

SASTRI SPEAKS

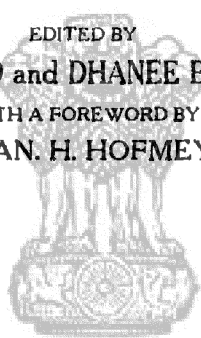
*Being a collection of the speeches and
writings of the Right Honourable
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in South
Africa during his term of
office as Agent of the
Government of
India in South
Africa*

EDITED BY

S. R. NAIDOO and DHANEE BRAMDAW

WITH A FOREWORD BY

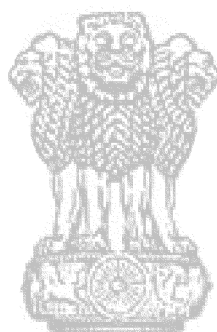
Mr. JAN. H. HOFMEYR



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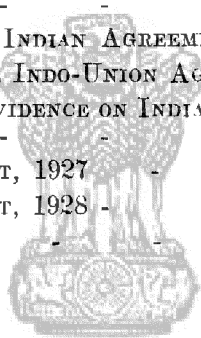
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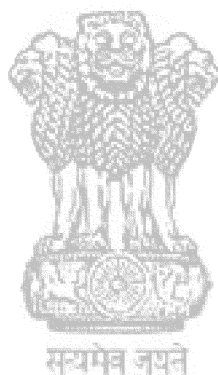
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FOREWORD

A Memory of Ambassadorship



THIS volume serves happily to enshrine South Africa's memory of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's ambassadorship. It is well indeed that its preparation has been undertaken. Mr. Sastri's speeches were a real enrichment of our South African life. Their publication in this form will lend permanence to that enrichment.

South Africa learnt to know Mr. Sastri during his term of office as one of the great orators of our modern times—an orator, moreover, whose greatness is derived not merely from technical skill and mastery, and from a superb command of language, but also from the fresh-

Foreword: A Memory of Ambassadorship.

ness, the range, the vigour and the depth of his thought. Not often does one find a speaker who at once has something to say, which is so well worth saying, and is able to say it with such distinction and such charm.

Of the significance of Mr. Sastri's ambassadorship for the Indians in South Africa it is hardly for me to speak; but one need not go beyond the speeches in this volume to find evidence of his wisdom in counsel, his discretion, his understanding sympathy, his unerring statesmanship.

To the Europeans of our land his sojourn in our midst meant perhaps more than anything else the presentation of a new conception of India and its people. He became to us the interpreter of India—an India of which, to our shame be it said, we used to know all too little; or, where we knew of it, we allowed, all too readily, our remembrance of it to be obscured.

He revealed to us an India of an ancient civilisation, one of the great civilisations of the world, a civilisation which has made many important contributions to our modern life; an India of a serene philosophy, a wide culture, and a developed art; an India with a literature well worthy to be numbered among the great literatures of the world. Of that India we did not know before Mr. Sastri came among us—or, if we knew of it, we did not often think of it. He made it real to us, and against the background which he thus created he made it possible for us to see what we have called our Indian problem in a different way.

Fortunate indeed was India when she sent Mr. Sastri as her interpreter to South Africa. But Mr. Sastri did more than reveal India to South Africa. He also, in his own inimitable way, did much to reveal us to ourselves, helping us to see—no less effectively because of the kindly inoffensiveness of the method—some of those things wherein we are in danger as a nation of falling short of those high principles to which we owe allegiance.

I would give but one instance. In that strikingly penetrating Christmas article which Mr. Sastri wrote for "The Natal Mercury," after emphasising the universality of the range of the commands of the Christ, he went on in these words: "We believe in the essential dignity of every soul on God's creation. That is the essence of every religion which is called a world-

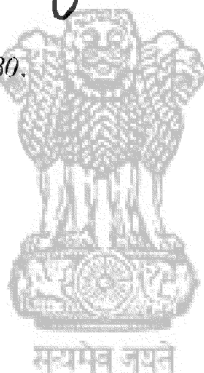
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religion. You cannot please God by benefiting one set of His creatures at the expense of another set of His creatures. The fact that you regard yourself as belonging to the one set and not to the other set is of no consequence. Injury to a part of humanity is injury to humanity and a violation of the purpose of God, who is called goodness and all love."

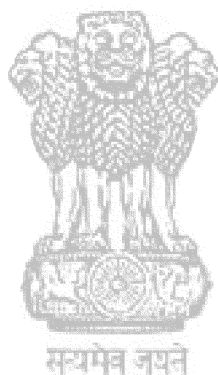
If the publication of this book could only serve the purpose of branding this message upon the conscience of us all it would indeed have rendered an inestimable service to South Africa.

James H. Jones.

Pretoria,
18 October, 1930.



*The
Editors'
Note*



TO have completely altered an outlook, to have successfully attacked life-long prejudice, to have made for the bringing together of races, to have inspired confidence where hitherto suspicion lurked, to have created respect where none or very little existed—is to have earned the undying gratitude of any community. To the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri not only the South African Indian community is under an unredeemable obligation, but those who were brought within the circle of his friendship are richer for the very contact. To have heard the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, General J. B.

The Editors' Note.

M. Hertzog (one amongst many), openly acknowledge him as his spiritual mentor is to have placed a seal of commendation on his work in and services to South Africa.

Mr. Sastri arrived in December, 1926, when he came as a member of the Habibullah Delegation. His powerful intellect was felt to be not without its effects on the members of the Round Table Conference. The author of that philosophical basis of the "uplift" clause in the Agreement—"it is the duty of every civilised government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the upliftment of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities"—was not hard to find. Asked for its interpretation (Clause 1 of Part III. of the Agreement, the Upliftment of the Indian Community) at the inquiry into Indian education by the Natal Provincial Committee, Mr. Sastri admitted that he had helped in the writing out of this paragraph, as he had in the writing out of other paragraphs. Here he called attention to the broad point of view of the statesmen that the State, for the general good, should not ask to which community people belong, what is their complexion, and so forth. To have got the Union Government, in face of the heterogeneous character of its population, to subscribe to this viewpoint was indeed a triumph for the man.

Mr. Sastri returned as the first Agent-General to the Government of India in the Union in June, 1927. He sailed for India on January 28, 1929. His stay in the country was eighteen months—first for a year, and, on the request of the Governor-General of South Africa (the Earl of Athlone) and the Viceroy of India (Lord Irwin), he agreed to remain for a further period of six months. What eighteen months they were! A veritable king commanding homage wherever he went, winning over opposition and working unremittingly and persevering in labour for the advancement of the community. Now and again he would feel the burden of overwork, the infirmities of the body and the pain of advancing years, and for the moment he would lift aside the veil to those in close touch with him who might share in his disappointments. "Oh, if I were young!" he once said to us, "It is a work which demands youth, in its vision and optimism to help in bringing about a state of the

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South African Indian acceptable to the country, an enlightened community that any people will be proud to claim its own. I am now old, weak in strength and the power to do. It was the will of the people of India that I came. Had it only been a few years ago! I wish for strength so that I can move about from one end of the country to the other, wherever a solitary Indian is to be found, sounding a clarion call to duty to this his country of domicile and birth." Despite what he felt to be his limitations, very few would assert that he failed.

If, he maintained, the British Commonwealth was based on equity to the least among its fellows, then the Europeans of South Africa, who were assured of the dominance of Western civilisation, must concede the right of the Indian to a proper place in the country. Mr. Sastri's pleadings for the recognition of this aspect rose to heights of eloquence unsurpassed and unrivalled. Urging this plea with moderation and forbearance, he won to the cause he served the unqualified friendship and co-operation of the best of both the white races, Dutch and British. There are many amongst us who may still recall his speeches, combined with wonderful diction and thought; and ere the echo of the silvery cadence die, the figure grow dim, and the appeal lose its force, may we be permitted to preserve, even in its imperfections, the words of that great Indian—Srinivasa Sastri—who may yet speak to us and the succeeding generations.

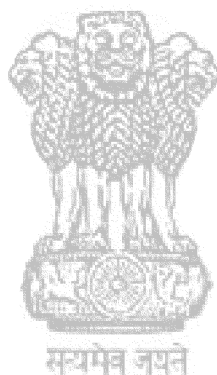
Our concluding note is one of thanks and gratitude to the Press of this country for a number of articles and speeches taken over from its columns, to the Natal Provincial Administration for the copy of the evidence before the Education Enquiry Committee, to both the Governments of the Union and of India for the Capetown Agreement and the Agent-General's reports, all of which we feel form valuable reference to the student of Indian affairs of South Africa. To all those who have made it possible for the publication of this volume so that Mr. Sastri now speaks—our fullest thanks.

S. R. NAIDOO,
DHANEE BRAMDAW.

Pietermaritzburg,
January 23, 1931.

Aye, Ready— Always Ready

Making his first public appearance at the civic luncheon given by the Mayor of Capetown to the members of the Government of India Delegation during the Capetown Conference (December, 1926), Mr. Sastri, in responding to the toast, said:



THE hospitality and kindness which we have received at your hands to-day are indeed difficult to acknowledge in suitable terms. Your Mayor has told you that he regards us as a mysterious people. I venture to think that in one respect at least our mystery has been completely exposed. You seem by your hospitality to show that you understand fully what the weak part of our nature is.

When we arrived, we were received by the representatives of your Government, not with garlands and bouquets as we do in India, but with something far more delicious and substantial. They showed us tray upon tray of the

Aye, Ready—Always Ready.

most attractive peaches and apricots, and I believe they rejoiced when we drew our chairs in to the tables and fell to.

We are a very grateful people in India; they libel us who say that in none of our languages is there a word for "thanks." There is a much better word than thanks; thanks, when we come to think of it, is a retrospective word. In India we look forward when we wish to express our thanks, and make a significant inquiry, all the time smiling our sweetest smile—we ask him "when next?"

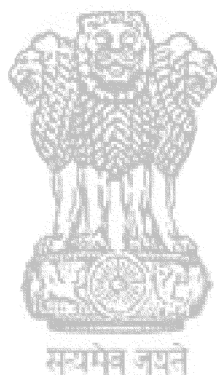
For yours is a somewhat later civilisation than ours. We have mastered a trick or two more than you have. I will show you how presently. On your invitation cards you have the letters R.S.V.P. We never do so in India, for we cannot imagine how any man can refuse an invitation to a meal. We always accept. If I cannot go myself, I send a very efficient substitute. I send my son, if he is a major, or my sons if they are only minors.

When we were about to leave the hotel to attend this most agreeable function, my leader sent for me, and gave me this instruction: "have a care, do not let your tongue run away with you, as it so often does. The Mayor of Capetown is as well known for his hospitality as for his wit. The lunch will be sumptuous, but in expressing your gratitude, do not give our secrets away!" I will remember his caution, but I will admit you to one of our secrets.

We have not yet booked our passages back, so, Mayor of Capetown, you need entertain no misgivings. Go ahead and fill up every part of the programme of entertainment, lunches and dinners which I know you are arranging. We have a couple of mottoes which we always observe in India, "Ready, always ready, to come. Never in a hurry to go."

A New Era

*Before returning to India
as a member of the Ha-
bibullah Delegation, Mr.
Sastri delivered the follow-
ing speech at the Durban
Town Hall on January 21,
1927.*



YOUR Worship, ladies and gentlemen, I have not the words in which to make suitable acknowledgement of the generous purse with which, on behalf of the Servants of India Society Fire Relief Fund, I have been presented by my countrymen here.

I accept it as a proof of welcome to my colleagues in the Society, and as an indication of your appreciation, and the work being carried on by the Society. The Society was founded by a man of the greatest eminence and patriotism, and on us has fallen the almost insupportable burden of carrying on his work, and doing so to the best

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of our ability. My colleagues will be greatly pleased, and will be very grateful indeed when they learn that their work—modest as it is—is appreciated by their countrymen so far away.

My leader, Sir Mohamed, has alluded to the circumstances that he is an official of the Government of India; perhaps he meant to imply that, as I do not happen to share that honour, I might speak to you with greater freedom, and at fuller length. Sir Mohamed, it is true, is no official, but is an official, but he has not forgotten the art which he has learned in his pre-official status, of speaking to large audiences; at any rate, he has to-day proved that he can say many words, and convey nothing at all. We in the non-official world cannot pretend to have mastered that art; when we say anything, we mean it, and when we mean anything, we say it.

You will not expect me to make any announcement of the result of the work on which we have been engaged on your behalf. If nothing else, the great size of this meeting, and its distinguished character forbid my making any such attempt.

My fellow-countrymen, I am sometimes astonished at the way in which, amid discouragement of every kind, you preserve still a passionate love of the Mother Country.

Wherever I have gone—and I have gone to nearly every place where our countrymen are to be found in the Empire—this phenomenon has puzzled me. That, having gone out of India, and lived for many years on other soil, you still should refer in the most unlimited affection and gratitude to the country from which, in seven cases out of ten, not you, but your parents came. How has India deserved this undying affection on the part of her children? I dare not answer that question. I take the fact as it is, and rejoice that we all, like those that still live in India, and those that live abroad, are unable to lay aside our memories of the great land to which we owe our birth, and which has, indeed, so many irrefutable claims to our admiration and love, and whose glory in the past we love always to cherish. We may, however, have fallen from the high state

A New Era.

that once marked our country. It is impossible for me to express my gratitude that that should be the case, and especially in South Africa, where, in spite of your long sojourn here, a certain section of your fellow-citizens consider you as aliens still, and as undesirable aliens, sometimes.

It is pathetic to a person like me, who knows how Indians live abroad, to observe how sincere, how devoted, and how noble her appeal always is to her children.

May she deserve a part, at least, of this great and unbounded love. Some of us would desire that India should be able to support her children, as other countries support their children. Believe me, you have not suffered at all by anyone at will, on the part either of the Government, or of the people of India. Official and unofficial, European and Indian; we all feel alike on this subject—of your position here.

Nothing divides us on this subject, and I believe that it is of some consequence for the world to know how united we are when we contemplate the unfortunate conditions in which millions of our countrymen pass their lives outside.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are not children; you do not expect from a deputation—even far more eminent and distinguished than ours is—you will not, I say, expect that within a few weeks the disputes of over two generations could be settled satisfactorily. But may I say, sir, that our work here has been performed under conditions wholly propitious. We have been received with every mark of consideration; we have been treated with hospitality and courtesy of which we have rarely seen the match, and our representations, in respect of the mission on which we have come, have been received in such friendliness and such sympathy, that our expectations have been, in that respect, not only entirely met, but greatly exceeded.

I take this public opportunity of tendering to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and the people of every creed and quality of this country, whom it has been our good fortune to meet, our sincere gratitude. We cannot possibly put it in words, but believe me, my countrymen, although you have sometimes been depressed by thoughts in another direction, a new era is dawning

A New Era.

on the relation that exists between South Africa and India. Although, as I have said before, you may easily expect too much, it is the bare truth to say that our negotiations will bear some fruit, of which we need not be ashamed, and for which you may indeed be grateful.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude with a word of appeal. You are here under circumstances, very familiar to you, no doubt, but upon which it is possible for a new-comer like me to shed some much-needed light. Your duty, if I may put it that way, if you will forgive me for saying so, is to fit yourselves by all the efforts you can make to be good South Africans.

Let nothing put that thought out of your minds. Keep it constantly as the main object of your endeavours, and you will find that the people of this country who have political power will learn so to use it that the large body of Indians settled amongst them, being good South Africans, deserve to be treated like South Africans of every other nationality.

