

# Indian Opinion

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## LECTURE ON CHRISTIANS IN INDIA

**T**HE right approach to the problem of national unity was eloquently discussed by the Indian Agent-General, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, at the meeting of the Johannesburg Christian Unity Association, in St. George's Presbyterian Hall, Johannesburg.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. Dr. A. B. L. Karney, who presided, said that they welcomed the occasion, not so much for the consideration of Christian unity but the problem of national unity as visualised by the Indian Agent-General as the right approach to the problem of racial understanding.

Before calling upon the Kunwar, Bishop Karney tendered their congratulations on the honour His Majesty had done in conferring the knighthood in recognition of his signal services to India and the Empire.

Sir Maharaj Singh regarded it as a great privilege to address the Christian Unity Association, a body which had as their objects the promoting of good feeling between Protestant Christians. Their objects had his warm sympathy. He did not suppose that any of them did not think that the lack of unity was not against the will of their Master, Jesus Christ. Divisions meant wastage of effort and wastage of life.

Speaking on Christianity in India, the Agent said that the Indian Christians had increased to six millions. They were one of the recognised communities of India and the third largest in the country, coming after the Hindus and Muslims. For the first time the non-Catholic Christians had exceeded the Catholic, and among the former there had been the largest increase, and all of them were trying to form a united whole.

In India, he went on, it is quite obvious that they could not tolerate and perpetuate the differences among Christians that had been imported from England. In India they did not know of denominational differences. They had no idea of the faults of both sides, nor had they desired to learn them. There was a complete spirit of co-operation among Christians.

The speaker went on to refer to the South Indian scheme to consolidate all the Christian forces. Within two years the scheme had been translated into practice and had a following of at least 80 to 85 per cent. of the Christians in India.

### Churches Must Unite

The scheme, he explained, was the outcome of the feeling which had existed for a long time, that denominational separation was a hindrance not only in itself but to the progress of Christianity. It was a necessity that one must unite in a more practical

manner. He did not believe in any scheme which was infallible, as he could not believe in the infallibility of the laity or the clergy. (Laughter.)

The bishops of India, like the Bishops of England, were men of different views. The scheme was sponsored to a large extent by the Anglican bishops of India who saw that principles were not compromised, though for the sake of unity there could not be sufficient compromise. The scheme was an experimental measure; it could not be an autocratic episcopacy. He claimed their sympathy for the Southern India scheme not as an infallible scheme but as a measure for unity, which they would hope and pray would be a great success.

The Agent pleaded for the fair treatment of his South African compatriots.

### Racial Unity

"Unity not only among Christian denominations," declared Sir Maharaj, "unity between the various races of the world, unity in this sub-continent of South Africa. Surely you cannot stick to the unity of Christians only without trying to extend your influence to the various races of this country, native, coloured, Indian and Chinese." (Hear, hear.)

Referring to Indian trading in Johannesburg, the speaker said that in Market Street, where the Indians were mainly confined, there were more European shops than Indian. If the Europeans did not deal with the Indian traders, Indians would be compelled to close down their shops. But, on the other hand, the European consumer went about freely because the Indian shopmen were courteous and agreeable, and in some cases were prepared to give a long term of credit.

He did not desire to gloss over the faults of his community, said the Agent. His wife and he had criticised those who had not conformed to sanitary standards. He did not believe in taking one side of the picture. But there were several extenuating circumstances. In this large city they had no schools taking boys and girls up to the matriculation standard. There was the law that did not give Indians security of tenure.

For the work that the Christian Church had done in India towards education, social and medical relief they owed much to the missionary, and they were indeed grateful. He felt that he could appeal legitimately for help.

Towards inter-racial unity Sir Maharaj suggested that there might be more inter-communal services. "At the Table of the Lord," he added, "there can be no differences of race or colour."

The speaker felt that South Africa's race problem was the native problem. He was equally sympathetic with native aspirations. He had seen the

African in various parts of the world, and he knew of their capacity for progress. The European community could not progress if the non-European population was kept in the background. Therefore, it behooved them all to do their best in ameliorating all racial difficulties.

He thought that it was the duty of the Church to advance well ahead of public opinion. The Union Government had told India that it could not legislate in favour of the Indian in advance of public opinion. What steps were taken individually and collectively to educate public opinion? In his own church, the Anglican, he could see some measure of advance, but he would like to see that it was continuously maintained.

"As the Church you must stand up for righteousness. I beg of you to take some practical steps to improve public opinion. I have seen changes during the last four months. If only we can establish points of contact then we can remove prejudice, and if prejudice goes then race prejudice also goes."

Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh said she appreciated what they, the churches, as a group were doing. "I should like to thank you that we have all the churches of South Africa behind us. I believe in the great good wrought by prayer, and therefore I would like in all humility to ask your intercession. This will help us a great deal."

