

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

MR. Sorabjee Rustomjee, President of the South African Indian Congress, gave a private Garden Party at his Wynberg residence, in honour of the delegates of the Government of India and of the Union of South Africa to the Round Table Conference, at which all were present except Mr. Pirow, Minister of Justice.

FOLLOWING is Mr. Andrews' programme :—

Krugersdorp	February	11
Pretoria	, ,	12
Johannesburg	, ,	13
Newcastle and Ladysmith	, ,	14-15
Pietermaritzburg	, ,	16
Durban	, ,	17
Phoenix	, ,	19-20
Stanger	, ,	21

He will sail on 22nd by *Karanja*.

BECAUSE of the Indo-Union Conference at Capetown, attention has again been directed to the question of enlarging the trade between this country and India. The Conference itself, of course, is not directly concerned with the matter, but it is generally recognised that if the round table negotiations meet with a considerable measure of success, commercial relations will be beneficially affected. This, indeed, would be a natural result. Several interesting suggestions are now being put forward, and they would seem to indicate that definite steps may be taken in the near future to increase the volume of existing trade. There is talk, for instance, of a purely trade conference of experts representing India and South Africa, and another idea is that a Trade Commission may be sent to India to carry out an investigation. If the latter plan is adopted the Union will be following the precedent set by India a few years ago. In 1928, it may be remembered, a Trade Mission, officially appointed by India, spent more than five months in this country and reached the conclusion that India and South Africa could do much greater business with each other. It was also recommended that an Indian Trade Commissioner should be stationed at Durban to stimulate Indian trade with the Union, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa. At present there would appear to be ample room for expansion. To take the latest figures available, the Union in 1930 imported from India goods worth £2,076,489 and exported articles valued at £1,643,816, of which gold bullion accounted for £1,364,528. Over a series of years imports have remained fairly constant, but exports in 1926, it is to be noted, amounted to more than seven and a half millions. The position is, therefore, one which merits investigation. It would clearly be to the great advantage of both countries if it could be materially improved.
—*Rand Daily Mail*.

WE call the following notes from the *Indian Review* :—

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his convocation address to the Lucknow University, observed :—

A nation has the right to gain experience of self-government even at the price of less efficient government. The strong desire to embody the ideas of freedom and self-determination in definite political institutions has become a burning passion owing to a number of factors of which the chief are the poverty of the country, middle class unemployment, low literacy, high death rates, costly civil administration, a heavy military budget, and the Great War fought avowedly for the principles of freedom and self-determination. I do not believe that there is a single Britisher who is loyal to his own history and true to his own traditions who will deny the legitimacy of India's claim to Indian rule. Every country in the world exhorts its citizens to buy its own goods, and it cannot be a crime if we encourage our own industries. If our leaders demand that we should control our own political and economic affairs, it is the natural result of the policy of Great Britain in this country.

"I am looking forward to the time, although I am growing in years, when we shall be treading the path of honourable freedom together," declared Mr. Lloyd George in his reply to the Corporation's address at Bombay, on December 4 :—

"The last privilege which I had before I left England, was to meet your great countryman, Mahatma Gandhi, who had three hours' conversation with me, and, in the course of that conversation, he put before me the case of his countrymen in an incomparable manner. I am a politician and I don't mind telling you that I discovered him to be a politician too, and he made a very deep impression on my political thoughts. I see the Round Table Conference has come to an end. Although we haven't reached complete success, we have reached a measure of success which is beyond the hopes of all those who realised the difficulties that faced our country. You may fail twice, but the third time you are sure to succeed. What you need is patience and perseverance."

"WHAT Judas did for the crucifixion of Christ, the Indian Muslim delegates have done for stifling the hopes and aspirations of India to win freedom" observed Dr. M. A. Ansari while inaugurating the Gandhi Seva Ashram at Narela, a village 20 miles from Delhi. "When the part which they played at the behest of the British diehards was completed to the satisfaction of the latter, they were dismissed by the Prime Minister of England and were asked to go back to India and settle the communal question in this country. Yet some of my countrymen were jubilant at the results of the Round Table Conference and characterised the Premier's statement as the Magna Charta of India." Dr. Ansari said that Gandhiji would never agree to a dishonourable peace. If there was to be peace, it should secure for India the substance of independence,

WELCOME—FAREWELL

THE members of the Government of India Delegation, with the exception of Sir Geoffrey Corbett who will sail direct from Capetown for England, will be in Durban during the week-end and will sail for India on Monday morning. We have, therefore, to accord the Delegation a hearty welcome and, at the same time, bid them farewell. Durban Indians, we have no doubt, will not be lacking in their hospitality to the Delegation. Already elaborate preparations are being made by the Natal Indian Congress and other bodies to welcome them and the Delegation will have a busy time during the few hours they will be in our midst. It will be a change, at least, from the heavy strain on their brains when they were in Capetown. Mrs. Naidu and Sir D'Arcy Lindsay are about the brightest members of the Delegation in so far as health is concerned. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain is still very much indisposed; Mr. Sastri, too, is very weak in health and Mr. Bajpai looks over-worked. Therefore, while the community is, no doubt, very anxious to see all the members of the Delegation and especially the leader of the Delegation—who they will be seeing for the first time—and also to hear them, we would remind those in charge of arranging the receptions in their honour that the common rules of hospitality forbid us to over-tax our honoured guests.