That is, indeed, an ideal which I would beseech you never for a moment to forget. And, what most of all should you do to achieve this ideal? There are many things which, if I had the time and strength, I would, out of the fulness of my heart, communicate to you. But there is one thought that oppresses me, which I will take the liberty of mentioning in the hope that your indulgence will continue to be extended to me when I make this all-important matter clear.

To be good South Africans, you need more and better education. That is a most commonplace remark, but will you, rich and poor, cultured and illiterate, Mohamedan and Hindu, will you not translate the aspiration into effect? Much of the disadvantage you labour under, much of the disapprobation that you sometimes excite amongst your fellow-citizens, believe me, proceeds from the insufficient advance that education has made in your community. Now it is quite easy for some of the politicians amongst you to rise up and say, "But what can we do? The Government of the land does not spend its money enough on our education!" It may or may not be

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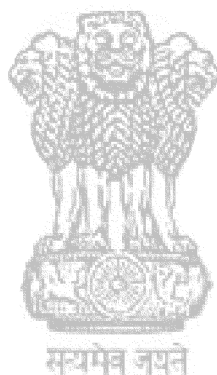
the case. I will not attempt to solve that problem, but I know this, that in the history of the world, there is no civilised government which will remain irresponsible when the community is determined to help itself. Let the rich and the fortunate among you come forward with endowments which will relieve the illiteracy of our people. Let them come forward with endowments for schools of higher grades, as well as elementary grades. Establish schools, invite good teachers to officer them, build good schools, and then complain if the government is unmoved and unconcerned.

I will not dare to say, on behalf of this Government, that they will not do so. You can move them, I am perfectly certain, by manifestations of your desire to be well educated. Rear your children with the advantage of education. I can never get so many of you together again, nor may I hope to address you under conditions when you will be so well-inclined to listen. I think, therefore, that I am not abusing this occasion, so rare as it is. I think I am using it well—to good purpose—if I conclude with an appeal to you that education will be your salvation; that money spent upon the education of your children, both boys and girls, will come back to you with a hundredfold interest. You will find yourselves in the end rewarded beyond all calculation, if you put the education of your children in the forefront of your future programme.

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The Agreement

"The recent negotiations at Capetown have achieved no miracles," says Mr. Sastri, on his return to India, after the Round Table Conference, when discussing the Agreement in "The Natal Witness," but what it is, and meant to be, Mr. Sastri reveals in the article below.



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

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The enlarged outlook of South African statesmen, to which this auspicious turn is due, is indeed a phenomenon deserving of the psychologist's attention. Those who witnessed it do not hesitate to describe it as a real change of heart. It has caused pleasurable surprise to most students of public affairs. Even the distempered politician, who almost resents the removal of a grievance, recognises it in his own way—by refusing to believe it. How is it to be accounted for? Its beginning is clearly traceable to the final part of the work done by the Paddison deputation, when they persuaded the Government of the Union, at a late stage of the Areas Reservation Bill, to suspend its course, pending the result of a Round Table Conference between its representatives and those of the Government of India. Sir George Paddison and Mr. G. S. Bajpai must have been gratified at the many tokens of appreciation which they received from leaders of opinion in South Africa, on whom they had first impressed the gravity of India's feelings, and the necessity of a thorough investigation.

Then came the visit of the important Parliamentary deputation, headed by Mr. Beyers. In a brief and hurried tour through India, these representative South Africans took a measure of India, her resources and her peoples, and not only they, but their countrymen throughout South Africa, who followed their movements, were profoundly affected by the hospitality and courtesy manifested by Indian society, and by the marvellous self-restraint by which politicians of every shade forbore to make any unpleasant references to the obnoxious Bill, or indeed to any of the numerous quarrels of which it was the culmination. No better witness on this point can be cited than Dr. Malan. In presenting the settlement to the Union Parliament, he said, "The invitation from the Government of India, of which we availed ourselves during the recess, to send a representative deputation on a friendly visit to India, which was prompted by feelings of genuine friendship, has offered to the Government and members of Parliament a much valued opportunity of studying at first hand conditions in India, and has been a potent factor in the creation of that atmosphere to which the success of the Conference must be mainly attributed. The hospitality

The Agreement.

which the members of the deputation received from the Government and the people of India could not be surpassed."

The most potent cause, however, was the political evolution of General Hertzog, the present Prime Minister of the Union. The earnestness and innate candour of his nature brought him completely under the spell which England knows how to cast over her political un-friends. The new "status" of his country, hailed as the crowning triumph of his diplomacy, induced a high degree of exultation under the influence of which he was determined to vindicate the enlarged freedom he had acquired in the only way in which it could be vindicated—by magnanimous extension of it to the weak and powerless peoples under his sway, of whom hitherto the Empire has assumed the guardianship.

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

The Agreement.

II.

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

The provinces differ one from another in their treatment of Indians. The Orange Free State excludes Indians altogether. There are only about a hundred, serving as waiters, or in similar capacities. In the Transvaal, the Indian has neither municipal nor parliamentary franchise, cannot acquire fixed property, must reside in locations, and even there, can only occupy houses on temporary tenure. Trade licences, which are really valued most by our people, are usually renewed, though here and there difficulty has recently been felt even in this matter, but, as a rule, no new licences are given. In Natal, the parliamentary franchise was taken away from our people long ago in 1896; the municipal franchise was taken away quite recently. But the individual voters are allowed to continue on the register, and it is possible, in certain localities, for Indians, if they combined (which, however, they seldom do) to send in a representative or two of their own, though these must necessarily be white persons. Our people can acquire fixed property anywhere, but municipal authorities have, within the last few years, begun to sell the lands at their disposal, with restrictions on transfer of a racial character.

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Such restrictions are common in private sale deeds, but to these our countrymen raise no special objection. As regards trade licences, new ones are no longer possible.

The Cape has always been known for the absence of an acute Indian problem. Rhodes's formula of equal laws for all civilised peoples is still the prevailing doctrine, though its spirit is no longer maintained as in the old days. The Indian retains the franchise, and can acquire property. Trade jealousy has just made its appearance, here and there, and new licences are occasionally refused. In long distance trains, and even in the tram-cars, in certain places, the Indian can only share the scanty accommodation provided for coloured persons, walking on footpaths, once sternly forbidden to our people, is now tacitly allowed in most places. Hotels and theatres do not admit Indians. No Indian is admitted to Universities. Only one institution for higher education is open to our people, namely, the missionary college at Fort Hare. Our children can only go to primary schools, specially maintained for them by Government or mission agencies. These are too few in number, especially in Natal, and have in most cases no classes above the fourth. The whole situation is admitted to be "grave" by the authorities. Everywhere Indians repose the utmost confidence in the courts of the land, and they would be prepared in the last resort to acquiesce in the grant of full powers as to trade licences to local bodies, provided they enjoyed the right of unrestricted appeal, to the supreme judicious tribunals.

The above enumeration of disabilities might create the impression in the mind of the hasty reader that Indians in the Union of South Africa were the victims of a cruel system of persecution, or, from a material point of view, were sufferers from poverty, beggary, or chronic unemployment of the acute kind that we are familiar with in this country. There can be no doubt that, speaking generally, even the lowest classes in South Africa are better off than they would be here, while a great number of Indians are in easy circumstances, and some have amassed fortunes, which, in this over-crowded land, would have been almost impossible to men of their education and status. In fact, intelligent Indians who are in a position to compare the

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conditions in the two countries, have no hesitation in giving the preference to South Africa. Another fact, exactly reverse of what one would ordinarily expect is, that, of the various provinces of South Africa, the Cape is the one which records a decrease in the Indian population, while the two other provinces show a perceptible increase.

This is noteworthy because the position of the Indians is by all accounts the best in the Cape whether from political, social or educational standpoint. Moreover, the laws of the provinces allow the Indian to migrate to the Cape from the other provinces, on satisfying an easy educational test, while movement in the contrary direction is prohibited. The explanation of this surprising phenomenon is perhaps to be found in the greater competition in the economic life of the Cape, which makes it difficult for the simple Indian trader to make his way there. Notwithstanding the unpropitious conditions of life which the Indian has to face in the Transvaal, he would appear to make money more easily there, and the trader class on the whole would perhaps place a higher money value on a Transvaal domicile than on one in either of the other provinces. But South Africa is not the only land in which economic prosperity and political freedom do not march together, or an unsophisticated person who is driven to make a choice, would attach more importance to the former than to the latter.

The Indian population in the Union, as estimated for the year 1926, is 174,000. Of these, the Cape, though much the largest province, has 6,500, the Transvaal has 15,500, and Natal has 152,000. In the last-named province the European population is roughly 150,000, so that our people are in a slight majority.* About 15 years ago, the majority was much more decidedly in our favour. To reduce, if not neutralise this majority, European immigration was stimulated, while Indian immigration was practically stopped, and even repatriation was, after 1914, resorted to in the case of Indians. Owing to these special measures, the disparity between the two populations was in the course of being effaced. For some reasons, however, during the last three or four years, European immigration

*In 1929, European census was 171,712; Asiatic was 157,237.—Eds.

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has practically ceased; at the same time, repatriation of Indians seems to have slackened greatly. This slackening is admittedly attributable in a great part to the racial bitterness and ill-will created by the Class Areas Bill introduced by the Government of the South African Party. The result is that the numerical balance threatens to continue in our favour, and a few alarmist agitators have succeeded only too well in filling the minds of the Natal whites with the fear of being swamped. Some extremists would like the Indians to be driven out of Natal altogether; the majority would be content with a material reduction of the Indian population. An easy calculation shows that, even if the number of Indians was to be kept stationary, by neutralising the natural increase, as many as three thousand should be induced to leave South Africa every year. It may also be mentioned at this point that the maximum of repatriates in any year so far has just fallen short of this figure.

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

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III.

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

"The position was a most complicated one, and while it was to be expected that they (the European community) would be true to the traditions associated with the British rule, they had also the right to ask the Indian community to understand and realise the difficulties, and not expect what was practically impossible. The European community was a small community in this country, in the midst of a large indigenous population, and the situation necessarily became more complicated by the presence of a third party, differing in tradition and mode of living. There was no doubt that the European element must continue to predominate in this land—that it must be made to feel that its position and its special civilisation were absolutely secure; the government of the country must be in accordance with Western traditions and modes of thought." (Speech at Durban.)

"Now one thing is quite clear, that if a solution of this problem is to have any permanence and finality, it has to be such as will be acceptable to the European community, who are, after all, the dominant people in this country. And as long as there exists in the European mind the fear of a continued influx of Indians, there cannot be that frame of mind on its part which would allow of any settlement being a success. The European community must therefore receive, and the Indian community must be prepared to give, the necessary assurances to remove the fear on this point. Again, there must be no room for a reasonable apprehension in the minds of the Europeans that the presence of the Indians in this land would lower

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the character of the political institutions, under which they desire to live. I fully recognise that South Africa must be governed along the lines of Western political institutions, and by men who understand the spirit of those institutions, and the European community are entitled to an assurance that this shall remain so." (Speech at Pretoria.)

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

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

"The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to almost the total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I

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venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-Provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future."

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

As early as 1914 the principle of repatriation was accepted and found embodiment in Section 6 of the Indian Relief Act. At that time the only consideration offered

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to the intending repatriate was a free passage back to India. The Act was in fulfilment of a part of the settlement that had been arrived at, and it is worth while, in view of the unsavoury nature of repatriation, to set down a few declarations of authority made both then and after.

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

"The settlement was honourable to both parties."

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

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

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

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

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

"He knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians Relief Bill was not satisfactory. It would be a singular thing if, in this world, they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but in the condition of things in South Africa at the present time, he was certain they could not have had a better measure. 'I do not claim credit for it; it is rather due to the women and children, and those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. I shall not forget that General Botha showed the greatest statesmanship when he said that his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate, historic to

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me, historic to my countrymen, and possibly historic to South Africa and the world. It was well known to them how Government had done them justice, and how the Opposition had come to their assistance."

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

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

The conditions on which a free passage was given to an Indian wishing to go back to India permanently was that he should sign a statement " that he abandons on behalf of himself, and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union, together with all the rights incidental to his or their domicile therein." Without doubt this statement involves a humiliation, and one cannot wonder that

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the pride of any patriot would be hurt at the sale of his birth-right for a mess of pottage. But the stream of emigration back to India, which started at that time, has gone on since then, with fluctuations, it is true, but never wholly dried up. The Government of South Africa found it necessary, about the year 1921, to add to the free passage an additional inducement in the shape of £5 bonus per head, subject to a family maxim of £25. In 1923 the bonus was raised £10 per adult, and £5 for each child, subject to a maximum of £50. Although several thousands of Indians returned to India under this scheme, the anti-Asiatic feeling became worse and worse. It led to the harassment of our population in trade and kindred matters, and culminated in their being deprived in Natal of municipal franchise. The Government of General Smuts felt it necessary to introduce the Class Areas Bill, which would have enacted a species of segregation of our people. But the Government fell before the Bill could be passed into law. The present Ministry took up the matter in their turn, and brought forward a more thorough-going and drastic measure, which was referred to as the sword of Damocles. Amid the consternation which it occasioned, both in the Government of India and the people, Lord Reading's diplomacy found its opportunity. To the Paddison deputation, which he despatched to South Africa for the purpose of conducting an enquiry on the spot, must be assigned the honour of having effected the first favourable turn in the situation. Before the Round Table Conference could be decided upon, two points of consequence had to be definitely yielded. As they formed the preliminary basis of the Conference they must be carefully remembered. (1) The existing scheme of repatriation and its working were to be carefully examined with a view to discover any difficulties that might have arisen and to smooth these away, and (2) no settlement of the dispute would be acceptable to the Union Government which did not guarantee the maintenance of western standards of life by just and legitimate means.

At this point it may be useful to turn aside for a moment and point out an anomaly which proves how strange is the way of politics and how curious the solution which the politician often has to accept. The class of Indian against

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

But what are these western standards, which an Indian has to reach or quit? No logical or legal definition need be attempted. It is a matter of general knowledge that different grades of people live up to different standards. Speaking of communities rather than individuals, no one can fail

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to notice the difference in the general lay-out, cleanliness, the absence of evil smells and the elegance or refinement of a cantonment as contrasted with its adjoining city. This will help to a realisation of the difference generally between western and eastern standards. In individual lives the difference is to be found in personal cleanliness, mode of dress, furniture, mural decorations, sanitary arrangements, habits, etc. If we add the categories of style of conversation, amusements and cultivation of fine arts—we get a whole range of headings under each of which great disparities exist between class and class in the same society, as well as between individuals in the same class. The mere possession of wealth does not betoken a high standard of life. It is notorious in India how great trading and money-lending castes lead bare and crude lives in comparison with the professional classes, who are on the whole not nearly so well off. To come to the immediate point, those who visit Durban and notice the difference between the quarters which are predominantly Indian will not ask for precise definition of standards, though each observer may be ready with his own explanation of how the difference arises. Offence is caused and a rankling sense of injustice is produced by omitting to acknowledge that there are many in the one community who live up to the standards of the other, and many in the latter who sink to the level of the former. Sweeping generalisations are to be avoided, and laws and regulations based on them and discriminating between communities are a prolific source of social jealousy and conflict. Philosophers and moralists may contend with some justification that civilisation has taken the wrong road, and that the ultimate interests of humanity require a return to simpler and more ascetic modes of life. But in South Africa, the white community, whose right to regulate the polity and civilisation of that sub-continent we have admitted, will not wait till these fundamental questions are settled, but press for rough and ready methods of settling everyday problems. The multiplication of wants, and cultivation of tastes, the increase of elegancies and refinements, and the incessant striving for the means of acquiring and satisfying these are the outward marks of modern civilisation, and it is no use our trying to run away in the opposite direction. Euro-

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pean and Indian, however, may unite heartily to honour those rare individuals who teach by example how riches are not necessary to happiness nor elegance to real goodness.