Bishop Karney and the Rev. Bruce Gardiner, in thanking the speakers, assured the Agent of their co-operation and support for the Indian cause.

## IS THIS DOMINION STATUS?

IN this country we have been hardly supplied with any important news with regard to the doings of the so-called third Round Table Conference which was said to have successfully terminated in London a few weeks ago. In the first place, about a dozen and a half delegates from British India, selected by the British Government, were invited to take part in the work of building up a constitution for the future Government of India. These dozen and a half delegates, as a matter of fact, represent no one in India to-day. They merely represent themselves. The Nationalist India to-day class them as traitors to the country. The Indian National Congress, which is the mouthpiece of 350 millions of people, and which is carrying on the great struggle for India's independence, is purposely kept aside. This is the only national organisation that can deliver the goods but was not represented on this third Round Table Conference.

Any one who has the least knowledge of the present political situation in India, can say without any doubt that a constitution will not smoothly work, in the building of which no co-operation of the Indian National Congress was sought. The Indian National Congress stands for complete Responsible Government.

It appears from the Indian exchanges that the British Government in the third Round Table Conference laid their cards down on the table. The British Government's delegates presented a statement on the question of reservation or safeguards.

The Indian National Congress had demanded full responsibility at the central government. The executive must be fully responsible to the legislature. The Round Table Conference has come to the conclusion that Defence, Foreign relations Paramountcy and Ecclesiastical must be reserved subjects to be placed entirely into the hands of the Viceroy. The heads under which safeguards are inserted are Finance, Commercial discrimination, Minorities, Civil Services, States, Inter-Imperial relations and Emergencies. In each case under the latter category as well as in the former category, special powers are proposed for the Governor-General and Governors.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, who is known to be a great friend of the British Government, in an interview to the *Hindu*, criticises these special powers placed into the hands of the Governor-General and Governors. He says, "In my humble judgment, the sum of these powers makes an enormous inroad on Dominion Status."

In future even the Governors are given the powers to issue ordinances. In the past the Governor-General alone had this power. At present India, as a matter of fact, is ruled by ordinances issued by the Viceroy and it is a rule practically of martial law.

If such a constitution is to be thrust on India, we have no doubt that it will not work in India even for a month in the present circumstances of India. We can visualise that such a constitution is not going to bring peace in India, but the struggle for India's independence will be continued vigorously. It seems that the great sacrifices that the people of India have made during the last few years have not had any effect on the British Government. No change of heart has taken place. Peace between England and India seems to be far. We have no doubt that the people of India will firmly resolve to carry on the struggle. They will not rest in peace unless and until complete independence is won.

## Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh On Indian Problem

"One of the solutions that I have for this Indian problem is that there should be a greater contact between individuals of the two races. I feel that the more contact there is the better. If you like one person you will have some liking for the race," said Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh (Agent-General for India) in an address to the Johannesburg Tox H Lunch Club at the Master Builders' Hall.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, who spoke on the Indian problem both in India and South Africa, made an earnest plea for improved race relationships.

He pointed out that the 1931 census had shown that the population of India had increased to something like 880,000,000, excluding Burma—about one-sixth or one seventh of the world. It was generally realized that in about one-third of India British rule did not exist, and the people were not British subjects at all.

"I am among those who are staunch supporters and believers in the British Empire, and I hope that for as long as I live India will remain in the British Empire, because in spite of mistakes in British policy, British rule has done an enormous amount of good," he declared. It had served as a unifying force, particularly the English language. "The general medium of communication throughout India, and the unifying medium, is English," he added.

### Indian Self-Government

The Kunwar reviewed constitutional progress in India since Lord Morley's reforms in 1910; and mentioned that when he was Premier of Jodhpur he had working under him no fewer than 40 Europeans, and his relations throughout his service in India had always been extraordinarily friendly. India was now on the threshold of self-government, and in 1934, he thought, it would come in very complete measure. There would be safeguards, such as defence. He would not like to see the British Army withdrawn at the present, because for some time they would need its friendly co-operation.

Changes were taking place in race relationships, said the Agent-General. He was constantly attending functions and events "for the first time" in South Africa, such as a recent luncheon when Indian and European teams met at cricket in Durban. Later on these things would be accepted and no longer regarded as "the first time."

What was the Indian problem in the Transvaal? There were 18,000 Indians and a little over 700,000 Europeans, or an Indian proportion of less than three per cent. Had they ever known a problem being created by a population of less than three per cent? The volume of Indian trade was less than five per cent. If they added the natives, the Indian population was 1½ per cent. "Where is the problem?" he asked.

