright isles first flashed its message o'er the sea,
Himalaya's snows caught up the gleam exaltingly,
Southward it lights all Hindustan,
And fires the soul of chivalry in old Iran.

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
'Shew forth your Righteousness!'
Give to each brother every due of brotherhood,
Give to each sister noblest meed of womanhood.
So shall the Motherland be strong,
To struggle for the right and overthrow the wrong!

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
'Put trust in God and Truth!'
Then, like her own strong mountains all unmovable,
Resting on sure foundations, unassailable,
A greater Asia shall arise,
Her foot set firm on earth, her head above the skies.

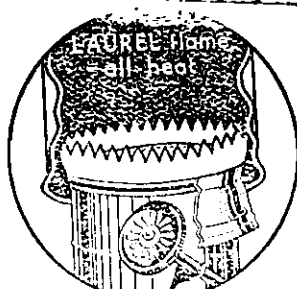
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