IV.

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

"That is to say, that, as the present inducements of offered passages and bonuses are not sufficient to uproot the population of Indians settled in Natal, as they could not possibly be expected to uproot them, pressure has been

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exercised. Their existing rights and amenities, which they have acquired under the ordinary laws of the land and under the guarantee of His Majesty's Government, are to be very much diminished in South Africa, and life there will become intolerable to a very large number of Indians.

“ That is more than pressure, it is oppression. It is not to be wondered at, when Indians in India see their relations exposed to this oppression, that they become restive and ask : What is the use of our belonging to an Empire which guarantees to protect us if, again and again, the promises that have been made in the name of that Empire to our kinsmen are not to be maintained, and those kinsmen subjected to oppression to induce them to relinquish the privileges that they have acquired? “ The pressure on Indians is to be exercised in several ways. First of all, by restricting in townships the rights to acquire or lease real property, or to be licenced to trade, to defined areas. Urban authorities are to advise as to the setting up of those areas. The power to grant a renewal of a trading licence anywhere is also discretionary, and this discretion is meant to be used. The question of granting trade licences already created in times past produced a considerable storm between India and Africa, and on the last occasion, in 1908, when power was definitely taken to withdraw licences to Indians then trading, the legislation was not allowed at that time by His Majesty, and it did not come into operation on the ground—the ground on which we are arguing this case—that vested and guaranteed interests were being interfered with.

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

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sum of £100. This is to be imposed on him before he can be allowed to produce the definite evidence required that he is the emigrant he purports to be. That is a piece of oppression.

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

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

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

"The Union Government firmly believe in, and adhere to, the principle that it is the duty of every civilised government to devise ways and means, and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and oppor-

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tunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

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

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

Some explanation will be required of a provision which has been newly made, and which is in the nature of a restriction. Minor children will not hereafter be admitted into

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

V.

The settlement casts other responsibilities also on the Government of India. Hitherto they have remained passive spectators in the scheme of repatriation. Though it was their duty, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, to look after returned emigrants, nothing stands to their credit so far except an occasional subsidy to relieve acute distress. The Union Government naturally think that their repatriation scheme will become more attractive if it becomes known in South Africa that at this end something will be done to receive those who return, and help them to settle down. The Government of India will not be called upon to contribute anything from their treasury. There is a lot, however, that could be done without incurring financial liability. The emigrants will be received in Bombay and Madras by our officers, and helped to proceed to their destinations by

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rail or otherwise. Meanwhile, their monies will be taken care of, if they desire it, and their bonuses will be paid through official agency at their destination. To enable them to settle down in the occupations for which they are suited, official bureaux will supply the necessary information and advice. It is expected that, without detriment to the interests of the labour force here, it will be possible for the railway, harbour and other schemes now afoot to absorb the main part of the returning Indians. They will also be eligible to benefit by the emigration schemes which may from time to time be sanctioned by the Government of India, such as are now open to the Federated Malay States and Ceylon. In fact, it is these two countries and Mauritius which are contemplated in the provision which says that the Union Government may organise schemes of assisting emigration to India and "other countries." Seeing that Mr. Gandhi, and, following him, many others have criticised this provision, it may be of use to set out below a statement which Sir Muhammad Habibullah made the other day in the Council of State :—

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

The name "repatriation scheme" is to be replaced by the name "the scheme of assisted emigration." The change not only takes away part of the odium that has attended the scheme, but is more in accord with facts; for more and more of those that avail themselves of the scheme will be those born in South Africa, and in their case the word "repatriation" is obviously inapplicable. The most important change, however, is that the intending emigrant will not be

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

A little reflection on various parts of the agreement is enough to show how useful, nay, how indispensable an Agent of the Government of India would be in South Africa. The Union Government have requested the Government of India, and these have agreed to appoint such an officer. Mr. Gandhi, whose knowledge of South African affairs has been kept up-to-date, has told us, indeed, that the ultimate

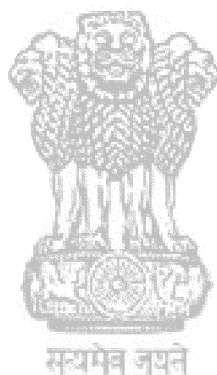
The Agreement.

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

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

The Task of the Peacemaker

Mr. Sastri, who, after returning as Agent, made his first public utterance in the Union at Pretoria (June, 1927), where he said:



MR. Mayor, Chairman of the Reception Committee, ladies and gentlemen,—My task of returning thanks has been rendered extremely difficult by the very kind, very affectionate way in which the speakers have referred to me. It will not be right of me, exactly, to assess the truth in their utterances. I take it, however, that, in saying the many things which fell from their lips, their object was to place before me a high ideal, which, I hope, in work amongst you, I shall never forget. By so doing, I may perhaps in part deserve the encomiums which lavishly and unreservedly have been bestowed on my devoted head. It

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is true, ladies and gentlemen, that my task is difficult, but one remark that the Mayor of Pretoria made encourages me to hope that I shall be received by the Europeans with a glad welcome. He was good enough to observe that he hoped that I shall assist in the task of bringing about a more cordial understanding between the European and the Indian communities. I hope with all my heart that my efforts will be attended with a certain measure of success in that direction. I should certainly feel proud if, as a result of my labours amongst you, that consummation came nearer practical politics. But my hope is that I shall do nothing which will make the relations between the two communities worse than they are. I have always felt that a man who enters on the task of mediation, on the task of making peace, of creating better understandings between peoples, is a rash man. There are against him forces of deep and powerful nature; in daring to contend against them he essays a task which may, in the sacred book, be called "blessed," but which, I know, in the actual world makes him very unhappy, and his life a burden to him. I have, in the past, often had to play that role, and my experience is not altogether encouraging. However, good work cannot be abandoned, especially if one is called to it as I have been called to it.

To my friends of the Indian community I cannot say anything better than the request that Mr. Andrews had addressed to them. The experience that Mr. Andrews has of the conditions in South Africa, like the experience which he has of Indians and Europeans throughout the Empire, is absolutely without parallel. His desire to advance our cause is something in the nature of a duty which he feels right, and pressing upon him. I know, as a matter of fact that he considers this work as the work of God, and of Christ. Nothing, therefore, can prevent him from incurring sacrifices and risks in this cause—sacrifices and risks of which I have personal knowledge, and therefore which I will describe to you as without a parallel in the whole history of Indian patriotism. Now, his words were that you must unite, and present to the world a common feeling and a common purpose. In India, as you all know, on this question of the relations that obtain

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between the communities in South Africa, there is no difference whatever, not a speck of it, between the Government of India and the people of India. And, believe me, in my heart of hearts, I believe that in coming out as Agent of the Government, I really have come out as Agent of the people of India. And if my feeling on this subject was not as reserved as it is, I very much doubt whether I would have accepted the work. You will therefore understand that any remarks that I make upon the subject of the Capetown Agreement are inspired solely by a desire to serve the cause that you have at heart.

Now, I am here in order to help the Union Government to carry out the terms of the Capetown Agreement, and to help the Government of India, at the same time, to carry their part of the Agreement. The Agreement has met with such unanimity of approval both in India and in South Africa that it would be inappropriate on my part to lay any emphasis on any note of discord that may have been sounded here or there. That is no part of my purpose to-day, and will not be any part of my purpose while I stay in South Africa. But there is one aspect of it that deserves prominent mention. It is a compromise, as you all know, and compromise is the very soul of political progress. Now, in a compromise no party carries away the entire honour of the negotiation. Each party gives in a little, and takes a little from the other side. He who reads the Agreement, therefore, bringing to it the feelings belonging solely to one side, will encounter parts of it which he wishes were not there. That is the very nature of a compromise. When we enter on a compromise, and then address ourselves to the task of fulfilling it, those to whom falls this burden, believe me, cannot afford to neglect the part which they consider unfavourable, and concentrate upon the part which they consider favourable. That is a departure from all honourable and chivalrous dealing. In fact, if I could address a word of advice solemnly to all who take a hand in public affairs, I would tell them that the principal test by which I would examine their work would be whether or not they were as cordial and sincere on those parts of an agreement to which they have given their signature, which they consider unfavourable, as in their support and ad-

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vocacy of those parts which they imagined were in their favour.

In judging of my work, therefore, amongst my fellow-countrymen, do not expect me in the least to slur over anything which you might wish was not in the Agreement. We have undertaken—we, the Government and people of India, have undertaken—to fulfil this contract, and must fulfil faithfully and honourably every part of it. And I am here to see that no difference whatever is made as to the fidelity in the discharge of our duty as between part and part of the Capetown Agreement. Now, it is absolutely necessary that, in order to be able to discharge this duty, both the Government of India and their Agent here should understand exactly the point of view of the Indian community. Of course, being an Indian myself, and in constant touch with my countrymen, I shall be able, almost by instinct, to perceive the line that you would wish me to take. But in public life, in the management of public affairs, in dealings with great governments, that would not be sufficient always. A man's actions and speeches would have to be supported by the declared and ascertained opinion of the community of whom, for the moment, he happens to be the spokesman. It is necessary, therefore, that at every turn your opinions, your wishes, your feelings, should receive unequivocal expressions. How are you going to do it? Whether in India or here, or elsewhere where our people are found in any considerable numbers, they have stood together like brethren, and spoken with one word, their feelings animated by a common cause. But you run a risk if you divide.

You wish the Union Government to carry out certain parts of the Agreement in which they are the principal actors. How can they do it properly if one part of the Indian community demanded a line of action, while at the same time another part of the Indian community demanded a different line of action? Often they would be at a loss to judge which was the right course, and whenever it suited them, they would choose the one and reject the other. The Government of India, by a strange incongruity, while not recognising the Indian National Congress in India, have always recognised the South African Indian Congress, and

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governed their conduct towards the Union Government by a careful understanding of the point of view of the South African Indian Congress. You will throw out the Government of India, too, if you divided and presented two aspects to them at the same time. It is, therefore, your first duty to close up your ranks, and let the Union Government, the Government of India, and their agents everywhere clearly understand what your views are upon questions which may arise from moment to moment. That must be done. I will not say now where lie the merits of a particular dispute—it is not my business now, although it may become my business tomorrow. I will, therefore, speak to you as I feel I ought to speak to my own countrymen. To-day let me insist in general terms on the absolute necessity of following Mr. Andrews' advice, which is also the advice of Mahatma Gandhi: that, as far as may be possible, you should speak with one voice, make one demand, and always put forward more or less the same representations.

There are just one or two more matters to which I think I may, without trespassing on propriety, make passing reference. That will be on the advice which Mr. Gandhi has sent you all through his "Young India" newspaper. I believe that the very best thing that has happened to crown my efforts in this sub-continent with success is that he has chosen to address to you words of moral import such as he, and not many others, I am sorry to think, have the authority to give to their countrymen. He has asked you in your dealings with me not to depart from truth, and from the line chalked out by good faith. Now, truth and good faith are essential everywhere in the conduct of individual lives, but when you come to deal with affairs on a large scale, pertaining to communities, believe me, not a stroke of work is possible, no jot of success is possible unless all our dealings are guided and inspired by a strict regard for truth, fair play, and good faith between all sides. I know, in the world, truth is not always listened to in palaces; I know, too, that good faith does not invariably pay in public life. That, however, is a qualification you have to make when you study individual little phenomena. When you study human affairs in the large, no one can fail

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to be struck by this one circumstance: that to the extent that he departs from truth and propriety, he also defeats and frustrates every honest effort he may make, whether in his own interest, or in the interest of the general community. It is not right—I have not yet earned the right, certainly—to lecture to you, and it is no part of my purpose to do so. But I conceive that this is a solemn occasion, not only in my own life—that does not count at all—but in the history of the relations between India and South Africa.

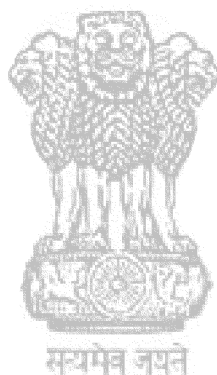
I have not hesitated in expressing my admiration of the courage and statesmanship displayed by the Union Ministers, when they dealt with us at the Conference. Contemporary politics, believe me, shows nothing finer, nothing of greater import to the success of the British Empire, than the way in which the Union Ministers met us in Conference last December and January. We, on our part, must meet that extremely fine conduct of theirs by equally fine conduct on our part; and it is the consciousness that a good turn must be met by an equally good turn, that when we see the highest and admire it, we cannot afford, for very shame, to fall below it in our own conduct. It is that feeling that has possessed me for the moment, and asks me, without the possibility of a refusal—demands of me that I should address to you in my first public utterance on the soil of South Africa, these words: that you should be united, and that you should observe strictly the principles of truth and fair dealing, whether in regard to me, or in regard to the Union Government.

Now, Mr. Mayor, may I say another word, to you and to the European community who have honoured me by their presence here in considerable numbers. I take it as a very good augury, and I feel it a great encouragement, in the opening of my task, that in the seat of Government in the Union of South Africa, I should have received a welcome which I could not have wished to have been other in any respect, nor in respect of the things that have been said, in respect of the expectations and feelings that have been roused, nor, may I add, with particular reference to my friends on the left side, to the distinction and character of the audience.

A Common Task

Speaking at the banquet at the Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, on his arrival in July, 1927, as Agent-General, Mr. Sastri, in responding to the toast "Our Guest of Honour," proposed by the Right Rev.

Dr. Karney, said:



MR. Deputy Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot adequately express my gratitude and joy at the demonstrations of welcome which I have received, and this banquet at which we have sat with so much real pleasure is so fine, and so superb, that the gentlemen responsible for it deserve at your hands, at our hands, not merely at my hands, the utmost expressions of gratitude and congratulation. My elation at being the recipient of so much kindness would be unmixed if I had not the duty of making a speech under somewhat difficult circumstances. In the first place, I have, like most of you, fed well.

A Common Task.

Then I do not know how exactly to repay the personal affection and warmth of welcome which has been poured on me. I do not know to whom I should compare myself at this moment, but the Bishop of Johannesburg has referred to my character as a servant of India in such appreciative terms that if I draw a similitude from that department, I am not very far wrong. I am a servant, but I believe I am a very conscientious servant. I do not wish to take any more wage than I have earned, but, to my astonishment, my masters at the present moment, the Indian community in South Africa, seem such generous and too trustful masters, that they have not only given high wage, but have given me several years' wage in advance. Shall I live to earn all: that is the thought that often occurs to me. During the last few days, so much has been said by my countrymen as to what they expect of me, and in what light they regard me, that my life would have to be very much longer than it is likely to be if I am to deserve such things, even in part. I hope, with the co-operation of my countrymen, that I may be able to do some little service for them. It is not always easy. The address which was first read by the spokesman of the Transvaal British Indian Association refers to the great duties that I had to perform in India, and seems to think that I have been drawn away from those duties in order to be of some little service to them here. Perhaps my countrymen are referring to the distracted condition in which India is at present, torn by internal dissensions and looking with mingled hope and fear to the harvest of the next few years which sometimes we feel is going to bring us political emancipation, but sometimes we feel that it will take us only a very little way towards that goal.