Yet there were all the laws against Indians in the Transvaal, against people who were part of the British Empire, people who had given their lives for the Empire. India, it should be remembered, had sent a million men to the war. Yet there were these laws, including complete segregation. He would never gloss over the faults of the Indians, but where people were hedged with restrictions they would always find a depressed standard, and enforcement of rigid rules would always bring about demoralisation.

The Agent-General asked that members of Tox H and sympathetic Europeans generally should use their opportunities for putting "the other side of the case," when anti-Asiatic propaganda was indulged in. A great deal was being done in a quiet way by the Indo-European councils, and he urged that there should be even more contact. Above all people could help by spreading a sense of justice.

There was an Indian population in the Transvaal without any representation in provincial or local government. "How would you fare under such circumstances?"

he asked, and he recalled that during the Kruger regime that had been one of the Britishers' causes of grievance. He thought it was the duty of South Africa to see that its nearest neighbour, India was friendly, not hostile.

The chairman (Mr. J. McG. Luke), on behalf of Tox H, congratulated the Agent-General on his knighthood, and the Kunwar said he keenly appreciated the honour which His Majesty had bestowed on him.

## Kunwar Maharaj Singh Knighted

The Agent of the Government of India, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, has been made a Knight-Commander of the Indian Empire. It is regarded a fitting honour that the Knighthood has been conferred on him. He has served in India in various capacities. His work on behalf of Indians overseas is very well appreciated in India.

## Mr. Roos Prime Minister Of A Coalition

In an interview by Reuter at Capetown recently three points raised by individuals in the great crowd which welcomed him on his arrival in Capetown were put to Mr. Roos. One of them having reference to the Prime Ministership in the event of a coalition government. Mr. Roos indicated himself.

The first question was: "If General Smuts and the South African Party are prepared to co-operate with you, can you guarantee that the Government will be turned out immediately Parliament assembles?" "Yes," said Mr. Roos. "If the proposals I have already outlined are accepted by General Smuts and his supporters. So far as I have the power, and I believe I have the power, it will be used to defeat the Government at once."

The second question was: "In order to avoid any misunderstanding, will you be prepared, before the Government is defeated, to enter into a working agreement on the future policy to be pursued?—Yes, if there is to be any agreement for future co-operation it is essential that my proposals be accepted at once, so that the appeal to the country, when it is made, will be made by a coalition government and not by a party government in order to eliminate the danger of a racial election."

### Who Would Be Premier?

The third question was: "Who should be the Prime Minister of a coalition government—General Smuts, Mr. Roos or a third party?" "Is Mr. Roos prepared to serve under a neutral party?"

Mr. Roos replied: "I do not desire to be Prime Minister, nor, indeed, any Minister in South Africa. The position I chiefly preferred is that which I have just resigned, the position of a Judge. But I feel that in my public position to-day and in the peculiar circumstances facing the country and the national emergency with which we have to deal, that I am the only person who is capable of swinging sufficient numbers of both sections of the population to ensure success of the policy which I have announced. With the aid of the South African Party we could count on a 100 per cent. coalition, because we are certain of the support of the Nationalists, of the Labourites, and of the big floating vote which is of enormous importance and is generally overlooked."

### A Reply To Cape Nationalists

The following statement was issued to the South African Press through Reuter at Capetown by Mr. Tielman Roos:—

"I have read with pleasure and interest the resolution of the head committee of the Nationalist Party of the Cape against myself. It bears a strong resemblance to the notorious 'Afrikaner treason' message of the Prime Minister, which has done him incalculable harm in South Africa and which I treated as a joke at my Pretoria meeting. Probably, owing to a feeling of Christian charity, the term 'Afrikaner treason' has been watered down to dishonour, with other qualifications.

"The amusing part of both messages is that I am a member of the Nationalist Party of the Transvaal and owe no allegiance to leaders of other parties or to the head committees. But trifles of this kind do not affect their minds. Neither of them has probably heard of the lines justifying those who dared the name of traitor to supply their country's need.

### A Gift Of Medicine

"But to enter into the matter more closely, let me inform the public again of those who came to see me in Johannesburg with professions of adherence and who hurried back at once to Pretoria to deliver garbled versions of what took place.

"One guileless brother brought a large bottle of medicine on account of my weak state of health, forsooth, and a list of carefully prepared questions. The medicine has been retained, but I need scarcely say will not be used by me. On some future occasion the questions will be put to the discomfiture of the questioner.

"To deal further with the resolution of the Nationalist Party of the Cape, when I had already formed a Nationalist Party of the Transvaal the Cape party was still in the throes, and I am senior in time to all the Nationalists in the Cape Province.

"When the terms of the resolution are studied, I am constrained to remember again the curious political tactics of the Cape executive with regard to the Tod Senatorship, conduct which was greeted with contemptuous laughter by the nationalists in all the other provinces in South Africa.