We are happy to learn that Sir Kurma Reddi, Agent of the Government of India, who is also a member of the Delegation who could be ranked with Mrs. Naidu and Sir D'Arcy as regards health, and whose contribution to the Conference exceeds that of the rest of the Delegation, owing to his first-hand knowledge of the Indian question in this country will, notwithstanding the expiry of his term as Agent, be with us for another fortnight.

The Indian question in this country is becoming more and more complicated as years pass and the task of the present Delegation has, no doubt, been much heavier than that of the past. We have brought it home to the Delegation in no uncertain terms, that we are not prepared to purchase a few crumbs at the price of our self-respect and that no such compromise will therefore be acceptable to us. We have reason to believe that no such thing has

been done. We will, however, know more when the result of the Conference is out. Meanwhile, let us hope for the best.

We heartily welcome the Delegation to Durban and bid them God-speed on their departure for India.

While going to Press we are informed that the Delegation have, owing to important developments having taken place, had to cancel their programme for Durban and it is uncertain as to when they will leave Capetown. In all probability they will sail for India direct from Lourenco Marques.

Mrs. Naidu's Address To Coloured People

A call to coloured people to a realisation of their duty to the country of their birth and of common destiny was made by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in District Six, Capetown, on Thursday night (Jan. 28).

"After all," she said, "your destiny is of your own creation. You cannot help your birth or your colour, your social or political inequities, that keep you suppressed, but it is mainly by realising your own self-respect and by your own effort to make your place unchallenged in the polity of South Africa. Not by revolution, but by evolution from within, taking the home as a unit and a woman in it, will your progress begin."

Underlying the march of progress, Mrs. Naidu believed that education was the only medium of hope for the coloured people of the world.

Need For Economy

"Cut down your pleasures so that you will use more and more of that money for the education of and opportunity for your children. Instead of being ashamed of your colour, be honest to yourselves," she added.

They had a debt to Mother Africa, declared Mrs. Naidu, and how were they going to pay back for having received all the goodness they had had? Bitterness was the poison which led humanity nowhere, and foolish recrimination spoilt sweetness of character. The coloured people possessed a combination of qualities characteristic of many races that had made this land their home, and she was hopeful that the coloured people had yet to make a noble contribution to the progress of South Africa. It was not enough that coloured and Indian, Christian or Malay were marching forward in the path of progress, but they should also keep in mind the advancement of the Bantu people.

"My message in this connection is," she said, "learn to think of yourselves as part of common humanity, no lower or higher than any other in human status and dignity. Learn to cultivate for yourselves that feeling of responsibility so that no one can tell you that you are not your brother's keeper, for when you rise, others rise; when you fall, you drag down the whole world."

"You must realise that what you seek for yourself you seek for others, for, like birth and death, beginning and end is the common wall of humanity, and all that lies between is equally for mankind. In encompassing something for yourself, do not forget the need of the other man, for he is our brother whom one must love as oneself."—*Natal Advertiser*.

The Crisis

The *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (Madras) writes as follows under the above heading:—