True, if I had continued in India, I might have been usefully occupied, but I am a servant of India, and I am a servant, therefore, of all India, and not merely of that India which is geographically so called. Here is a part of my Mother Country, to whom my service is due in just the same measure as it is due to the place where I was born. It was because that thought prevails in the minds of my friends, some of whom I regard as my masters, that a servant of India was sent out to serve the

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Indian community here. If, in serving India and the Indian community here, I find some opportunity of allaying some of the dissatisfaction which exists in South Africa, and thereby adding an element of peace and contentment to the life of this sub-continent, I can hardly conceive a greater service that I could have done had I continued in India. I would have my countrymen therefore believe that, in coming over here, I fully believe that I am only doing my duty. But how much you expect of me. You call me the harbinger of your salvation at the end of your address. You strike a note of high religious fervour. It would ill befit me, after a banquet, to try to soar to those elevated heights. I am rather weighed down by contemplation of the many difficulties of the tasks that I have somewhat rashly assumed at an advanced age. The difficulties—let me dwell on the bright side—have been made light by many circumstances, for which I raise my voice to heaven in thanks.

Foremost among these circumstances may be mentioned what it would not be an exaggeration to describe as a real change of mind and heart on the part of the great sections of the European community here towards their Indian co-citizens. The difficulties on the European side are by no means less than the difficulties on our side. I am not in the habit of forgetting at any time what is due to the other side. I know, therefore, how hard the task of the leaders of public opinion here is in seeing that the change that has come over them spreads throughout the sub-continent, and affects all alike who belong to this great self-governing Dominion.

The changes that they wish to effect cannot be effected at all, unless there is a complete sympathy and co-operation in all grades of society, in all walks of life, in all provinces of South Africa. While I may not be so hasty as to wish to tell the leaders of public opinion what they should do in order to make that consummation arrive within our lifetime, I say to my countrymen that it is in their power to render the task of their European brethren somewhat easier than it would otherwise be. May I appeal to them that it is necessary for them, my fellow-countrymen, to see that their counsels are charac-

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terised by reason and moderation; that they do and say nothing, at this very difficult moment, which will make the task of the Union Government more difficult than it need be. If, upon their side, nothing is done, no word is uttered to embitter the atmosphere, then we can all trust that this change of mind and heart to which I have referred will go forward growing stronger and deeper, until the feeling becomes universal and comprehends Europeans and Indians, and all sections of the South African community. I have every hope that this appeal of mine will not fall on deaf ears. I know really that most sections of my countrymen are anxious to perpetuate and indeed to deepen the good feeling that already has come into existence. My task, therefore, in other circumstances extremely delicate, and surrounded with difficulties is, by reason of these favouring circumstances, made extremely hopeful, and it is on that word of hope that I wish to conclude.

Ladies and gentlemen, Europeans and Indians, all fellow-citizens of the British Empire, may I wish that we should be actuated by one feeling of concord, brotherhood and amity to make the lot of all who live in this sub-continent happy, to make them all prosperous and contented, and so add our contribution to the glory and might of the British Commonwealth, which it is our prayer should last through the long ages to give binding to different peoples, races and cultures into one harmonious music—sweeter, deeper and more far-reaching than is likely to be heard anywhere else.

None among them there, no community, no class—could afford lightly to speak of other communities as though they did nothing to contribute to the might and majesty, and, indeed, the vast beneficence of the British Commonwealth.

We all alike have our little mite to bring to the common task. There is no best among us, no worst; no first, no last. All alike share in the common glory, and all alike must bear the common responsibility. My own desire is to serve all alike. That is my word to you all, without exception, and, believe me, my one desire is to serve all alike. I, no doubt, represent the Government of India, and I am here to advance the interests of my own countrymen. More it may not be given to me to do, but

A Common Task.

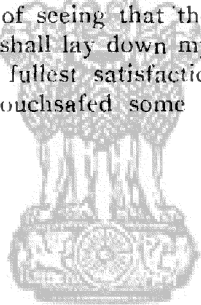
I should consider myself especially unfortunate if I advanced the good of my countrymen in any way to the disadvantage of other sections of the community of South Africa.

There was an address read to me by the Brahmin community. I have no knowledge of how many members there are of this Brahmin community. I do not hide that I am very proud of my Brahmin descent. Nevertheless, in India, I belong to a society to which very complimentary remarks have already been made by the proposer of the toast, and for which I wish to convey my thanks, and those of my colleagues in that society. I belong to a society which pledges its members before joining to forget their caste, and to serve all Indians, irrespective of caste, creed or community to which he belongs. How far I succeed in that extremely difficult task it is for others to judge. At present in India, the internal troubles between communities are exceedingly active, filling the minds of patriots with anxiety and shame. Every one of these difficulties has reached such dimensions that the governing class of British statesmen is almost struck dumb, and is at a loss what to do to heal this strife. Some of us, therefore, have resolved to stand aside from joining in sectional organisations. There are Hindu organisations, Mussulman and Christian organisations, but we belong to the Servants of India Society, and have steadily refused to join any sectional organisation. If, therefore, the Brahmin community in India had offered me an address of this kind, I should have perhaps thought it my duty to refuse to take it. Since the time of Gandhi in South Africa, there have been no castes, and no communities of the kind we have in India. Here the Indian community live together in harmony and concord, and whatever the differences may be they do not run along racial or caste lines. Therefore, I can make an exception in this case. My non-Brahmin friends, do not suppose that I am accentuating any differences in India, by reason of my having accepted this address here. A word of explanation was due before I could sit down, because the thing would not have been done in India.

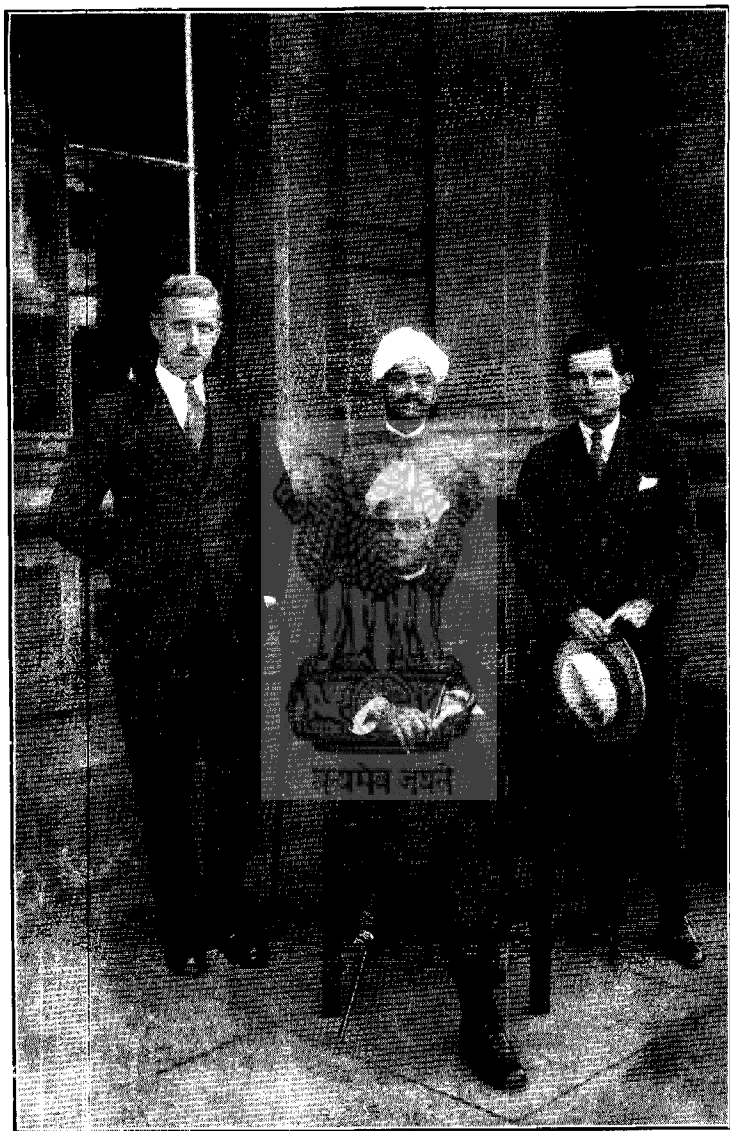
I am so full of gratitude, that I do not know what to say in acknowledgment. When friends speak of friends, in

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the inspiration of their affection, they are apt not to distinguish between truth and rhetoric. I ask you not to suppose that in listening to the addresses, and taking them in all due humility, I have endorsed any of the high-flown expressions of admiration and love that have been made in them. I much wish that my presence among you, that to-day, or in the future, was productive of harmony and peace. When you call me an ambassador of peace in this country, no greater honour could be paid to any individual. It is me upon whom you have put that crown. I do not wish for a moment to keep that crown on my head. I lay it down before the Great Dispenser of all things as from Him alone anything that is good conducive to human welfare, can come. I am remaining in this country for a period of one year. I cannot do wonders in one year, but if to me is given the privilege of seeing that the anti-Asiatic feeling is at least arrested, I shall lay down my office at the end of twelve months in the fullest satisfaction that to a humble worker heaven has vouchsafed some peace and harmony.



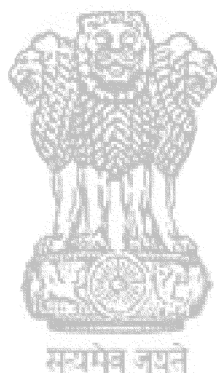
सत्यमेव जयते



THE AGENT-GENERAL AND HIS STAFF:
Mr. Sastri (sitting), Mr. J. D. Tyson, Secretary (left), Mr. P. Kodanda
Rao, Private Secretary, and Mr. C. S. Ricketts,

Forbearance and Charity

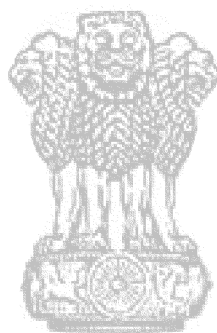
*Addressing a message
through the columns of
"The Natal Witness" to
the people of Natal, Mr.
Sastri wrote:*



MY Staff and I have received the warmest welcome from all sides, and the best wishes for the success of our mission. We give all alike our most cordial thanks. We have come out to serve the Indian community to the best of our lights, and trust to win its co-operation. We are charged with the duty of faithfully carrying out the Capetown Agreement, and giving our humble aid to the Union Government towards that end. There are those who dislike its provisions, and would repudiate it if they could. Full and free discussion would always be welcome to us; and if we are not convinced, we will try honestly to under-

Forbearance and Charity.

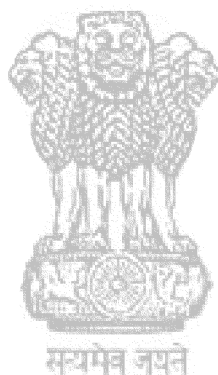
stand. We plead for forbearance and charity, even where we do not command friendship and co-operation. From the Europeans of Natal, we are confident of a fair hearing. Some opposition we are prepared for, but we know also that there will be a good deal of sympathy, and some measure of active assistance, for that community is nowhere without a certain number who will stand up for righteousness and fair play all round. The Agreement is calculated to soften animosity between the races; let us hope that the forces of peace and goodwill will gather together from all sides and prevail in the end for the common welfare and happiness of all.



सत्यमेव जयते

*Within
The Four Corners
of the Agreement*

*Mr. Sastri, in addressing a
meeting held at the Town
Hall, Durban, under the
auspices of the Natal In-
dian Congress, in July,
1927, said:*



MADAME PRESIDENT, ladies and gentlemen, the size and distinction of this gathering, the flattering—too flattering—things that have been read and spoken to-day, the expectations which have been aroused by those flattering words, all combine to make my task exceptionally difficult to-night. I will, however, ask you to accept my most grateful thanks for the munificence and cordiality of this reception. It has made me think how little I deserve so much kindness at your hands. If, in the future, you feel that a part of what you have so lavishly bestowed is deserved, I shall count myself blessed. My task in this

Within the Four Corners of the Agreement.

country is defined by the designation that my office bears. I am here as the agent of the Government of India, and my orders are to help the Government of this country in carrying out the Capetown Agreement, described in the beautiful words of the Deputy Mayor as a "Gentlemen's Agreement." Whatever my character may be as a political agitator of some standing in my own country, believe me that, while I am among you, clothed with the authority of the Government of India, I will endeavour faithfully to confine my vision to the four corners of the Agreement. I mean that in anything I may say or do, in my representations to the Government of the Union, I do not intend to ask for anything not provided for in the Agreement. That should establish my good faith sufficiently; but I know that no political agitator finds it always possible by a clear enunciation of the position to get it fully understood and recognised. The minds of people on such occasions travel a little beyond the words spoken; they try to discover hidden meanings, and motives and desires which are not there. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, you will find that, if you trust those words of mine that I do not look beyond the terms of the Agreement, you will not be mistaken. Moreover, in so far as I have any influence with my own countrymen, I shall use it for securing the same observance by them of the limitations of the Agreement. But I cannot speak for young and ambitious hearts. For once in my life I find myself to-day very much at home.

The speakers before me have spoken forcibly—almost heroically—of the virtue of moderation. In my own country, moderates in politics are despised, but I have always belonged to the party described as moderate—I am an unrepentant hardy moderate. Nevertheless, it is an experience of the most pleasurable kind to me to hear moderation preached, and, for a wonder, listened to with so much patience. I do hope that my countrymen will realise that there is much in this Agreement that can be made good only by patient effort. For many long days they will find their endeavours fully met by the requirements of the Agreement. Further than that, it will not be necessary for them now to contemplate.

Within the Four Corners of the Agreement.

I have heard it said that they have often asked for the franchise, which has caused alarm in the minds of those now in political power. Ladies and gentlemen, I have read the Agreement very carefully—I took some part in the preparation of it, and all I need say is that I do not find the franchise in that Agreement. That should reassure you of the length to which I am prepared to go. But to you who represent the ruling power in this country, may I say one word in this connection which may not be inappropriate? Our country, India, is marching forward towards that dominion status, the final consummation of which has lately been reached by your country. Do you then think it unnatural that my countrymen should feel inspired by that achievement? They had the parliamentary franchise here until the law took it away a generation ago. It was only two years ago that the Municipal franchise was taken away. Do you think it possible for them to forget it so soon? I cannot control their ambitions, and all you can ask is that we confine our resolutions rigidly to the four corners of the Agreement. I would ask you, therefore, if now and again you hear words about this franchise, to exercise a little patience and forbearance and remember that our hearts are the same as your hearts, and if we occasionally dare, it is only human for us to do so. You have set the position so clearly before us, Madame President, that I dare not say another word.