"Why do they not expel me, who took so great a part in the formation of the Nationalist Party of the Transvaal, and with me thousands of other Nationalists throughout the country? Expulsion has been the favourite and foolish weapon for some time past.

"Some of the leaders, many of the members of Parliament and most of the rank and file of the Nationalist parties in South Africa are staunch and true to the principle of unity and peace in South Africa. Some of the leaders are inclined to strike mostly by covert blows, but occasionally—very occasionally—they venture into the open.

### Power To Bring Peace Not Used

"They had the power in their hands to bring peace. They have flung it away, but the eventual and not long delayed victory for amity and peace is certain in this country. To use a familiar image the little dogs bark mostly in private, but the caravan moves on. The speed of the caravan is increasing.

"The little dogs will be left behind. Eventually the caravan of South Africa will safely and happily reach its destination to the abundant blessings of ourselves and those who come afterwards.

"It is a curious commentary of the foolish hate aroused against me that if the Budget of the Minister of Finance is balanced, and I now believe it will be, it will have been balanced by me.

"Let me in conclusion congratulate Ministers on their hard-working Christmas and New Year, and only express regret that all that energy was not turned to better account."

### A Nationalist Forecast

Nationalist Party supporters in Pretoria forecast political developments before the end of January which will bring about the defeat of the Government on a no-confidence motion through support to the South African Party given by followers of Mr. Tielman Roos.

They go further, and prophesy a pact between General Smuts and Mr. Roos in operation at the general election, with the return of the Smuts-Roos pact to power and the formation of a Cabinet under Mr. Patrick Duncan as Premier and including General Smuts and Mr. Roos.

There is still difference of opinion among Nationalists, but the forecast given above is the view of some prominent members of the party. It is stated that certain Ministers in the Cabinet share this belief.

### White Australia Policy

The *Hindu* of Madras writes:—

The statement of Mr. W. M. Hughes, a former Premier of Australia, on the question of the admission of Asiatics into that Continent raises a very large question which cannot but lead in years to come to a conflict between countries which are sparsely populated but which refuse admission to others and those which are overpopulated and therefore require for their sons and daughters lands to immigrate into. It is all very well for the white peoples to have occupied the habitable and healthy places on the earth and claimed those lands their own, even to the detriment of the natives of the soil. This selfish policy followed with such strictness and without any feeling of humanity in America and South Africa and other countries is already having its deadly perils in frequent clashes; as education spreads and enlightenment grows the resentment of the natives against their being kept in the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water will grow to such proportions that a racial war will become inevitable, with what results no one can now precisely say.

Within the British Empire itself a phase of this problem, which is already presenting serious difficulties, is that of the treatment of one class of His Majesty's subjects by another class. For instance, India has been protesting against the way in which her nationals in the British Dominions are being subjected to humiliation and pin-pricks and all these years of agitation have not yielded much good. The Imperial Conference held in 1921 admitted the right of each Dominion to determine the composition of its population. The question in South Africa is a peculiar one. Indians were invited there to colonise the country and exploit it. After they had done so and brought prosperity to it, their succeeding generations are being persecuted and practically driven out because the white people have no further use for the brown and do not wish to complicate the situation which is already serious enough because of the presence of Bantus and other native peoples. South Africa, as a matter of fact, so far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, has no hesitation to abolish British Empire citizenship and joint British nationality. "A nation," Dr. D. F. Malan, Minister of Interior, stated recently, "with two political nationalities, is an absurdity. It supposes a divided fidelity which nationalists at least have always regarded as the root of all our racial difficulties." This position is understandable, based as it is, on the claim which South Africa has been consistently making for the right of secession from the Empire; and as it has been obvious for some time, the only way in which Indians settled in South Africa can secure the redress of their grievances and the recognition of their rights of citizenship would be when India becomes self-governing as South Africa, and is able to treat with that country on equal terms. The question in Australia is, of course, different. Those Indians who have settled