H. E. the Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji's telegram of the 29th December bids fair to precipitate a crisis of unparalleled seriousness and magnitude. His speech at the European Association had not prepared the country for such an unaccommodating attitude as he has unfortunately assumed, and we should not wonder if the aggressively reactionary atmosphere of Calcutta has had its share in giving this unhappy turn to events. There seems to be a perennial fatality on the efforts to make Indo-British co-operation fruitful and complete. While Gandhiji, as the sole representative of the Congress, has been straining every nerve to find points of agreement to serve as a basis for further co-operation and His Majesty's Government has reiterated its faith in the conference method and chalked out the steps by which that method was to be implemented in India, things have been said and done in this country which have inevitably had the effect of rendering co-operation infinitely more difficult. Gandhiji, however, ever since he left London, has repeatedly declared his resolve to leave no stone unturned to remove these obstacles which have sprung in the way of co-operation. It was in pursuance of this resolve that he sent his telegram to H. E. the Viceroy. The latter's reply, we are constrained to remark, shows no corresponding readiness to explore all possible ways of co-operation. No doubt, Lord Willingdon has intimated that, if Gandhiji repudiates the recent activities of his lieutenants in the U. P. and in the Frontier Province, he (Lord Willingdon) "is willing to see you and to give you his views as to the way in which you can best exert your influence to maintain the spirit of co-operation which animated the proceedings of the Round Table Conference." But, if these words have any meaning, it is simply impossible to understand the very next statement that "His Excellency feels bound to emphasise that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which the Government of India, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, the U. P. and the North-West Frontier Province." Lord Willingdon's refusal to discuss the Ordinances with Gandhiji may be due to the feeling that the Government cannot share with anybody else the responsibility for "the preservation of law and order essential to good government." But to argue thus is not only to repudiate the recognition by His Majesty's Government, which led to the Congress participation in the second Round Table Conference, that the Congress was the most powerful political organisation in the country (has not His Excellency himself called it the only active political organisation in the country?) and that its co-operation was essential for the working of any constitution that might be evolved and, therefore, by implication for the maintenance of law and order, which are but part of the functions the proper discharge of which is provided for in any constitution. It would also be to deny the Congress the elementary right that inheres in every political organisation to make representations to the Government on administrative acts which it considers to be gravely provocative and prejudicial to the maintenance of public peace. The Congress, as is made plain in the Working Committee's resolutions, does not blindly ask incontinent scrapping of all emergency measures. It merely asks for such modification as would make its participation possible. And that participation will be no small gain from the point of view of achieving the objects for which the Ordinances were launched, for Gandhiji has declared that he would do his best to help in putting down

terrorism. The Government can hope for no more powerful ally. Because the Ordinances have been passed by the Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government it is idle to contend that they are thereby automatically lifted out of the realm of discussion. Recent Indian history provides more than one instance of so-called "accomplished facts" being unsettled under pressure of public opinion. No Government can shoulder the responsibility for shutting the door in the face of negotiations when the probable consequences are so terrible that the mind refuses to contemplate them. We cannot help feeling that H. E. the Viceroy has been extraordinarily ill-advised in the attitude he has adopted in reply to Gandhiji, an attitude so provocative that it has induced similar stiffness on the part of the Congress Working Committee and precipitated unfortunate developments. If matters are allowed to drift it is not difficult to see that the country will once again be overwhelmed by untold loss and suffering. No light excuse will avail anybody who precipitated such a crisis unnecessarily. Luckily, Gandhiji, who has throughout exercised singular forbearance and self-restraint, has refused to shut the door and it is not even now too late for the Government to retrieve their blunder and secure the co-operation of that great organisation which not only represents the vast bulk of Indian public opinion but is also the declared enemy of violence. We fervently hope that Lord Willingdon will seize his opportunity before it passes by.

Call To The Nation

In its issue dated Jan. 3, *The Mahratta* writes:—

The fighting speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy before the European Association at Calcutta has left little hopes about the success of the negotiations between the Congress and the Government. The reply of His Excellency to Mahatma's very friendly and humble appeal for peace and co-operation is hardly becoming to the dignity and status of the so-called constitutional Viceroy. We cannot but remark that the offensive has been taken by the Government and even the friendly hand of co-operation has been rejected by it in disdain. By the promulgation of the Ordinances and the arrests of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Sherwani on their way to Bombay to meet their colleagues on the Working Committee and not on the no-rent campaign in the U. P., the Government has ended the truce. We sincerely believe that in asking Mahatma Gandhi to repudiate his colleagues and in refusing to discuss the serious political situation in the U. P., N.W.F.P. and Bengal, the Government is determined to throw the whole country into disaster. The Congress is all the while striving for peace and welfare of the poor starving millions in the country. The acts of terrorists in Bengal are universally condemned. The Congress is pledged to non-violence in 'thought, word and deed' and it is also determined to reach the goal of independence through all ordeals the country may be forced to face. The results of the R.T.C. and the declaration of the Prime Minister are not only inadequate and unsatisfactory but utterly disappointing. The rule by Ordinances has staggered every peace-loving citizen in the country, and if His Excellency the Viceroy will reject the last offer and friendly hand of co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi, the country shall have to go through the ordeal, once again, and show to the world that it has full faith in the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. The cause of the Congress is righteous and, therefore, the Congress is bound to come out triumphant through the ordeal. We earnestly appeal to the nation that every effort should be made to strengthen the hands of the Congress by faithfully following the programme

chalked out by the Congress Working Committee. Lord Willingdon has still an opportunity to save the country from disaster. Will he take up that opportunity or will the British prestige come in his way?