You have said clearly that this City will observe faithfully the Capetown Agreement. So be it. For, there is in the Agreement much that will rest with the people of Natal, and especially with the people of Durban, to carry out, much that will try your patience, much that will engage your thoughts, much that will seem to you in excess of the requirements of the situation. It is, therefore, with feelings of great hope and encouragement that I heard the words uttered by your Deputy Mayor to-night. Some of you may imagine that this Agreement is divided into sections, some of which may be adopted at once, and others of which may be held over until some more favourable time; but we have already heard this Agreement described as a "Gentlemen's Agreement." Each side is bound faithfully to carry out its part, and to help and sustain the other side in its observance of its part. There is every reason to hope that,

Within the Four Corners of the Agreement.

when the appeal is made to the people of Natal, they will understand the requirements of the situation, and not hold back on any particular part of the Agreement. What a wonderful change has occurred in the political atmosphere! Shall it be said that Natal has not experienced it? Far be it from me to entertain anything like that proposition, but I seem to have heard accounts of protest meetings held in your Province against the Agreement.

I have heard of one meeting at which resolutions were passed which went a long way towards, but just fell short of, repudiation of the Agreement. I recognise the fact that they did fall short, most gratefully. The gentlemen who spoke on that occasion left themselves some opening by which they may travel from repudiation to tolerance, and so on to complete consent. That is my hope; for you cannot accept one part of the Agreement without labouring to fulfil the other part of it. It has been brought home to the authorities in the history of this matter that the utmost good faith and goodwill are necessary on both sides, even if this system of assisted emigration is to bear fruit. There is one promising clause in the second part of the Agreement, and that is a part I must emphasise. It is the education of Indian children in this Province.

I once before spoke upon this subject at this very place, but the subject is so important that I cannot refer to it too frequently. To my countrymen I will read a little exhortation. Many among you have prospered and amassed wealth. Some there are who have much more than is required for your individual needs. You have magnificent equipages, noble mansions; take them and enjoy them by all means. Pledged as I am to a poor and humble mode of life, I will not venture to reproach you for these ways of spending what God has given you. But when you have taken the necessary satisfactions, I ask for a portion of what each of you has left over for the benefit of your own children. Build schools, endow them, appoint good teachers, and then reap the reward, and you will find it is like nothing on earth. No honour, no joy, can equal what will come to each of you if you can say, "I reared this promising generation. I helped to make them honest citizens." If you can say that to yourself, if you are able to feel something of the joy,

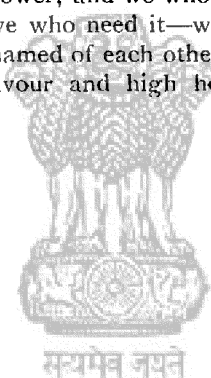
Within the Four Corners of the Agreement.

believe me, you will have spent your money most usefully, and most nobly, and thousands of young hearts will bless you for having made money, and known how to use it in your time. But there are, I regret to say, many who have enjoyed the benefits of a good education, but do not think that other people need it. They consider that there are certain lower orders of society which are better without education, and whom it is dangerous to bring up in the way of civilisation, in the way of refinement, of culture, of citizenship. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, history teaches us that no community can be interested in the illiteracy of another community, but, on the other hand, all human experience points to this fact that existence of a backward community is a menace to civilisation. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, you must make up your minds in regard to the education of the Indian community; you cannot overlook this danger to the public weal. It is not right to leave any part of the community in ignorance, and I am happy to say that that fact has been nobly and eloquently recognised in the Agreement. I feel sure that, when the Government of the Union have pledged their word that they will regard the Indian community with the same beneficent eye as they regard any other section of the community, I cannot bring myself to believe that there will be any serious opposition to any scheme that may be put forward for the amelioration of the condition of the Indian. How is it possible? The Government of the Union desires before embarking upon any programme of expenditure, to have the ground surveyed, and that is why a commission to go into Indian education has been suggested. Could such a proposal meet with opposition from the men and women of Natal? How could I credit those adverse resolutions of the Provincial Council? I would sooner disbelieve my senses than think that they represented the considered and mature judgment of the Province.

I trust rather to the character of this Province, the most British of all the Provinces of South Africa—to maintain the high and honourable traditions of the British race. I know with what valour, with what passion and devotion you fought for the inclusion of the Union Jack in the National Flag. Shall it be said that, when you honour and revere the British flag, you do so only for the political

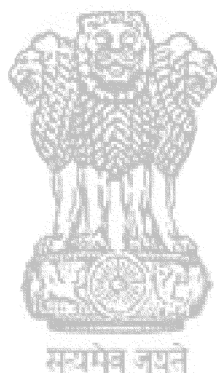
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gains and advantages it brings, and that you do not remember what it also stands for in the way of chivalry and fair play, the guarantee of freedom it conveys to the peoples who come under it? I look to you in whom I strike a note of sympathy not to remain silent when the battle rages, not to fold your hands and say "there goes a wrong turn." Let your voices be heard, and let your noble thoughts be expressed. Do not be ashamed of them, and do not be afraid of them, but let them be sounded to the world as a call of duty, and you will find that, when truth raises her voice, injustice must flee. Let us march forward like brothers in honourable and peaceful citizenship, to fulfil the noble destiny of the British Commonwealth of Nations. You who are in political power, and we who have it not; you who can give help, and we who need it—we shall all march forward, brothers unashamed of each other, sharing in common tasks of high endeavour and high hope.



A Rebuke

The following speech was delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at the banquet given in his honour by the Colonial Born Indian Association, Durban, July, 1927:



MR. Chairman and Gentlemen,—You have done me a great honour to-night, and conferred upon me a very great obligation. I tender my most hearty thanks. I realise that there are many among you here who do not believe in or agree with the Agreement concluded between the Government of the Union and the Government of India. You have much difficulty in reconciling yourselves to the Capetown agreement. Nevertheless, you have all joined in wishing me well, in paying the most handsome compliments to me personally, and in recognising in the most generous manner such work as it has been vouchsafed to me to do. Believe me, I shall serve you in the same manner as

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I have served others of the Indian community. That does not leave out any section or individual, for my duty is to serve the Indian community. The Association of Colonial Born Indians has its own individuality, and its own rules and more than one of you have said that it represents a different culture and a distinct section of the community. I have taken account of all that you have said, and you will find that I am as accessible to you as I am to others. Let me go on! Mr. P. S. Aiyar, in his remarks, could not really have intended it when he said that, in all your struggles in this country, you have received no assistance or encouragement from the Government of India. Even if I were not a servant of the Government of India, as I am to-day, I should challenge that statement. The Government of India have stood by the Indian community here throughout their struggles. I have not known a period during the last twenty years when you have not had the full support of the Government of India. Those of you whose minds perhaps do not go back for that period, but remember the events of the past five years will not hesitate to acknowledge that you cannot accuse the Government of any neglect. Two famous Viceroys of India, Lord Hardinge and Lord Reading, both incurred the displeasure of the British Cabinet for their efforts to help the South African Indian community.

In the discussion on the Class Areas Bill and its successor, the Government has done all in its power for you. I was, therefore, astonished when Mr. Aiyar, who in other respects seems a careful student of current events, should say that about the Government of India. Referring now to Mr. Gopaul's address in regard to the Capetown agreement, so far as I can see, the serious difficulty you find is the scheme for the reduction of the Indian population. Mr. Royeppen dwelt at some length on the same point, and regretted that Indians were not considered fit and proper persons for South African citizenship. Yes, you are right to dwell on this feature of the Capetown agreement, but may I point out that the emigration scheme is nothing new? The Habbibullah deputation did not invent that clause for the first time. You have had the repatriation scheme in use since 1914. Thousands of people have gone back home under the scheme. In some years there have been 3,000

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emigrants, and in others 2,000, and so on. We found it in existence, and whether we desired it or not, whether we liked it or not, we had to take it up as a means of effecting in a proper and legitimate manner the reduction of the Indian population, which it was the Government of the Union's wish to effect by harsh and coercive means. It replaces the odious bills which were meant to squeeze the Indian population, and drive them out. Would you rather have had those than this system of assisted emigration? We were not free agents in January last; we had to take the less odious, the less cruel of the two alternatives. You must admit when you look at it from that point of view that our choice was good. Mr. Gopaul quite took my breath away when he attacked one portion of the emigration scheme which was really an improvement. That was the provision made for the return to the Union within three years of a repatriate. Mr. Gopaul, with a certain amount of satire, points out that the conditions for the return of the repatriate are so stringent that they make it practically impossible for a poor man to return to this country. I am not prepared to say that there is no truth in it. It may be practically impossible, but that arrangement was not designed to enable many people to return, but to preserve for the community their self-respect. They will no longer be called upon to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

If you examine the new emigration form, you will see no mention of "I hereby resign all my rights . . . appertaining thereto." We have removed the section which on all hands was condemned as a most humiliating thing. If you say that our self-respect means nothing to us, then all I can say is that I take a very different view of it. I am astonished that it has not occurred to you in that light. Moreover, in assessing the value of this improvement, ask yourself if, under the old repatriation scheme, no one could come back? If this is no gain, then it is at least no retrogressive step which you must deplore and condemn in such strong terms as Mr. Gopaul has used. I do not contend that the agreement we got was all that we desired, but it was the best we could get under the circumstances. However much you may differ from Mr. Gandhi, you must admit that he is

A Rebuke.

capable of judging the situation here. Mr. Gandhi said to me that, in his opinion, the agreement exceeded his most sanguine expectations. In the third part of the scheme, under the heading "Upliftment," you have good reason to congratulate yourselves. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. To be sure, that is a very wise saying. How can you say how the food tastes until you eat it? We have not yet begun to eat our pudding—to cook it, in fact. Everyone of you must help to cook it in this case. Come and talk to me, discuss your difficulties with me. Perhaps between us we can contrive something. Let us get from the Government of the Union some fulfilment of the third portion of the agreement in which the new policy is laid down. Now here I would implore for a moment the closest attention of people like Mr. Gopaul. Please put out of your minds the pre-conception that you are considered by the people of this country to be a foreign and unassimilable element. They tried to get rid of us, and because it was not possible to repatriate us completely—it would have taken more gold than there is in Africa—they were at pains to discover all sorts of improper and cruel measures to drive us out of this country. Now what a change must have come over the hearts of the people of this country to prompt them to say "the Indians who remain here are our own; we will faithfully discharge our duty towards them, and, to the best of our power, improve their educational and economical conditions, and see to it that the Indian community does not lag behind other sections of the community." Please do not tell me that this is mere pious sentiment and platitude, which they never intend to fulfil. Whether it is immediately fulfilled or not, believe me, it is a mighty advantage to have it down on paper. It is proclaimed by the Government to the entire world. Neither you nor I will allow the Government to forget this sentiment. In the history of India, the Queen's proclamation remained for years unfulfilled. Year after year, at every function, it was solemnly read; it was repeated almost by every schoolboy, and yet it was not fulfilled. Did we tire? Many wise people like you said it was rotten, we never let it go; we constantly reproached the British people with it. Because we stuck to our purpose, we got it fulfilled at last, this great charter of progress en-

A Rebuke.

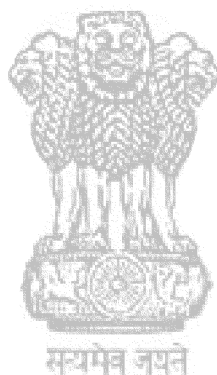
shrined in our hearts. What was possible in India is possible in South Africa, especially when the whole of India is behind you.

Now to Mr. Royceppen and to Mr. Paul I wish to say that I agree that education is the sovereign remedy of all evils. I need no reminder for that. I have been a teacher for the greater part of my life. Children are dear to me, and I realise, since coming to South Africa, that your greatest need is ampler and richer provision for the education of your children. I will never forget to awaken to the needs of the public the richer members of the community, nor that the Government of the Union still owes a duty towards Indian children. If you second me in my efforts, you will find that you and I think of the same goal. You and I must join in a common effort to effect some progress for our community. Now, my friends, I must go on to another subject.

I wish to emphasise to you that the South African Indian Congress is the proper vehicle of your wishes. There is no time for me to enter into any controversy of that kind, but be pleased to remember that the Government of India is making no mistake when they support the South African Indian Congress. Your association is an association of colonial born Indians. When you separate yourselves from the rest of the community, and stand on your own platform, you greatly weaken the cause. In strictly constitutional usage, the Government of India might be out of court if they took up the cause of colonial born Indians. Believe me, a community such as you are cannot afford to be divided without weakening your whole position. If you take a different view from the South African Indian Congress, the people and the Government of India will not know what to think. Are you prepared to go your own way, defying the Government of India, and ignoring all the help that the people of India can give you. Anyone who heard Mr. Pather speak will not believe for a moment that your love for India has departed. If I am right in thinking that you still wish to remain children of India, and claim her as your country, then do not mislead and confound the people of India by speaking in many voices. Give us one clear voice, and India, you will find, will still respond nobly to your appeal.

The Wider Point of View

Speaking to a crowded European audience at Escombe, in July, 1927, Mr. Sastri made a stirring plea for mutual toleration, and asked his audience to regard the problems with which they were confronted, and which they were seeking to solve, from the wider viewpoint of the British Commonwealth. He said:



WHEREVER the Union Jack flies, it encourages the free sympathies of people, and brings peace, contentment and goodwill. I am not going to settle the Indian problem. That is your business. You are the people to settle the problem. I am in South Africa to take a humbler part in the matter, if I am allowed to do so. You will remember not many months ago a very drastic remedy seemed to meet with the approval of great numbers amongst you, and it led to the initiation of legislative measures of a correspondingly drastic character against Asiatics in general, and Indians in particular. The Capetown Agreement arrived

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at last January between the representatives of India and those of this country hit upon a solution which was a sort of compromise, which sought to attract the same end by means less drastic than those suggested. In consequence, the contemplated bills were withdrawn. The remedy proposed was two-fold—in the first place, by an approved system of assisted emigration, the Indian population was to be reduced considerably, so that the problems were brought within limits of managability. Then, seeing that the more backward part of the community were no longer here, the people of this country undertook, according to the agreement, by a process of upliftment, to help those people left here to become proper citizens of the sub-continent, and to fit them in with the South African order of things. I have no wish to enter into local politics, even if I have the necessary knowledge, but I understand that the Indian question and the Capetown Agreement, and the legislation recently passed to carry it out, have all been treated as non-party questions. I cannot bring myself to believe that the desire of the people of this country is to put themselves into opposition with another part of the Empire.

It is the moderate man's point of view that prevails in the long run. In regard to this Agreement, I appeal to you to look at things from this point of view. However diffident you may feel, let me appeal to you as citizens of the same Commonwealth to look at the question from the point of view that takes in the whole of South Africa and then the British Commonwealth. It does not affect India and South Africa alone. Any solution that you may reach will affect very much larger interests than those of Natal, although I will not deny that you are concerned very much more than other people. Very often, however, indirect results are far more important than direct results. Remember that this is the first agreement concluded between different parts of the Empire, without the intervention and assistance of Great Britain herself. Before one part of the British Empire has always treated with another part of the British Empire through the London authorities. For the first time they have stood aside, and South Africa and India resolved that they should sit round a table together, and arrive at a solu-

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tion. That solution has now been put forward, and I appeal to you to consider this matter as one affecting the whole of the British Commonwealth. Consider the departure as on its trial. Hereafter, if we succeed in this agreement, it will be competent not only for South Africa and India, but any two parts of the British Empire to settle their disputes between themselves, and it is necessary, it seems to me, for me to establish such a precedent. You are a self-governing nation, and from all accounts as nearly equal to Great Britain within this Commonwealth. India does not possess this status, but we believe, we have faith that we are also marching towards the same goal which you have reached already. It behoves us, therefore, to see that the experiment begun under these auspices is attended by such success that in the future, its example will be followed all through the British Commonwealth.