there have already secured most of the rights of citizenship. The particular problem Mr. Hughes was discussing with our Colombo correspondent, refers to the opening up of Central and Northern Australia which are supposed to be unsuitable for white colonisation because of the climatic conditions. At present, Australia is dead against allowing Asiatics to immigrate into these tracts for fear that the "White Australia Policy" would then be in serious jeopardy. The objection to allowing Asiatics into these territories is mainly racial and Australia would rather follow the dog-in-the-manger policy than allow brown races like Indians possessing Empire citizenship, to people those parts of the Continent which are not habitable by the whites. It is notorious that Australia in its relationship with Great Britain has claimed to be more royalist than the King. If the claim is well-founded, it should have, unlike South Africa, some amount of regard for what British citizenship stands and yet, inconsistently enough, it would shut the door of Australia against Indians and India is of course bound by that decision because India cannot retaliate, being a subordinate branch of the British Government, and shut her doors against the nationals of those countries to which she cannot send her own nationals. But keen observers foresee that if Australia does not pick and choose people to exploit Northern Australia and thus add to her wealth and prosperity a time would come when, owing to the pressure of population in some Asiatic countries other than India, there would be such a rush that Australia would find it difficult to check it. The British Commonwealth is composed of countries which follow inconsistent policies, not seldom adopt unrighteous methods and do only lip homage to Empire citizenship. The logical consequences of this chaotic condition would only lead to increasing difficulties in the task of reconciliation unless the Dominions concerned realise the danger of racial arrogance and colour prejudice.

## Pretoria Tamil Vedic Youngmen's Association

We have received the following for publication from the secretaries of the above association:—

In order to promote a fund to be contributed towards the erection of a new ward for the accommodation of Indian patients at the Pretoria General Hospital, the above Association organised a bazaar which was opened by the Kunwarani, the wife of the Agent of the Government of India, in the Oriental Palace, on the 16th December, 1932, in the presence of the Agent and many noted European and Indian ladies and gentlemen.

Dr. Robertson, who presided over the introductory meeting preceding the opening of the bazaar, in a brief speech, referred to the good work done by the Indian community in collecting money for the general purposes of the Pretoria Hospital. He referred appreciatively to the remarkable generosity of Mr. Cassim Adam who had promised £1,000 towards the proposed Indian Hospital, and who said that even if the hospital cost more than £2,000 he would give half.

Mr. Krishnan, the president of the association, warmly thanked the Kunwarani, for having consented to open the bazaar, and attended the events of the day with that intention. He thanked the Superintendent of the Hospital for having consented to preside over the meeting, and the Agent-General

and all other guests for having attended the bazaar with the object of making it a success, and said that with the specific object of raising a fund towards the erection of an Indian ward to the General Hospital recently erected by the Provincial Administration, the members of the association had organised "a wrag" and set out collecting on "Devali Day," but the sudden intervention of heavy rain just at the crucial moment had thwarted a good collection. Notwithstanding this fact, they had succeeded in effecting a collection amounting to £14 and placed the same to the credit of the fund. The bazaar was their second venture in aid of the hospital fund. The speaker hoped that the generous and liberal persons who were present would make it a success. He thanked the Pretoria Indian Women's Association for having effected a fairly good collection in aid of the Hospital Fund and handing the same to the hospital authorities. He also paid a warm tribute to Mr. Cassim Adam for his remarkable munificence towards the erection of a new ward for the accommodation of Indian patients, thus setting out an example of benevolence. Mr. Cassim Adam's promised contribution of £1,000 would be recorded by the Association as a memento.

The Agent of the Government of India, Sir Maharaj Singh, said that a new ward was absolutely essential for the Indian community of Pretoria. It was surprising that at the headquarters of the Union Government there should be no provision of this kind for the Indian community. He thanked Mr. Cassim Adam on behalf of his Government for his wonderful generosity. The Agent said it was the duty and privilege of both the European and Indian communities to promote goodwill towards each other. How tremendous were the potentialities if the great continents of India and Africa were at goodwill with each other; how potential the dangers if they were not too friendly with each other. He thanked Dr. Robertson for the assistance he had given to them in the work of trying to establish an Indian ward, and hoped the Provincial Administration would shortly give its contribution. In conclusion the Agent made a plea for goodwill and understanding, saying that if those Europeans present would spread this feeling to others he was sure that they would find that the Indian community was not so bad as it was sometimes painted.

The Deputy-Mayor, Mr. Van der Merwe, Mr. Hartshorne, Mr. Cassim Adam and others of prominence also spoke in support of the movement.

The Kunwarani then opened the bazaar. She said she wished to pay a special tribute to the small school children who had assisted so materially in the success of the bazaar.

A special banquet was given in honour of the distinguished guests in the reception room of the Oriental Palace at 1 p.m. Mr. Cassim Adam presided over the banquet and there was a large attendance. The decoration of the tables and the varieties of the sumptuous delicacies served were superb and the guests enjoyed them with palatable gusto. Mr. Cassim Adam, the Kunwarani and Dr. Mayadas made suitable speeches and thanked the members of the association for the entertainment accorded them and wished the association's charitable venture to bear good fruit.

The bazaar has proved to be a success. A statement of account in this connection will be published in the papers as soon as possible, which will give the public a detailed account of the receipts and payments, and the balance in favour of the fund.