The New Bengal Ordinance

The Leader (Allahabad) writes:—

The Ordinance which the Viceroy and the Governor-General has promulgated for the purpose of suppressing the terrorist movement and of providing for the speedier trial of offences committed in furtherance of or in connection with the terrorist movement, is more drastic than any hitherto enforced in Bengal. This movement took its birth in the province during the Partition agitation and was the child of the repressive measures adopted to deal with the agitation. Since then numerous attempts have been made to suppress it by various coercive methods, but they achieved only temporary success. The cult of terrorism has taken deep root, and the promulgation of the Ordinance, which is not far removed from martial law, amounts to a confession of the failure of the stringent measures adopted in the past to eradicate or control the evil. They have, if anything, aggravated it. Such symptomatic treatment generally defeats its own purpose. The Ordinance will not, we daresay, cow down those desperate and misguided young men who have taken to the abominable cult of the revolver and the bomb. It may create an atmosphere favourable to its spread. It will, at all events, be most dreaded by the law-abiding people in the area in which it will be enforced presumably with all the vigour which the executive, armed with wide and practically uncontrolled discretionary powers, can command. For, in the very nature of things, a measure of this nature cannot leave the innocent unaffected. No one can deny, in the face of the large number of murderous outrages which have taken place, the reality of the menace of anarchism, nor the duty of Government to protect the lives of the people. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress under his lead as well as all thinking and responsible sections of Indian opinion, have condemned them in no uncertain terms. They are a very serious obstacle to national progress and are deeply deplored by everyone who values the good name of the country and the humane ideals of its culture and civilisation. While, therefore, there can be no difference of opinion as to the necessity of fighting the evil, the Government ought not to rest content with a merely negative policy. Suppression is not cure. The permanent remedy has to be found in a constructive and statesmanlike policy. The emergency powers given to its officers should be used with the greatest restraint and discrimination so that, as far as possible, the innocent may not suffer with the guilty. Otherwise the Ordinance may help the very cause it is intended to smash. It is bad enough that the procedure of the special tribunals and special magistrates will be of a summary nature and that the administration of justice will be short and swift. To it is added the provision for *in camera* trials at any stage of the proceedings. This ought to be avoided to the greatest extent possible. During the recent orgy of looting and arson the people of Chittagong suffered terribly. May God help them in their hour of trial and tribulation which has been brought on them by the misdeeds of a few who have defied law and morality. These misguided men have strengthened the hands of the champions of strong rule and have added to the difficulties of those who have been trying, by peaceful means, to advance the national cause.

Mahatma Gandhi's Address To Welfare Of India League

Addressing the Welfare of India League, Bombay, Gandhiji prefaced his remarks by stating that developments in India during the last few days were so startling that they had upset all his plans. On landing in India, he was faced with the grim realities in the shape of the Ordinances and arrests. The North-West Frontier Provinces Ordinances were without parallel. The ostensible reason for promulgating them was not that something had been done, but something that Khudai Khidmatgars might do. He knew Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Pathans of the Frontier. Abdul Gaffar Khan was an honest man who walked in fear of God and his only crime was that he wanted independence for the N.W.F. and India and that he refused to attend the Durbar to consider the future constitution of that Province.

Referring to the firing at Kohat, Gandhiji complained that fire was opened on the Red-shirts merely because they refused to obey the order. There had been heavy casualties and probably there were much heavier unascertained casualties. This was an exceedingly unhappy augury for giving the Frontier real autonomy.

He then referred to the U.P. Ordinance and Pandit Jawharlal's and Mr. Sherwani's arrests and turning to the Bengal Ordinance, he combated the contention that it was justified because some youths ran amok. He strongly condemned resort to violence and was heartily ashamed that even girls should resort to assassination.

Replying to questions, Gandhiji said that if Ordinances were repealed he would advise the Congress to see its way to co-operate in the work of the R.T.C. Committees shortly meeting in India, but the Ordinances now blocked his way. He had pledged himself to so many of his British friends that in spite of the disappointment at the R.T.C. he was going to try his level best to seek the avenues of co-operation, but what he learnt that evening left very little hope, indeed, for co-operation, unless he was to lose all sense of self-respect.

Alluding to the work of the R.T.C. Gandhiji paid striking tribute to Sir Samuel Hoare whom he described as an honest and frank-hearted man.

Mahatma Gandhi said that while he was aboard the ship, he expected to speak something different to them than what he actually proposed to do, but evidently God had willed it otherwise. He added he did not know until he landed that morning that there had been firing at Peshawar and that Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Sherwani had been arrested. He took them as Christmas presents from Lord Willingdon and asked himself the question "what better presents can there be for a Satyagrahi than these."

Referring to the recent events in India he said that he had hoped it to be possible for him to find a way to co-operate with the Government but he had to admit that the signs he had noticed had considerably weakened his hopes. However, he added, he would still try his best to find a way out. He asked them to get rid of the fear of death and to face it with courage, if necessary, but in doing so, he said, they should see to it that not even Englishmen were hurt. They should hope to bring about a change in the heart of Englishmen by their sufferings. His visit to Europe, he said, had increased his faith in non-violence, as he believed that non-violence could even melt stones.