Moreover, you have always to remember that the British Commonwealth—excuse me bringing up that point again and again, but I am asking you to look at this problem from its chief aspect—the British Commonwealth stands in the world for certain high ideals, for which other political organisations are not fitted. The British Commonwealth is composed of a variety of races, a variety of cultures, and a variety of civilisations. The British Commonwealth has so far established a political supremacy over other political empires by being able to hold all these differing factors together in bonds, if not of actual love at least in bonds of mutual tolerance and principles of fair play and justice in an even-handed manner between people and people, between race and race. It does not seek at any time to trample the principles, or the wishes, or the self-respect of any one of the numerous communities saluting the Union Jack. It gives them, in so far as the suzerainty of Great Britain will allow, free scope for individual characteristics. Whether in religion, social life, or even in the ways of economic prosperity, Great Britain has allowed subject people to develop their own characteristics. The Union Jack, wherever it flies, has brought peace and goodwill. Its high principles are recognised throughout the world, and I hope that nothing will be done in South Africa or in Natal which will

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make any peoples whatsoever desirous of getting away from the protection of the Union Jack. I hope that, whatever is done, whatever course is taken, you will always proclaim to the world that those outside the Union Jack had better come under it. If my friend had not interrupted me at that time, he would have heard me pass on to another aspect of the question. I shall only say, before passing on, that we in India know no other flag. We have only got the Union Jack.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, a great deal is at stake if a wrong solution of this problem is reached, and a solution based upon justice and fair play is avoided, for nothing is as terrible for the people to look forward to as the prospect of a struggle between continent and continent, between race and race, between the different colours amongst humanity. More than one observer is frightening us with the prospect, if the present order of things continues, of there being a world war. Whether that prognostication is wise or unwise it is not for a very small person like me to examine, but some of the best thinkers of the time have discussed how we may best avert such a calamity. It appears to me, who has seen some parts of the world, that the greatest protection lies within the British Commonwealth. It is here that the most contrasted civilisation comes together, and here that there is something which enables us to overcome the difference in practical politics in a spirit of mutual goodwill. Now what a mistake it would be if a wrong turn were taken within this British Commonwealth, if we do anything which will accentuate this difference in politics, instead of composing them as much as possible. The Capetown Agreement seeks, by means of a compromise, to abridge these differences to help us to look forward to a time when these differences will have totally disappeared. You are invited to consider the Indian population living here as co-citizens of the same political system.

At the present moment, I am to speak to you only about the Agreement and what it includes. Anything beyond the Agreement I am not commissioned or authorised by the Government of India to mention, and I have no desire to open ground already spoken

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about. The Agreement deals with two or three matters of the greatest consequence to the Indian community here. I will not deal with all of them, but deal with those of them of the greatest possible moment. That is the requirement that every Provincial Administration should conduct an enquiry into the conditions of education in the Indian community in their province. For, although the agreement was concluded between the Government of India and the Union Government, the matters of education and sanitation have come to be entirely a provincial discharge. In connection with this arrangement, the Union Government has only promised to recommend this course to the provincial administration. That course to be taken is one of the things to be done here in Natal, and it devolves upon you to see that that agreement is carried out. Now this enquiry into education will take a long time before any perceptible difference may be detected. It is necessary, however, that there should be as little delay as possible. I know that the Provincial Administration can do nothing which requires the expenditure of money, without being fairly sure of the support of the Provincial Council. Now the Provincial Council will act only in accordance with the opinion of the Province, and I trust that this opinion will be given along the lines, the guiding lines, of the Agreement. That is the appeal that I desire to make to this audience. You who are the electorate must see to it that your opinion is stated that the Commission of Inquiry to be appointed by the province to look into Indian education receives your support.

I am not in possession of all the facts, and it will be some time before I master that part of the question, but you are living in daily contact with the facts of the question, and you will realise the necessity for the necessary steps being taken at once. In India there is a certain scepticism in regard to this agreement. As you know, it is best that this agreement starts with the goodwill and cordial support of both communities. You know there are people everywhere who will not easily pass from one idea to another unless taken by main force through the process. It is necessary to convince those people of the good which will be wrought by this "Gentleman's Agreement" of Capetown. This conviction, you will agree, it is necessary to produce without delay.

The Wider Point of View.

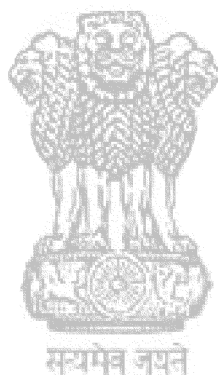
It is in your power to bring about that consummation, the appointing of an Education Commission to enquire into the conditions of Indian education in this Province.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there are certain other subjects included in the Agreement. One, for instance, deals with the housing conditions of the Indian community; another deals with trading licences; yet another with the position created by the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wages Act. Although these are important, it is not my purpose to deal with them in my address to you now. All that I desire is to see the Agreement started in fair effort. If you concern yourselves with the appointment of the Commission I referred to, it seems to me that you will have done all we can expect you to do in the immediate future for the Indian community.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you have the political power. The Indian community lost the municipal franchise two or three years ago. They are, therefore, entirely in political bond to you—they are, in fact, your subjects. They have no part or lot in determining any point. You are the arbitrators of their destiny. It is not right for me to remind you of the righteous principles of the British Commonwealth. You are mostly British in this province, and there are certain ways in which you can use your political power. Before the Capetown Agreement, there was a great danger that the political power might have been used as it should not have been used. But after the agreement was brought about, it seems to me that a new spirit began, and I am loth to believe that it will again lose ground in Natal, or in other parts of South Africa. I believe that it's just here that the word "cricket" will be understood; that here there will be even-handed justice and fair play, of which the British Commonwealth is but a synonym. I have come to the end of my remarks. My wish is to further the goodwill between our peoples. Far be it from me to say anything that will prevent that happy consummation. If I have erred in that direction, believe me, it is owing to an inability to express my thoughts and not at all to a desire to be offensive in any way. I desire solely to understand you, and, if possible, to beseech you to understand me.

Mr. C. F. Andrews

Mr. Sastri paid the following tribute at the Town Hall, Durban, on the occasion of a farewell dinner to Mr. C. F. Andrews (August, 1927):



LADIES and gentlemen : It is now my privilege to toast the guest of the evening. There is not one amongst us who will not feel a void in his life when the next boat takes away Mr. Andrews from us. It is not only his work that we will miss, it is his kindly presence, his sweet engaging personality, his noble conversation and purity, and, in these troubled times, it is a pleasure to add the sincerity of his thought. It is not an easy task to review the life and work of our guest to-night, and we in South Africa, whether European or Indian, merchant, journalist or statesman, we must all feel alike that amongst those who have contributed

Mr. C. F. Andrews.

to the peaceful, contented state of the country, Mr. Andrews is amongst the prominent. His mission was one of peace and goodwill. I have never known a word from his lips which would make matters worse than they were; which would make human relationship more strained than it was. He has an unrivalled capacity of loving and drawing love. To the Indian community he has been a standby second to none; to the Indian community not only in South Africa, but everywhere in the world. I do not know a single place in the wide Empire where Indians live where Mr. Andrews has not also been to live. And all over this wide area, the name of Mr. Andrews is known as a friend, as a lover of fairness and justice. His marvellous capacity for work is well-known. The care with which he sorts his facts, the method in which he presents them to those interested, his great power of affection, and his way of trying to bring the other man round to his way of thinking, are unique.

I have known times in England, in India, and here in South Africa also, times when we have been deeply engaged with men inclined to be controversial, when they did not trust each other, when all minds were turned to Mr. Andrews, and he was listened to with attention and earnestness. They listened to the words of one whom they knew had no interest but one of goodwill, and a desire to serve. Nowhere is he unwelcome. In every circle, lay or cleric, his name is high as one who helps poor men and women, orphans and little children. Whatever he says is received with respect. People may not always like it, and some may not always believe it, but they know that an earnest man is speaking to them, and that they must listen with respect. Of the work he has done, all of you must have much personal knowledge as I have, but you will observe that, when prominence or congratulations are going round; when complimentary remarks are being made, then Mr. Andrews is not easily discovered, and he gives his place to those who have certainly not done as much, and have but taken the cue from him.

Sometimes I have felt, with reason, that I could have put him right out in front of me, so that all might see who was responsible for the particular offence which was

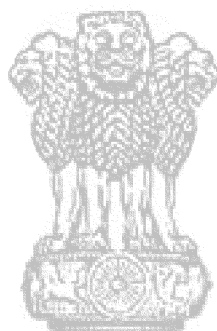
Mr. C. F. Andrews.

being castigated. You will not need to be told, ladies and gentlemen, whether in England, India, or South Africa there is one whose word is received as gospel as implicitly as Mr. Andrews', unless it be that man whom he revered above almost all others, Mahatma Gandhi himself. Some time ago, a bill, drastic as no other bill has been drastic, was in contemplation. It was then thought that the intervention of the churches was necessary. Mr. Andrews took up the idea, and achieved a miracle, which only he could. In England, and places in America, all over South Africa, on the same day, and at the same hour, thousands of people belonging to Christian churches, irrespective of denomination, held a service and prayed to the Almighty God that wisdom might be granted to the authorities here, that a solution might be found to the problems which threatened to attack Indians, not merely here, but all over the British Empire. Mr. Andrews certainly had the largest share in bringing that phenomenon about. He is one who feels where trouble is, and knows almost instinctively how to compose it.

Ladies and gentlemen, when he goes away on the day after tomorrow, we are sure to feel that an influence, kindly and loving, is being withdrawn from us, from this part of the world, but I know that, wherever he is, we are sure not to be left without his guidance, for he is an indefatigable correspondent. Although he may be far away, he will certainly send us views in one form or another, and we will still have Mr. Andrews by our side. I shall feel helpless when he has gone, for in the work that I have taken up, I will be blind, lame and impotent without his watchful guidance, but we cannot have everything our own way. There is only one Mr. Andrews, and more than one place in the world that wants him. Let us wish him a happy voyage to India. Let us wish that he will have in the *Shanti Niketan* the rest and quiet which he so much needs. Ladies and gentlemen, before I ask you to rise in your places and drink to his toast, I have a very pleasant duty to perform. The Natal Indian Congress have given me this envelope. I do not know what it contains as I have not seen, and I expect that Mr. Andrews, when he sees will not tell us. But I know that it is some little token

Mr. C. F. Andrews.

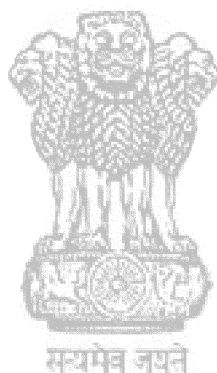
which will go a little way to something which is intended to further the greatest educational institution which Mr. Andrews is proud to have given his life to. Now I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to rise in your places, and drink to the health of Mr. Andrews.



सत्यमेव जयते

The Heart of the Problem

Mr. Sastri delivered the following speech at the welcome meeting arranged by the Maritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress, at the City Hall, on Monday, August 1, 1927:



IT is difficult to express the gratitude I feel for the welcome that has been accorded to my colleagues and myself. I feel that, when the news of the warm welcome we have received from the Administrator of Natal, Sir George Plowman, and from the Mayor, Mr. J. H. Hardy, and people of Maritzburg, reaches India, there will be great rejoicing, and Indians will feel that they have not sent an Agent across the water a minute too soon. Let me say at once that I fully concur in the sentiment of the late Mr. Gokhale—first that the Europeans must be free from the fear of being swamped by the Indians,

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and secondly, that the political ascendancy of the European in this country must never be questioned. Both these principles have been accepted by the Indians. The fear has been expressed in some quarters that I might go outside the four corners of the Capetown Agreement; but I am here as a servant of the Indian Government, and therefore cannot possibly open any question which that Agreement does not cover. I will take this opportunity of answering that small section of the local Indians, who are opposed to the Agreement. These Indians do not believe that the Agreement will better their position, or that I can help them by coming to South Africa as the official representative of the Indian Government. The agreement provides not only for those who wish to be repatriated, but also for those who have decided to remain in South Africa. It was undoubtedly felt that when a portion of the Indians had been repatriated, the remainder could be comfortably settled here, without the Europeans feeling that they were being swamped. It is felt at the present time that the masses of the Indians at present in Natal were unfit to live amongst the Europeans, and, therefore, it appears to me that the basis of the compromise was to uplift the remaining Indians in order to solve this part of the problem. It is in connection with this contention that most of the Indians who are opposed to the agreement made their objection. They felt that they, descendants of one of the oldest civilisations, could not justly be classed as unfit to live among the Europeans of South Africa.

Under the Indian Relief Act of 1914, provision was made for free passages and bonuses for Indians wishing to be repatriated. This scheme worked well for a time, but later the number of applicants for repatriation diminished, so much that the Union Government realised that the serpent was again raising its head, and it was then that they invited the Government of India to agree to a step towards solving the problem. It came to the notice of the Indian Government that the Union Government intended to pass certain Bills that would prove detrimental to the welfare of South African Indians, and were framed, it was openly admitted, with the deliberate intention of forcing the Indians to leave South Africa. On realising this, the

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Indian Government decided that it was a matter of urgency to stop these Bills going through, and to make an agreement between the two countries. They went into this agreement very carefully, and decided that it was of the utmost necessity. One of the most important clauses in the agreement is that dealing with Indians remaining in South Africa. These Indians must look to the uplifting of their nation, and endeavour to fit into South Africa, and become good citizens of this country. The Europeans must not allow these Indians to lag behind the rest of the population. Hitherto, Indians have been looked upon as a menace in South Africa, and have been thought fit only to be sent back to India. The Agreement is a compromise. There must be give and take, and it seems to me that the Indians have given something, and have received something very substantial in its place.

To the European section of my audience I would appeal to them to remember that my mission here is one of peace. I wish to leave things better than I found them—to leave Europeans and Indians determined to work together as co-citizens of South Africa. You are members of a self-governing race, and your legislature depends largely upon public opinion. It cannot move until you move it by the momentum of your wishes. You must move it in this question, both in the repatriation part of this agreement, and also in the uplifting of the Indian left behind. It is my hope and my most sincere prayer that, in carrying out the upliftment clauses of the agreement, the government of this country will never find itself in advance of public opinion. I beseech you to lay aside the idea that you in Africa have hitherto held about Indians. Times have changed; the world has moved on, and, I hope that you will all enter into the spirit of the Agreement. That Agreement provides that you shall have an Indian community in your midst, and that you shall endeavour to uplift them. South Africa, I know, is harassed by a variety of problems, both racial and political. We in India have our problems, too, ten times more acute than yours. We have often made mistakes, but we have learnt one lesson through the ages, which in all humility I would pass on to you. We do not say to any race or community no matter how they have been brought into our

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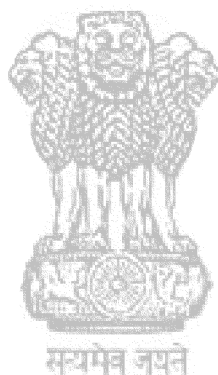
country "we don't want you, clear out!" Rather do we take them to our bosom, and we all live together. We make no law to punish any people for their race or colour. We have learned that lesson under the British flag, which guarantees to all alike, peace, full opportunity for development. It does not allow one race to dominate over another. I implore you to treat Indians with sympathy and toleration. They have their defects and weaknesses, but who have not? We are all victims of circumstances, and these Indians are here under circumstances over which they have had no control. Oppressed, as they have undoubtedly felt themselves to be, they have not yet risen to their full stature. If you help them, you will find them fit to live among you as good South African citizens, of whom you need be neither ashamed nor afraid. But do not believe for a moment that I advocate race mixture. All who have lived in India have seen the disastrous consequences which come from such attempts at removing racial distinction. I myself come from a race, Brahmin, which, amid a sea of surrounding nationalities, has kept its blood pure. We are proud of it, unduly proud perhaps, but our belief is that the races can meet together socially, can live together economically and politically, can work together, and yet preserve their own individualities. No race need become impure unless it makes the choice deliberately.