## The Urgency Of India

(By THE RT. HON. WEDGWOOD BENN)

India is so far away and so vast. News from it is so scarce and often so prejudiced that we have an almost impossible task if we wish to estimate accurately the movement of Indian public opinion. And yet Indian public opinion is of importance, for it is almost universally acknowledged to-day that India cannot be governed without her consent. In form, at least, Indian self-government is a part of the programme of every political party, although what each means by self-government is not quite the same thing.

It must be remembered that the first promise of responsible government was made to India under the stress of war needs. Mr. Montagu's mission was really a part of the campaign. We needed Indian help and we got it freely from some of the leaders who are now in jail, but who at that time eagerly espoused Britain's cause, because they believed that it represented the right of peoples to self-government.

But though the Montagu declaration was received by Parliament without dissent, as the need for Indian help began to disappear the difficulties and the pledges assumed a somewhat different perspective. A preamble of the Act of 1919, whilst it repeated the promise of self-government for India, included a re-statement of the functions of Parliament, which was tutorial and offensive in tone, and made it possible for the diehards to put up what amounted to a negation of the promise of self-government.

It was the opinion underlying the preamble which was responsible for the blunder committed in the appointment of a wholly European Commission of Inquiry. The Simon Commission, as it was called after its chairman, was provided for in the Act of 1919, but there was nothing in that Act to prevent the appointment of Indians, and undoubtedly the Government made a great mistake in not naming a mixed body. The result was an almost universal boycott and a spirit of ill-will and resentment which embittered the relationship between Great Britain and India.

It was at this stage that the Labour Government took office. The Indian National Congress had threatened a campaign of civil disobedience unless Dominion status was granted. The Government's reply was contained in the declaration of November, 1929, which declared that Dominion status was the goal and summoned the Conference to consider how to achieve it.

The patient efforts made to create a peaceful atmosphere were crowned after much tribulation in March, 1931, by the Delhi Pact, and agreement was made between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. Each undertook to abide by the Commission's formula which was: *Responsibility for a federal India and safeguards in the Indian interests.*

This Pact brought Mr. Gandhi to London, and a year ago there was sitting at St. James's a Conference consisting of men who both in India and England could have made a settlement possible.

The tragedy was that just as the diehards in England got the upper hand by the pretence of forming a 'National' Government, so the diehards of both creeds in India were encouraged to pursue their bent. There always had been plenty of Congressists opposed to negotiations with Great Britain. There always had been plenty of bureaucrats who considered it a fatal mistake to negotiate on terms of equality with India. The revolutionary spirit was met by the firm hand. Preventive arrests were

numerous. An appearance of calm was produced.

What is the true situation? It is that public feeling has been merely repressed and bent up for a greater explosion later. Those who might have looked forward to taking a universal part as public leaders in a new self-governed India are behind prison bars, and the Government is pursuing the futile plan of making a technical draft in an office when it ought to be seeking a union of hearts with the Indian peoples.

Sooner or later we must resume the methods of co-operation. Sooner or later Mr. Gandhi must be released. It is quite idle to expect him to renounce the Congress before his release; he would sooner die in prison.

The only question is, are you to make a last attempt—if indeed there is still time—to negotiate a settlement with India, or are you to revert to the preamble and spoon-feed her with what seems good to the Tory Parliament? That India, one day will be free is certain. The question is will she be free as a member of the British Commonwealth or as its enemy?—*New Clarion.*

## Indians The Most Fearless People In The World

Graphic and stirring speeches on India were made by the members of the India League Delegation, who had recently toured India, at a Conference of delegates of several organisations held in Kingsley Hall, London.

Mr. Leonard Matters declared that the danger of an explosion in India was becoming more and more imminent and that if the present methods of achieving self-government fail, revolution would follow.

Miss Whitley said that the most magnificent aspect of Gandhi's teachings was that he had driven away fear from the hearts of the Indian people, who are to-day the most fearless people in the world.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson said that Government were strangling the hope of the nation and strangling every constructive work. She declared that the condition precedent to peace was the release of Mahatma Gandhi, and deplored the boycott by the British Press of the Allahabad Conference news.

"Once India had independence, which was the birthright of every country, she is going to give a magnificent contribution to the world which it at present so badly needs," she said.—*Tanjavur Opinion.*

## Master Stroke By De Valera

Mr. De Valera's swift and startling action in plunging the Irish Free State into the throes of a general election has provided a first-class political sensation overseas. A Reuter message from Dublin states that the forthcoming election on January 24 will be the gravest in Irish history.

The London correspondent of the *Rain Daily Mail* states that in addition to the President's economic policy, it is rumoured that he will but before the electorate the following proposals:—

The abolition of the Senate;

The removal of the office of Governor-General;

The immediate declaration of an Irish Republic.

Mr. De Valera's action is generally regarded as a political master-stroke, calculated to render abortive the proposals for the formation of a national or coalition government.