Gandhiji, continuing, said "the only way to achieve our end is to adhere to non-violence to the last even by those who take it as a policy. So long as it is

the Congress creed you must stick to it or have it changed. You will enhance the prestige of the Congress by strict adherence to it. If the Congress gives up Satyagraha, Government, it is said, would make peace with the Congress. But with due deference, I may tell Government that Satyagraha is a part of the Congress programme, and as I told them in England, Government shall have to settle up accounts with the Congress."

Gandhiji dwelt at length on the representative character of the Congress which, he said, was the greatest political power in India to-day. The position which it enjoyed was by virtue of its service. He added, he knew when he left for England that the Hindu-Muslim question was not to be settled in England. Still he went to England. He was even now confident that the Congress would continue to serve the Muslims, the Sikhs and all other minorities, and it was his firm conviction that they would all come to the Congress for the settlement of the communal question.

Untouchability

Referring to untouchability, he said he had been calling himself untouchable for untouchables were the bone of his bone and the flesh of his flesh. No community had done such great wrong as the Hindus to the Untouchables. Even if the untouchables were to break the heads of a few Hindus, he would not be angry with them. He firmly believed that freedom would not be worth anything as long as they did not freely embrace their untouchable brethren and put them quite at ease regarding their rights.—*Searchlight*.

"Renewal Of Fight Inevitable"

Mr. Patel's Statement To The Press

Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel, ex-president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who arrived in Bombay by *s.s. Pilsna*, in a statement to the press, said: "The White Paper issued at the close of the second Round Table Conference rejected every demand made by the Congress. Reservation of National Defence and External Affairs in the hands of the Governor-General meant the rejection of the Congress demand for complete Independence. The Prime Minister more than once declared that there was no intention to give India Independence and that she did not want it in that it garred reservations regarding Defence and External Affairs. Sjt. Patel stated that a third conference had, no doubt, been promised and several committees would shortly be set up to work out some of the details of the scheme but neither the third conference nor any of the committees should be entitled to override the express terms of the declaration.

Travesty Of Truce

Repeating that the conference had failed, he proceeded to say that British diplomacy had, at any rate for the time being, triumphed all along the line, since the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, in his opinion, was a master stroke of that diplomacy. From the day of that truce up to the present moment it had been one long and painful chapter of series of insults and humiliations for the Congressmen both in India and England. As a result of clever manoeuvring at the Round Table Conference the impression created in the international world had been that the British Government were all too willing to give freedom to India, but India's people

were so hopelessly divided among themselves that they did not know what they wanted and, therefore, the continuance of the British rule was all the more necessary in the people's interest.

Mr. Patel opined that on this occasion it looked as if India was anxious to be admitted into equal partnership with Britain and Britain unceremoniously rejected that claim. Next time the position would be reserved. England would be too anxious to have India as partner and India would be unwilling to accept that position. In this instance India was represented by the nominees of British Government. Next time their places would be occupied by delegates chosen by the Indian people. On this occasion the venue of the conference was London. Next time it would be Delhi.

Continuing, Sjt. Patel declared that indications were not wanting to show that India was fast heading towards agrarian revolution and the only way to save the situation was to invest the starving workers and peasants with the responsibility for carrying on the administration of the country as best they could. The White Paper declared that His Majesty's Government were not prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility at the centre unless and until the central Government and the central legislature were constituted on an All-India Federal basis. In this view, and the position wherein the Congress found itself to-day, a renewal of the fight for freedom seemed inevitable. If the agitation ceased, stagnation was bound to supervene.

The Next Fight

What form the fight should take was for the Congress to determine. Participation by the Congress in the R.T.C. had once more demonstrated, if such a demonstration were necessary, that the argument of justice and reason had no place in Britain's dealings with India. We must, therefore, be prepared to create conditions in India which would make it impossible for Britain to resist our demands except at the risk of the very serious consequences to herself. We must demonstrate that we had capacity, strength and determination to do so. No other method would yield any tangible result. This would be done either by armed rebellion or by non-violent coercion. The Congress had ruled out, and rightly so, an armed rebellion. We must, therefore, adopt the second alternative with such modifications in the present progress as our past experience might justify. For instance the boycott of British goods, British Commercial and Insurance companies etc., must be carried out in a much more systematic and rigorous manner.