I appeal to Europeans and Indians alike to help carrying out the agreement by drawing together and exhibiting more active sympathy with one another's point of view. I have ventured to plead to-night in a manner which is foreign to my usual practice because I feel that here in the capital of Natal, I may get to the very root of the question by indicating that the solution of the problem requires a changed mentality on the part of both races. If I have ventured too far, let me apologise, but if you feel that I have shown you the heart of the problem, then I think that you will acquit me both of impertinence, and also of wasting several hours of your time.

South Africa, India, and the British Empire

What was described to be one of the greatest speeches ever heard in Natal was delivered at the Maritzburg Town Hall in August, 1927, to an exclusively European audience, on "South Africa, India and the British Empire." Mr.

Sastri said :



LADIES and gentlemen : I am more than delighted to see this great meeting. It is a pleasure and an honour to be allowed to address an audience so distinguished, and so representative. I feel inspired to see you in such numbers, and I am grateful for the all too courteous words of the Mayor, in presenting me, and to receive such a measure of approbation at your hands.

My subject for this evening embraces such a wide scope that it were impossible for me to deal adequately with it within the hour. Besides, even if I had time, my position as Agent for the Government of India in this country im-

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poses upon me the necessity for me to confine myself to the terms of the Capetown Agreement; but still, if you think of it, it is impossible to do so without taking into view the political institutions which constitute the British Empire.

It is well recognised to-day that, among the nations of the world, the British Empire, that great organisation, stands for peace and security in the world. Over and over again, during the War and afterwards, this British Empire has been appealed to, and is playing its part in keeping the peace amongst the nations of the world.

To belong to such an organisation, to be admitted to its councils, to be permitted to benefit by its great ideals and achievements, is a destiny of which any people in the world may be proud.

I have no right to speak of South Africa in relation to the Empire, but you will allow me to say one word about the attitude of India towards the British Empire. Of that I know something, and I believe it will interest you to hear it. Towards the British Empire India has been drawn by ties of affection, esteem, and gratitude, which it is impossible to describe. At first she was brought within the Empire by force, now we value very greatly our position, and the fact that we were born of the "Pax Britannica." Now that we are fully established, we can scarcely realise the terrible fate we have escaped by being drawn within the Empire.

It would take me too long to explain the psychological foundations of our attachment. You may doubtlessly occasionally hear, and even read in the newspapers, of movements calculated to disturb the Empire, and disturbances similarly radical in their effect opposed to the continuance of the Empire, but believe me, these movements do not go deep into our heart. They are merely surface feelings, such as must arise when our institutions are in danger, and certain patriots of an ardent type declaim, as they do in any part of the world, when they believe that national self-respect is being jeopardised. But when such people so talk, and write in the papers, they dare not contemplate the withdrawal—the consequence of the withdrawal—of British hands from the reins of the Indian Empire.

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Often and often I have heard conversations between Englishmen and Indians. The Indians decry the Empire, and say the worst of things. Then Englishmen say, "would you then wish us to withdraw?" The answer is always "we wish you to be here, but to rule according to our wishes." We want only improved administration, we want only certain reforms, we want a change in this, and a change in that, but we want you to be here, to be here for a long, long time. Do not then be misled by disturbance in India.

Why is it then that our attachment continues unabated? Now, in the administration as it is to be found in what we call the "Indian States." These occupy on the map of India about one-third of the whole of the country, and comprise the population of say a quarter of the population of India, and they carry the traditions of ancient Indian politics. We have then the means of comparing British rule and indigenous rule, and it is recognised at once that the rule of the Rajas does not reach the high standard and ideals of British rule. In the indigenous rule you have that absolutism, while in British rule you have complete constitutional freedom. That contrast is to be seen in its minute ramifications all through the national life. Fair play in a court of law, and absolutely even-handed justice—India has these things in far greater measure than in the best administered Indian states.

Personal rule cannot compete with the reign of law. The abstract principles of Government, the most vital point of the British Constitution, gives full scope, only limited by the necessity of giving the same full scope to your neighbours, that is the vital thing in the constitution of the British Empire. It is that which to us makes us love to live under the ideal rule, if we know anything about abstract law. Tempered by high ideals it may be, but still deriving its potency from its controllable will. This is one of the distinctions which we see under British rule, which we cannot hereafter afford to forego. More than that, there is the great ideal of nationality which for the first time Indian people have learned to cherish.

You may not fully understand, who have never visited India, who have never had personal contact with the vast-

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ness of the vast varieties of people, races and cultures which make up the Indian Empire, which is really, ladies and gentlemen, a world in itself. You have civilisations from the top to the bottom, cultures from the highest scholarships to the most primitive ignorance. You have races, politics, and what we call "castes," of every mark and distinction that may obtain between man and man; but still all this multiplicity, this bewildering medley is moulded by one moulder, in one pattern, by the British Constitution. It lets no one tyrannise over another or suppress the personality of another.

You can have no idea of the way in which these British institutions are shaping India. We have learned this lesson that men may live under the common Flag with complete goodwill, with the one desire that, to the extent possible, they will maintain the British connection unimpaired.

In these times, when politicians so easily get 'work, we may use words without thought and restraint. When for the smallest grievance there is talk of secession. In these days, it is well for you who love the British Empire as I do; it is necessary for you all to realise what a great immeasurable asset it is—this feeling of loyalty—and to preserve it.

I belong to a society known as the Servants of India, which, in its politics, is guided by this postulate for the purpose of maintaining the British connection. We realise more vividly than other people or organisations how India benefits by being within the British Empire. Our greatest politicians believe, and have laid it down in so many words, that the British connection has been ordained for the good of both countries, and that good has not yet been fully achieved. There is much to be drawn from this connection, and we therefore take a vow that we will not do anything which may have the remote effect of weakening this connection.

But we are not peculiar in the sincerity of this loyalty. I am going to tell you one fact which may puzzle some of you unless you realise something of Indian sentiment. You may have heard of a strong movement—a non-co-operative movement. Broadly, all its aims are revolutionary. There

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are a few people in it who are unbalanced and seek to find the political salvation of India outside the British Empire.

They seek independence, but they go further and say, "It is not that independence we want; we wish to go out of the British Empire, and seek liberation from the yoke of Great Britain."

In the Indian National Congress during the last five years they have continually brought forward resolutions powerfully supported, but even during the worst times, when the credit of Britain was low, when men's hearts had been depressed by despair, even in the worst times, such resolutions have had no chance whatever of acceptance by one general body of Indian statesmen. The head of one movement is Mahatma Gandhi, of South African fame, of whom so many misleading reports go round the world. I am not his follower, but I will say this for him, that he is at every one of these Congress meetings and he has always stood up for the British connection. He has told his followers that whatever the grievance with Britain may be, there is a way of getting satisfaction, but not by aiming at the severance of the British connection. When I say that, I hope I convey to your minds, which may occasionally be anxious, a sufficient impressive measure of the loyalty of India to the British connection.

Now, I ask you, what will be too large a sacrifice to maintain this Empire sentiment? What are the dangers besetting, what are the strains to which it is subjected now and then? For a long time this sentiment has been subjected to a strain by the feelings of our people, arising out of hardships and disabilities which have been imposed upon them are incompatible with the ideals of the Empire, but they have even been defended by British people resident abroad in the Empire. We cannot understand it. Do we understand the British Empire better than some Britishers?

No one who has travelled outside India can understand the enormous difficulties of the Indian people living outside India. I admit it is sometimes very difficult, but there are 300 million people in India, and therefore you will realise how many millions there are who believe that the conditions obtaining there must obtain elsewhere. Whatever you may think of India as a backward country, I will submit this. India has been ruled by Great Britain for 200 years. Some

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parts have been so ruled for a longer period, but during these long decades, every part of India has been ruled by Great Britain, and according to her ideals.

In India to-day, notwithstanding the great complexity of races, notwithstanding there are Brahmins who put themselves on the highest pedestal of moral superiority, and people who we can scarcely distinguish from hill tribesmen, we know no denial of the franchise to any people. We do not prevent any people from coming to India. We do not prevent any people from buying land, or establishing factories. We do not deny people who acknowledge the supremacy of Britain, and who are content to be loyal to the King. We do not impose any restrictions on the free life of anyone who comes to our country, and we imagine, in our ignorance, that all over the British Empire the same conditions must prevail.

But, ladies and gentlemen, let me not alarm you too much. I know, having visited British Dominions, I know your difficulty, but will say this, that when we have appealed to any country of the Empire, I have not known any British community from New Zealand to British Columbia to be unresponsive or indifferent.

I was asked in British Columbia, "do you really wish us to forego what our ancestors have made so much sacrifice for? Do you expect us to leave to our sons in diminution and decay those privileges which we have won for ourselves?" I can understand, and I have spoken to my people in the matter of being excluded where British people have settled. We have to expect that from the necessity of the case. But, ladies and gentlemen, is it equally clear why it is incompatible with British ideals of government that when you have excluded Indians by law, and you are no more threatened with an influx of people from outside, is it equally clear that, among those who have been born in South Africa, pay their taxes and are thoroughly loyal, there should be raised a disability not arising out of their own intrinsic qualities. That is a point which I think is well worth considering in view of the preserving of the Empire sentiment.

I know that it is understood that every self-governing people within the British Empire may treat the Nationals of any other Dominion or State as they like. There is no

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law compelling the extension of citizenship rights to people from other Dominions. We know that is a state of law.

In other words, you have a legal right to impose any disability you like. No one questions it! I do not, but I will ask you to remember that in this world, long before the truth was proclaimed, it never has been recognised that this legal right is necessarily also a moral right.

Do we, in our ordinary life, do everything we have the right to do? Is there no necessity then to control our public legislation, albeit we are self-governing, and regulate these things in accordance with the high principles of justice and fair play, which the British spirit always has meant, and still means, if it is to maintain its position as the guiding force in the world?

It has been brought up against the Indian people that they are not self-governing.

This is not altogether true. We have begun. We have in several Provinces several subjects determined by vote. We call them little because, although the least of our Parliaments is as big as yours, they are little in the scale of things. Moreover, do we realise that the very character of the British Constitution is such that there are people within it to whom you will deny constitutional rights. As historians have pointed out, the glory of the British Constitution is that it enables people to rise from the humblest stage of Government, through the various stages of crown colony, and on to responsible Government, to the highest stages of Dominion status.

Through all these stages, it is possible for a people to march upwards, and to realise their political salvation. Search the world over for another political organisation for which you may make this proposition. No, you cannot find another, and that is why we believe that, although we have only taken the first steps towards self-government, we are content. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you all to remember this fact, that India is marching steadily on to self-government. There is no power to stop it, unless it be by force of arms, which Great Britain dare not employ against a people striving towards Dominion status by Constitutional means.

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You will not treat India, because she is still some way from that goal, as a despised nation. That is a point upon which you must answer for yourselves. I know only one answer that can be given, for how else, how else, can Britain maintain her supremacy amongst nations?

To-day, on every hand throughout the wide world, conflicts threaten. Even the Europeans are ready for another war, so bitter are national contentions between one people and another. You see, too, risings among the coloured nations of the world, who feel that, for a long time, they have been denied their due by the dominant white races. Now, ladies and gentlemen, wherever these races come into contact in the Empire, it is the duty of all alike to see that differences die down; that no room is left for jealous suspicion or hatred; that all forces are brought into play that will consolidate the British Empire. That is the duty of Empire citizens.

People living in remote parts say, "Yes, this Empire sentiment is a beautiful thing, but then the ordinary conditions are so different from those with which we have to contend." But the Empire, you forget, cannot live on air. "It lives in the blood of the British people." It is only if each one constitutes himself the vehicle of the British spirit, only then will the spirit survive. If each one of us betrays it, where then will the Empire be? And so I ask you to consider whether it is right to deny British subjects common fair play and the elementary rights of citizenship, and the means of earning an honest living, and the means of enjoying the fruits of their labours.

I well remember some years ago being struck dumb when I went to a meeting in London, at which people were glorifying the Empire. I felt cheered, and buoyed up, but when they asked me to speak—I generally come at the end of these Conferences—I said to them: "Some of you (Cabinet Ministers amongst them), some of you have spoken of the White Empire. I look at myself, and my mind misgives me. Some of you have spoken of the English Flag Empire. That is true. I speak of India, of the millions of people in India. Some of you spoke of an Anglo-Saxon Empire. Where do we come in in this discussion? I have heard speeches to-day, many speeches,

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but I have not heard so much as a mention of India and her 300 million people." Then there was a murmur of applause, that grew to such a pitch that I was encouraged. And then man after man came forward and said, "Yes, that was a mistake. I should have included India, but somehow or another I forgot."

Ladies and gentlemen, that state of affairs is passing away, and I implore you to remember that you cannot allow that state of affairs to continue in South Africa.

That noted writer on the constitution, named Dicey, in the latest edition of his work, has remarked upon the position to-day. Speaking of the high ideals of the British Empire, he says that there was a time in the noble reign of Victoria when we all thought that Empire citizenship would establish absolute equality between one subject and another, and we all looked forward to that state of things, but we seem to have gone back. He was referring to the treatment of Indian citizens. Ladies and gentlemen, shall we let constitutional writers of the future say, "Yes, we all felt there would be a common British Empire citizenship, but it now seems absolutely clear that such a thing will never be."

There is a book I would recommend to you, "Empire Citizenship." Eminent writers were asked to say what connotes British citizenship. Shall I tell you what answer which nine out of ten have given? "There is no such thing as British citizenship. There is British subjecthood, that we all understand, but no British citizenship."

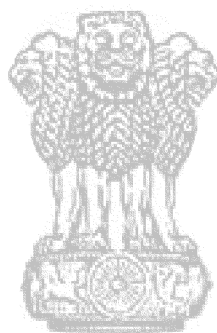
That seems to be a legal view to-day, but, ladies and gentlemen, legal views are one thing, and political ideals are another thing. Political ideals are not always to be left as ideals suspended in mid-air. We must work always, and the legal view of to-day will become the legal view of yesterday.

Views only for the historian, but no longer subject matter for the active statesmen. Let us do something in our day which will make the future historians to say, "Yes, it seemed as if British citizenship would be eclipsed and overwhelmed, but, thanks be to British statesmanship, it is

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emerging on the bright horizon, and will soon shine with the full blaze of day."

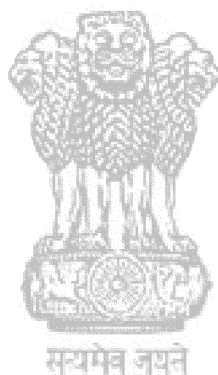
It is in your power to do great things, ladies and gentlemen. For what is done in South Africa determines what will be done where white and coloured races come into living contact all through our Commonwealth. Much depends upon you. Be not swayed by the considerations of the moment, by the fleeting salvation of the hour. These are not considerations for which those who are the vehicles of the British spirit should give assent in their hearts. Have an eye always to the great future of the Empire. Think of what it would mean if you chose the noble course. Think of what it might mean if you yielded to the temptations of the hour.