# Unity Committee Decisions

## Official Statement

Pt. Govind Malaviya, general secretary of the Unity Conference, has issued the following statement to the press in India about the proceedings of the Unity Committee meetings:—

The Committee of the Unity Conference which was appointed and started work on the 3rd November concluded its discussions and adjourned to the 3rd of December, 1932 when it met at 1 p.m. to finally adopt its report to be submitted to the Unity Conference which was being asked to reassemble in the Mayo Hall at Allahabad on Sunday, Dec. 4, 1932 at 12 noon. In the meanwhile the different representatives who were present at the Committee were requested to have the agreement ratified by their respective organizations.

The Committee which included representatives of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and representatives of the Christians during its earlier stages held 28 sittings occupying in all 186 hours of deliberation. It arrived at unanimous agreements with regard to matters affecting Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. As the representatives of Christians were not present during the latter part of the deliberations, matters particularly concerning them as also a few other matters which were raised towards the end had been held over for disposal at the next meeting of the committee. When the report of the committee incorporating the agreement arrived at had been adopted by the Conference the agreement was placed before a larger All Parties' Conference to which were invited representatives of all important political and communal organisations in the country including associations of Women, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Trades and Commerce, Labour and Landholders. This Conference was invited to meet at Allahabad on Monday, Dec. 5, 1932. The following is the full text of the resolutions adopted by the Committee:—

### 1 National Government

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that a Government at the Centre fully responsible to the people and possessing the full rights of a National Government will alone satisfy the needs of India and ensure the welfare of her people.

The Conference therefore demands that control over the Government of India should be transferred to the Indian people, with only such safeguards, for a short period fixed by statute, as may be shown to be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

### 2 Protection Of Religion, Culture And Personal Laws

i. The articles in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion and religious endowments.

ii. Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the Constitution.

iii. Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

iv. The personal laws of a community shall not be modified except in response to a desire of the community expressed through its representatives in the legislature or otherwise and with the support of the public opinion of the community concerned.

v. No change shall be made in the personal law of the Mussalman as it is in force in British India except in accordance with Islamic principles.

vi. If a bill is passed which, in the opinion of two-thirds of the members of any Legislature representing a particular community affects their religion or social practice based on religion, or in the case of fundamental rights of the subjects if one-third of the members object, it shall be open to such members to lodge their objection thereto, within a period of one month of the Bill being passed by the House; with the President of the House who shall forward the same to the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, and he shall thereupon suspend the operation of that bill for one year, upon the expiry of which period he shall remit the said Bill for further consideration by the Legislature when such Bill has been considered by the Legislature and the Legislature concerned has refused to revise or modify the Bill so as to meet the objection thereto; the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, may give or withhold his assent in the exercise of his discretion, provided, further, that the validity of such Bill may be challenged in the Supreme Court by any two members of the denomination affected thereby on the grounds that it affects their religion or social practices based on religion or contravenes one of their fundamental rights.

This provision will not affect the special safeguard agreed to in the case of the Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa and the U.P.

### 3 Army And The Judiciary

It is agreed that the Army and the Judiciary all over India shall be open to all sections of the Indian people, recruitments to both shall be made on the basis of merit alone and they shall be kept free from all communalism, provincialism and party politics.

### 4 Cabinets

i. In the formation of the Cabinet of the Central Government so far as possible members belonging to the Mussalman, Sikh and other minority communities of considerable numbers forming the Indian Nation shall be included by convention.

Further, during the first ten years in the formation of the Central Government a seat shall be offered to a member of the Sikh community.

ii. In the formation of Provincial Governments the claims of important Indian minorities of the provinces for inclusion of their members in the Cabinet shall be recognised by convention.

### 5 Services

i. Appointments shall be made by a non-party Public Service Commission which shall prescribe the qualifications and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of Public Service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the Public Services of the country.

ii. In the Public Service Commission for the Punjab, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs shall be represented. Similarly in all Provincial Public Services Commissions important communities of the provinces shall be represented.

iii. It is agreed that a Committee consisting of seven persons with power to co-opt be appointed to consider and recommend a scheme such as would best give effect to the principle embodied in this resolution.

Note:—The Committee will be composed of 3 Hindus, 2 Muslims, 1 Sikh and 1 Christian members.

### 6 Residuary Powers

With reference to residuary powers it is agreed that the powers to be exercised by the Indian and the Provincial Governments being scheduled exhaustively, the powers so scheduled and divided shall not be withdrawn from the Provincial Governments by the Indian Government; and further, any subject not specifically mentioned in the schedule shall belong to the Indian Government.

the Provincial Government according to the relevancy and closeness of connection with the subjects so scheduled. The final decision regarding doubts about subjects not scheduled shall vest in the Supreme Court, the opinion of the Central Government prevailing in an emergency until inter-ctory directions or final decisions will have been obtained.