No More Negotiations

Sjt. Patel was not in favour of exploring any further avenue for negotiation with the Government. If personal interviews by Mahatmaji in Downing Street and St. James' Palace did not avail, no further appeals by him, however earnest, from a distance of six thousand miles, could do any good. Delay was bound to lead us into greater and deeper humiliation and damage our cause. He opined that Mahatma Gandhi's presence and activities in England had hardly enhanced the prestige of the Congress. On the contrary the proceedings of the R.T.C. had left the world thinking whether there was any substance in the claim hitherto made by the Indian National Congress, that it represented the overwhelming majority of the people of India and that, at its bidding, millions of people were ready to suffer and sacrifice for the freedom of the country. "We must regain this lost ground in the world opinion. Let us wait and see what the Congress

gives to the country. In view of what has happened at the last Conference the Congress may perhaps consider it advisable to devote its attention exclusively to the solution of the communal problem before launching a fresh campaign. The moral of our people is splendid and they are awaiting orders of the Congress."—*Searchlight*.

The Awakening Of Indian Womanhood

Srimati Gangaben's Address

Srimati Gangaben Patel, ex-President of the Bombay War Council, presided over the sixth session of the Patidar Bhagini Samaj Conference held recently at Anand.

In her presidential address she made an emphatic appeal to the Patidar women for social reform in the community and also exhorted them to take their right place in the fight for the country's freedom.

At the outset Srimati Gangaben Patel thanked the delegates for inviting her to preside over the deliberations of the Conference and added that she believed that personally she had not the strength to shoulder the responsibility but that, relying on the co-operation of the delegates, she had accepted the honour.

Passing on, she asserted that it was the part played by women in the struggle for national freedom which the country witnessed last year that made the world realise the strength of Indian womanhood. That awakening was brought about by the "Saint of Sabarmati" who realised that if women lagged behind, then, half the strength of the nation would be crippled. It was that realisation on his part that brought about the wonderful self-consciousness among women. Those men who were opposed to the progress of women were simply surprised by this awakening and they were amazed when they found women rushing to the front and plunging themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle for freedom. The country was victorious and Gandhiji paid a tribute to the women even when he spoke in foreign countries. This was, however, the first step of women's progress.

Resolutions Into Action

"The question before us is 'What next'? We have met here in a Conference and will pass many a resolution, but how many of us will come forward to translate those resolutions into action? Anyhow this much is certain that women are now fully awakened. They see the evils around them and are determined to wipe them out from the society. To eradicate the social evils and to spread education women from different parts of the country have been meeting in Conferences. They are also claiming their economic rights and legal rights. But they do not beg for these things. They want to acquire those rights relying on their own strength. They will do it with their unity and true education."

Mistaken Ideas Of Decency

"Many of us believe that we have enough moral strength. I also share the view that compared to other aspects of our life we might prove strong on that point. But it is seldom seen that we have understood properly the definition of morals. We confuse morals with our mistaken ideas of decency. Our children and grand-children cannot play with

their children in our presence, a husband and wife cannot even stand together in the presence of their elders, they cannot even wish each other in our presence and if, unfortunately, there be a widowed sister of ours we take pride in disfiguring her and dressing her in a particular manner. These are a few examples of our mistaken ideas about morals. Morals, in fact, mean a mind properly developed and educated. At present we (ourselves) sow the seeds of immorality in our society and still do not realise it. We bind together in marital bonds men and women between whom there is no parity of age and thus lay the foundation of many an evil, but we do not realise it. There are many other similar evils which, although they might look small, have a far-reaching effect and we would do well to guard ourselves against them.

"Our community, and especially women, have sadly misunderstood religion. We are afraid to touch the so-called untouchables. Many try to avoid their shadow. We have no objection to lend them money and to accept interest from them. We give food in charity to the temples where, we know it for a fact, foodstuffs collected from us are actually sold. We do not care to feed the starving people in our neighbourhood. We give more and more clothes to such Brahmins who have to sell them out while we know that there are poor men going about naked. I ask in all seriousness, is that religion? True religion is not to help parasites. True religion is to exert to the best of our abilities to do good to others without any desire for a reward in return. He alone who understands and practises this higher religion can claim Moksha.

"We must widen our mental outlook. For long we have been under the protection of others. It has done us enough harm. The women in our community were so far treated as infirm and invalids who could not take care of themselves. If they had to leave the house some one must accompany them. Is it not a shame that when women in other communities can go round the world we should find it difficult to travel from one village to the other? It is time that we gave up these habits. We must develop a wide outlook. We must get rid of fear and fright and cultivate boldness.

"There is the evil of extravagance prevailing in our community. Especially on occasions of marriages and deaths we spend a lot needlessly. Have you ever counted the cost of that extravagance to the community? We do all that in the name of the dead. May I ask if that is what religion teaches us? Is it not defaming religion?"

Evils Of Present System

"We spend equally recklessly on marriages. Cannot we solemnise marriages without topheavy expenditure. Added to that is the vicious system of dowry. A poor father not only gives away his daughter in marriage to the boy whom he chooses but has, in addition to it, to pay a big sum by way of dowry. This evil custom makes some poor parents feel their daughters as a burden of which they cannot easily get rid. The custom has the unpleasant sequel of bringing about marriages in which there is no parity in the life of the bride and the bridegroom. That is not all. What can one say of a father who gives his 16 years old daughter in marriage to an old man of sixty? The old man might be rolling in wealth but what of it to the poor girl whose whole life is made miserable. It is not the parents alone who are responsible for it. The community that tolerates the evil is equally responsible for it. Unless the

evil is eradicated there can be no hope of a reform in the marriage system.

"The need of education for women cannot be too much emphasised. Proper education can be the only solace for girls for their leisure hours. Would it not be better if we put an end to the money wasted on marriages and devoted the same money for educating our daughters. Every girl must be given at least sufficient education to maintain herself. There is a special need of boarding houses and scholarships specially meant for girls of our community.

"Our economic life is most miserable. The husband might leave thousands of rupees when he died or the father of a girl might possess millions, but an unfortunate widow is not entitled even to a decent meal. Men take shelter behind the law but we must agitate for reforming law and get our rights recognised. Besides, we have no part in any occupation. We feel ashamed to earn our livelihood while women in rich families have no hesitation to serve and maintain themselves.

"Our treatment of our widowed sisters is so shameful that we must ourselves be held responsible for their miseries than the men. If a woman does not sympathise with a widow who else would do it? By our dislike and disregard for them we add to their miseries. Even men shudder to think and have mercy on them but women merely because of the prevailing custom refuse to improve matters. Beside these we tolerate a thousand and one superstitions which would not be tolerated in this twentieth century in any civilised country. We must get rid of them."

"My last appeal to you is, 'take a proper care in the fight for national freedom. During the last fight our sisters who participated in the Hijrat movement and those who showed remarkable courage at Borsad have earned a fame for our community of which we can be legitimately proud. I must appeal to you to wear Khadi. Some people say that in the national struggle our sisters are given their proper quota. But I cannot share the same opinion unless I see, you all clad in Khaddar, unless I find heaps of handspun yarn sent by you to different leading centres in Gujarat, unless I see you giving up false ideas of modesty."

In conclusion she reiterated the words that were uttered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel when he was given an address in Bombay by Patidar women. The Sardar said that it was beyond his power to attempt to improve the so-called high class Patidars of Charotter. When the Sardar dared not attempt it who else would do it, unless they themselves did it.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

Indian Technical Education Committee

EVENING COMMERCIAL CLASSES AT SASTRI COLLEGE

These Classes have now been re-opened after the Summer vacation. Students intending to take advantage of these Classes are advised to enrol without delay.

For further particulars apply to Mr. W. M. Buss, Principal, Sastri College, Warwick Avenue, Durban.

P. R. PATHER

S. M. MOODLEY

Joint Hon. Secretaries.

Little Grey Street,
Durban.

"Let Not India Be Divided By Religions"

A Christian View

Our conviction is that in the days ahead Christians should oppose all communal divisions to which political importance is given. It looks as though the idea of communal representation has fixed itself upon India with something like a throttle hold, but the very fact that this is so seems to us to make the duty of all Christians even more plain. We would like to ask specifically as to why matters of political and economic bearing should have to be considered from a religious bias. Yet with separate electorates, this would absolutely be the case. It would be necessary to have all political divisions represented within the different religious groups if anything like progress was to be made and with the communal question always to the front there would always be the tendency to elect men with a strong communal bias rather than those who have progressive and intelligent views regarding national needs.

It seems to us nothing short of a national tragedy that men should be elected to the governing bodies of the land as members of various religious groups and that they should be classified in the various Legislative Councils and Assemblies according to their religious beliefs. We cannot shake off the settled conviction that the road to a united India and to a prosperous and happy India, does not lie along the way of communal representations. If there is in an outstanding public, spirited Hindu in any community, why should his Mohammedan and Christian friends be denied the privilege of voting for him to represent them all? Should there be a Christian of wisdom and experience, why should not all members of the community be perfectly free to join in electing him to represent them? The fact that this would not be possible under separate electorates will certainly make public life in India very narrow and restricted.

So far as safeguards are concerned we believe the term to be an illusion. The minority community can only be safeguarded when the majority group is so disposed. The only way to make a majority group feel its responsibility for others is to make it realise that it is the guardian of the rights and privileges of the minorities. Where the Hindus are in a majority they should realise that their Mohammedan and Christian and Sikh brethren, along with all others, depend upon them to guard their rights and guarantee their security. Wherever Mohammedans are in a majority they too should feel that it is their duty to co-operate with the minority groups so as to make all realise that justice is being done. And should there be a constituency where Christians, or Sikhs or any others are in a majority, they too should realise that it is their obligation to secure a fair representation for the other groups and to ensure the peace and happiness of all.