### 7 Central Legislature

i. In the absence of definite information as to the proportion, powers and functions of members returned by Indian States to an All-India Federal Legislature that may come into existence, this agreement as to the reservation of seats in the Central Legislature is entered into with reference only to the representation of British India.

ii. It is agreed that in the Central Legislature out of the total elected seats allotted to British India 22 per cent. shall be reserved for Muslims and 42/3 per cent. or 14 seats out of 800 for Sikhs.

### 8 Joint Electorates

It is agreed that all elections shall take place through Joint Electorates. But for the next ten years the following method of election being a modified form of Maulana Mohamed Ali's formula shall be in force :

Out of the candidates who have secured at least thirty per cent. of the votes polled of their own community, the candidate who secures the highest number of votes polled on the joint electoral roll shall be declared elected.

In case there is no candidate who has secured thirty per cent. of votes polled of his own community, then out of the two candidates who secure the highest number of votes of their own community that candidate shall be declared elected who secures the highest number of votes of the total votes polled.

At the end of ten years this rule of thirty per cent. shall cease automatically. It will be open however to any community in any province to give up this system in favour of joint electorates pure and simple earlier.

### 9 Weightage For Muslims

It is agreed that the weightage enjoyed by Muslim minorities previous to the British Cabinet's decision shall be maintained for the next ten years.

( To be continued )

## The Indian Mission Of Fellowship

SOME IMPRESSIONS AFTER A THREE MONTH'S TOUR IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

( By BISHOP BANNERJI )

( From Our London Correspondent )

[ The Rt. Rev. J. S. C. Bannerji, Assistant Bishop of Lahore, is the leader of the Mission of Fellowship from the Churches in India to the Churches here, the four members of which have just completed a three months' tour of the principal centres in Great Britain and Ireland. ]

" Now that we have come to the end of our tour, we, of the Mission of Fellowship, can say what it has meant to us. We do not know what it has meant to the people of this land and it is not for us to say. We would rather tell of the gain to ourselves.

It has been a period of new revelation to us as to how much we have to thank God for—for the riches in Christ Jesus that are ours by virtue of the age-long search of our forefathers for things spiritual and indeed in that land of India! It has also

made us realise how little use we and our Church in India have made of this heritage and how much richer our contribution to England might have been if we had made fuller use of this our God-given possession. This must send us back with renewed zeal to claim for ourselves and our Church the fullness that is ours in Christ Jesus.

" We have also come to consider afresh the question why in spite of the openness of the heart of India to receive spiritual truths, there has been in recent years a spirit of resistance against Christ and his Gospel, and we have seen as never before, that no spiritual message to a foreign land can be effectively conveyed except in the spirit of true friendship and real fellowship. This has given us a new insight into the problems of missionary work in India.

" The mission has also enabled us to see certain things with reference to the land to which we brought our message of fellowship. We have been able to see what Britain truly is. We have made personal contacts with the people. In her beautiful landscape and green countryside, in her well-disciplined public life and standard of gentlemanliness, in her well-equipped educational system and her Universities, in her courtesy and refinement, in her home life and warm hospitality, England when seen in her true perspective, in her own land, is truly great. In this tour of ours she has taught us many a truth which we will carry with us back to our own land.

" We have also seen something of the heart of Christian England. We have also seen how much warm sympathy and goodwill and a sincere desire to do the very best for India there is deep down in the heart of the Christian people of England. And we know we can trust them.

" Our tour has shown us that the church, the elect, the "household of Faith," is small in this country which is called a Christian land as it is everywhere and in every age, but we have also found that the enthusiasm for things spiritual and abiding is very great. We were struck with the enthusiasm of the people we met everywhere. In spite of the inclemency of the weather and the awkwardness of the hour at which some of the meetings and services were held, we found people flocking in their thousands. At first we thought it was mere curiosity that drew people, but soon when we saw the same men and women gathered to hear the plain and simple word of God spoken, we realized that deep down in their hearts there is a hunger for God.

" People speak of the hospitality of the East. Great and magnanimous as the East is we have found England equally generous in hospitality. The amount of care that is taken in each house in which we have been as to the minute details of comfort, has made us feel that we were being really spoilt. It has made us realise that true hospitality is neither of the East nor of the West; it is truly a Christian grace."

### Indian Child Welfare Society Centre

150, BROOK STREET, DURBAN

Open daily, Monday to Saturday, 8-30 a.m. to 11 a.m. Infants, young children, nursing and expectant mothers.

Lady doctors give free attendance.

Tuesday morning 8-30 o'clock. Friday afternoon 3 o'clock.