In our judgment communal representation divides men and makes it impossible for them to work together for the political benefit of the land. If this is true, we appeal to all Christians to stand against any such divisions and we appeal to all in India, whoever they may be, to insist upon being a unit so that they may freely join with any groups they may feel are essential to the welfare and progress of the country.—*The Indian Witness*

Gandhiji's Farewell Message

"I am glad to be returning to India, but sorry to have to leave England"—these were Mahatma Gandhi's last words before leaving England uttered to Renter's special representative in a farewell message, as the Mahatma was embarking.

"The English people should believe me," continued Mahatma Gandhi, "when I say that if it falls to my lot to fight them I will be engaged in the fight, never out of hatred, but most surely out of love, even as I have fought some of my dearest relations. Hence I am determined to make every effort to continue co-operation as far as it is consistent with national self-respect.

"I must, however, confess that the more I study the Bengal Ordinance, the more I am filled with misgivings of the gravest character. Bad as is the action which makes possible the infliction of capital punishment for attempted murder, there are other sections which are infinitely worse.

"We can afford to make a present of a few innocent heads, but it is impossible to contemplate with equanimity the unmaning of the whole people. I am hoping, therefore, that the British people will study the Ordinance and insist on the withdrawal of what to me is an inhuman exercise of political power."—*Indian Review*.

India's New National Anthem

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

Rabindranath Tagore is well-known throughout India as the most fearless social reformer as well as the poet of the Indian nation. More than fifty years ago, when he was quite young and at the height of his literary fame, he flung himself into the struggle for social reform, condemning child marriage, advocating widow re-marriage and the abolition of purdah and attacking before anyone else the opium policy of the Government of India whereby a huge revenue was made out of the poisoning of a neighbouring friendly people. It was in those days he wrote his greatest national songs and proclaimed also in song a new birth for his own country. Now at the end of his days he can look back with satisfaction at finding the reforms he aimed at so long ago at last being fulfilled.

Two poems of Rabindranath Tagore are closely related to the present situation in India, and, therefore, had special interest at the time when the Round Table Conference resumed its sessions in London. The former of these is almost certain to become the Indian National Anthem in place of "Bande Mataram," as more comprehensive in character. Its tune, composed by the Poet himself, has a movement and popular air which has made it well known in all the provinces. It is also easily translated into the different Indian dialects and already it has spread its way north and south and east and west. At the Indian National Congress at Karachi 1931, it was sung as the National Anthem. In the Poet's own English translation it runs thus:—

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny.
Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab and Sind, Gujarat and
Maratha, of Dravid, Orixa and Bengal.
It echoes in the hills of the Vindhayas and Himalaya;
It mingles in the music of Jumna and Ganges,
and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.
They pray for Thy blessing and sing Thy praise,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.

Day and night Thy voice goes out from land to land,
calling Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains round Thy throne,
with Parsees, Muslims and Christians,
Offerings are brought to Thy shrine by the East and West,
to be woven into a garland of love.
Thou bringest the hearts of all peoples into the harmony of one life,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.

Eternal Charioteer, Thou drivest man's history
along the road rugged with rises and falls of Nations.
Amidst all tribulations and terrors,
Thy trumpet sounds to hearten those that despair and droop,
guiding all people in their paths of peril and of pilgrimage.
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.

When the long dreary night was dense with gloom,
and the country lay in a stupor,
Thy Mother's arms held her,
Thy wakeful eyes bent upon her face,
till she was rescued from dark evil dreams.
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.

The night dawns, the Sun rises in the East,
The birds sing, the morning breeze brings a stir of new life.
Touched by the golden rays of Thy love,
India wakes up and bends her head at Thy feet.
Thou King of all Kings, Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.

The second song of Rabindranath Tagore is addressed to the depressed classes or Untouchables, whose occupation for many centuries has been associated with scavenging and refuse removing. The Poet's own translation runs thus:—

Why do they shun your touch, my friend,
And call you unclean,
Whom cleanliness follows at every step,
making the earth sweet for our dwelling,
And ever luring us back from return to the wild?
You help us, like a mother her child, into freshness,
And uphold the truth that disgust is never for man.
The holy stream of your ministry carries pollutions away
and ever remains pure.
Once Lord Shiva saved the world from a deluge of poison,
By drinking the draught Himself;
And you save the world everyday from filth,
with the same divine suzerance.
Come friend, come my hero, give us courage to serve man—
even when bearing the brand of infamy from him.

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Government of India Delegation to the Round Table Conference at Capetown.



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(Reading from left): G. S. Bajpai, Esq., Sir Geoffry Corbett, Kt., Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt. (Leader), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, P.C., Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Kt., and Sir K. V. Reddi, Kt., B.A., B.L.