सत्यमेव जयते

Christian Public Opinion

Mr. Sastri, after saying how glad he was to accept the Bishop of Natal's (Dr. Baines) invitation to be present at an "At Home" at St. Peters' Church, Maritzburg, in September, 1927, proceeded:



I know that you all, as servants of the Lord, will be glad to serve the cause of human brotherhood anywhere, though I shall confine my attentions to the relations between Europeans and Indians in Natal.

These relations have sometimes been very strained. There was a time when your leaders thought that the only solution was to drive the Indian community across the sea, back to their own land, but to many of them it would not seem like their own land, for the Indian population has been here for two or three generations, and some of them do not know their own languages, and would be utter strangers in India. Such a policy might be carried through, but it

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would certainly not be the most righteous solution of the problem.

Happily a different solution has been found; to send away only part, that part cannot be made to assimilate with the population here. The Union Government have undertaken that they will not hesitate to apply to those who remain the same treatment as to other elements of the population.

Many people who were not doing well here are now going back. I am afraid that the solution arrived at is greatly in advance of the state of public opinion. But public opinion is not really and truly what many exponents of it would have us believe. Many people, bent on taking the wrong course of action, excuse themselves by saying that, as representatives of their people, they have to say and do what otherwise they would not do from private conviction.

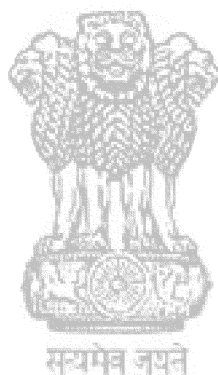
Many so-called leaders of public opinion are not leaders at all, but followers of the worst part of it. Here a number of people come along, beating their breasts and saying; "I'll solve this Indian question: bundle the whole lot out." But I cannot believe that is really what Natal demands.

The Indians are a great race. They may, like many other races, have many poor specimens, but there are among them men with whom you yourselves would gladly shake hands, and some at whose feet you would be glad to sit.

Set about creating another better, and more Christian public opinion. It is a libel on Natal to say that this expulsion is what it wants. You, whom I am addressing, have exceptional opportunities among the people here. Set their hearts beating in unison with the heart of the Almighty. Set their judgments working according to the will of Him who made us all alike. Use your opportunity so as to serve the purpose of the Almighty.

An Empire Problem

*At the Capetown City Hall
at a meeting of welcome,
arranged by the British
Indian Council, October,
1927, Mr. Sastri delivered
the following speech :*



YOU have spoken of the good work that was done some months ago in Capetown. It was fortunate that Capetown should have been chosen as a place of meeting of the delegation of the two Governments; not only because of its attractions, and its far-famed beauties; not merely because the Cape Province for a long time has had a reputation for broadmindedness and cosmopolitanism, but, it would appear to me for a double reason. In Capetown, inspired by the mountain and by the ocean, people seemed to me to take broad views of things, almost by instinct. It was here that one of your great men, Cecil Rhodes, exhorted people



THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE AGENT-GENERAL:
The Earl of Athlone and Mr. Sastri in Capetown.

An Empire Problem.

not to look at problems from the parochial or provincial point of view, but from the larger standpoint.

If we who met in December and January last had only looked at the question that came before us, each side from our own point of view, we would have failed, but from the beginning we never lost sight of the far-reaching effects of the subjects which we were handling. We knew that we would have effects not merely on the relations between South Africa and India, but on the relations of the various parts of the Empire, one to another, and possibly upon the affairs of the whole civilised world.

It is when men begin to grasp the large nature of the topic they touch that no sacrifice seems too great, no compromise too barren, which may lead to an agreed solution.

One of the speakers before me referred to the Cape-town Conference as an instance where mutual consultation, and the principle of give and take triumphed. This was perfectly true. We looked upon the problem from the beginning as common both to India and to South Africa. It was wonderful how, after our first conference, the members recognised fully that each side met the other as an ally, a friend and a true-hearted co-operator, and not a wily and cautious negotiator, who carefully weighed the words he used, and carefully weighed the words used on the other side—who thought always, "How will this benefit me!" or "How will this injure me!" It was not in that pettifogging spirit that we came to the problem, but fully alive to the nature of the case.

Dr. Gool has said that it seemed to him that General Hertzog and Dr. Malan deserved praise for their courage and statesmanship. I have myself said that very often, indeed, both in India and in this country. I am glad to endorse with all my heart what Dr. Gool has said, but the credit was shared also by the other members of the Union Government delegation. They, too, brought to the Council Chamber a desire to study the other man's point of view, not to score petty victories at each stage, but to reach a solution that will stand the test of time, and afford a real remedy for the evil that has vexed two or three generations before.

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The last time that I appeared in this place was on the eve of my departure from this country. I ventured at an entertainment to say that the Conference had been a success, that the Indian delegation, who came with anxious hearts, were returning fully satisfied, and that if only the Indians resident in South Africa "played the game," they can hope soon to see better days dawning on them. When I spoke, it was still understood that the agreement was to be a secret. But I knew there were many who were eager to have a glimpse of the result, many of my countrymen who felt that their fate hung on the results of the Conference, and would be glad to be assured that the Conference did not leave matters worse than they were before. I thought I said the right thing.

I thought it was due to our colleagues of the Union Ministry to say that we had received from them not only hospitality and courtesy, and the reception due to allies in a difficult position, but I felt that I was paying a compliment that had been ten times deserved, and at the same time I could not help leaving a word of hope with my countrymen here, whose affairs we (the delegation) had come to compose.

At that time, it was held in certain quarters that I had been guilty of an indiscretion. After so many months in which to think it over, I do not think I have come to regret what I said on that occasion. When a great act is done, when a noble step has been taken towards peace, the word of commendation and praise, the word of thanksgiving, cannot be delayed one moment. In my speeches subsequently—for I have made many on the Agreement—I have always borne testimony to the way in which the people of every grade and quality, every colour and religion, in this country helped our deliberations. I do hope and trust that, in the fulfilment of that Agreement, the same co-operation and sympathy and understanding will be manifested on all hands.

I am able to say, from the experience of a few months in the whole of the Union, that that hope and expectation will be abundantly fulfilled. Wherever I have gone I have found everywhere, even in quarters generally known to be hostile, a desire to understand the agreement with an open mind, and when its clauses have been understood, a further

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desire that the agreement should have a fair trial. That the agreement will have a fair trial has been guaranteed by the Leader of the Opposition, and by the other great men belonging to his party.

I believe that giving a fair trial is a somewhat elastic expression. It may only mean that you have abandoned your attitude of opposition and suspicion, that you are now prepared to stand aloof from the strife, to allow fair play to those who are engaged in it, in other words, to us a hackneyed political phrase, to adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality. That is good so far as it goes, but I will plead with you for more positive attitude of benevolence. To give the Agreement a fair chance, you must create a favourable atmosphere, not only an attitude of active friendliness from all quarters.

I would beseech that positive and active spirit of friendliness towards the Agreement. You must not stand aside as if you had no concern in the matter, as if you thought you were absolutely unconcerned which way the results were pointed. You are all alike whether you were friends or whether you were un-friends of Indian community before; you are all alike now after the Agreement, pledged through your Government to its loyal and thorough fulfilment.

The Government is actuated by this desire and not only the Ministers of the Union, but I have found in Natal the utmost friendliness displayed towards the Agreement, and Natal, as you know, is a Province which stands at the opposite end of the stick, as it were.

It has been mentioned several times to-day that if there was an Indian problem it was a very limited and negligible one. In Natal, however, the problem is very much alive; it engaged the deepest feelings of both communities, and, perhaps, of the whole Provinces of the Union; it was in Natal, British as it was, that the two communities looked upon each with somewhat unfriendly eyes, but—would you believe it—after two and a half months of intimate experience of both communities in the Province, I am now prepared to say that there is nothing more admirable than the spirit in which the European community there have tried to meet my demands.

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You will remember that a section of the Agreement throws obligation on the Natal Administration, the Natal Provincial Council, which it did not cast on the people of the other Provinces, for it is provided there that to rectify the grave condition of Indian education, an Education Commission should be promptly appointed to examine the matter. Considering the way in which responsible politicians in Natal Province have committed themselves to a somewhat anti-Indian view of things, will you not join with me in saying that it was really an act of magnanimity on their part to appoint this Education Commission straight away? They will soon meet, and experts appointed by the Government of India will join them in the discussion of the questions and in the enunciation of a possible solution.

The housing question, too, will soon be taken up. That is not a state of things which one can pass as if it takes place every day. People changed, they changed in politics, certainly; with changed circumstances they all changed, but some people changed even when circumstances did not. When people changed they are usually at immense pains to establish the fact that it is not they who have changed but all people of the other opinion. It is rarely that we find people straightforwardly admit they have changed, and for that the greatest possible honour was due to the members of the Union Government.

I will, therefore, ask my fellow-countrymen to stint no praise when they judge the present Government, or—I am sure in this matter I am right when I add—the Opposition as well. The Capetown Agreement is not regarded as a party question; it is the whole people of South Africa who are, through the political parties, pledged to its nonhonourable fulfilment. It only remains for me to make an individual appeal to all Europeans who, in various ways, exercise an influence on the shape and form of contemporary affairs.

I have indicated that this policy was entirely different from the old policy. The Union Government have said in the Agreement that it will not be possible for them to legislate or administrate very far in advance of public opinion. This, of course, went without saying. It means that the new

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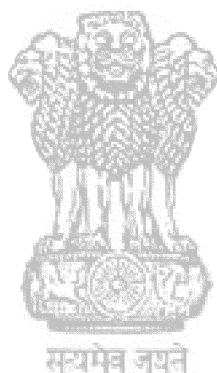
policy, if it is to be carried out by the Government, must be supported by the public opinion of the country. The public opinion of this country is the sum of the opinions held by the individual Europeans and Indians. The action of Parliament depends upon the will of the constituencies, and it is, therefore, in the constituencies that one will seek for the foundations on which this new policy is to be laid. Every single voter, if the Indian question is placed before him, must remember that he is to be a vehicle of the new policy. If, before he has not considered the repercussions of South Africa's policy on the Empire's solidarity, he must no longer be indifferent to it. If he has regarded the Indian as an alien and an undesirable character who must be got rid of as soon as possible, he has now got to remember that after the migration policy has taken effect, and it is ascertained that there is a definite Indian population which is assimilable to a Western standard, he must no longer assume an attitude of lofty contempt but agree to govern his relations by the sovereign dictates of human brotherhood, human love, and one fellow-citizenship under the Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland.

This change of heart must be the result of much effort. It is easy to say one is going to change one's heart, but the performance, if one tries it, will be found to tax all the culture and discipline that one has ever received in one's larger and deeper life. It is this great effort for which I venture to appeal to each individual European voter in this country.

I do trust under Providence that public opinion, which the Government requires as a *sine qua non* of its carrying out the nobler policy, is already in the making and will soon be an accomplished fact, so that the agreement, being honourably carried out, we may look forward to a future when the Indian problem in its acuter phases will have disappeared from the surface of South African politics, in the same way in which I hope that even your Flag question is already yielding to the effect of mutual consultation and accommodation.

Supremacy of the White Race

*At a civic welcome given
at Port Elizabeth (December,
1927), Mr. Sastri
said :*



Reference has been made to my capacity as Agent-General of the Government of India in this country. And this reminds me that I am now an official and, like the official who has just spoken, I am precluded from discussing in public a great many subjects of interest both to you and to me. I am sorry, therefore, that I am not able to take the hint conveyed in the Deputy-Mayor's speech and tell you the story of India's struggle towards political freedom. It is not possible for me as Agent-General of the Government of India to discuss with truth and justice a subject in regard to which, in many phases, the Government of India

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may not always appear in a desirable light. As this is out of the question, I will speak about my own mission. As you are aware, I am the first official representative of India in this sub-continent. What led to the creation of the office is within the full experience and knowledge of nearly all of you. But I may be allowed to take you behind the Cape-town Agreement, just to dwell for a moment on the anxieties and fears with which the Government of India and the Imperial Cabinet of Great Britain had always viewed the situation created by the circumstances in which Indians were living in this country, and generally in the Dominions of Britain abroad. I do not wish to say anything that may be unpleasant or anything that may be in the nature of recrimination. My purpose is not to make matters worse but to make them better, and if I recall the condition and anxieties and fears prevalent among the Government and the people in one common state. If I dwell upon this aspect of the subject, it is merely to show that the Government of India, in handling an extremely difficult and delicate situation, have thought it their duty, first and foremost, to avoid anything that may be in the nature of a diplomatic blunder; for diplomatic blunders have consequences that are far reaching, and fall, in the main, on innocent people and upon generations who are perfectly innocent of the complications through which they are made to suffer.

As representative of the Government of India, it behoves me, also, to walk warily where there are so many pitfalls, and to avoid anything which may be in the nature of added bitterness, for bitterness there is in abundance in all conscience, and if one desires to cure one cannot start by making the disease worse.

But, if my anxiety is to avoid a blunder, is it to do so? You know, being men and women of the world, that there is only one truth and a thousand lies; there is only one course of action in a difficulty and there are beside it 100 wrong courses each inviting you to itself. It is hard—I realise it fully—it is hard to do what is right, to speak the truth, to keep to the straight path in front of you when there are temptations to make a great mark, to create a sensation which the superficial observer will regard as smart

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or clever, but which cannot contribute anything to remove the evil of the situation.

My work in this country was conditioned above all else by one requirement, and it is well, perhaps, although I have said it pretty often, I will repeat it in Port Elizabeth. The Government of India, and, in large measure, the people of India, were alike agreed that Indians living in this country must realise one peculiar limitation, not that they have forgotten it, there had been nothing in the circumstances of their living here to make them forget it. Suspicions had been aroused, accusations had been flung about recklessly, that it was necessary to be quite clear and emphatic on the point.

It is, unfortunately, true, in the political world, that when politicians repudiate something we usually suppose that there is something wrong about it. Politicians are a tribe who do not always trust one another. When they repudiate anything they are anxious that the repudiation shall be taken at its face value, that their honesty shall not be questioned, and their bona fides shall be above cavil. But, when another man repudiates anything, they laugh, ignore it, even sneer and say, "We know what these political statements are."

I want you to acquit me of saying anything that will look like a political statement of this kind. There cannot be any temptation for me to deceive you in making a statement in which I did not fully believe. I have a sacred duty to the cause I represent. There are circumstances surrounding my work; there is sufficient guarantee that I will not make myself consciously guilty of exaggeration, a wilful distortion of the facts or a calculated concealment of feelings deep in the mind.

It is no part of our intention either now or at any time in the future to challenge the political supremacy of the white part of the population of South Africa. We admit to the full your right to maintain the civilisation which you value, the modes of living, the standards of comfort which you have set up for yourselves, amidst discouragement and difficulties, which we fully appreciate. We recognise that it will be your right to determine the public policy of this sub-continent, and model

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it to yours and the satisfaction of the public interests. This being out of the way, we recognise as a natural corollary that there must be certain limitations and restrictions upon the political and municipal freedom of Indians here so that this essential requirement may be satisfied. We are anxious to disarm your suspicions in the matter.

And any application which might be made for the freedom of the Indian population in a request for the removal of disabilities pressing upon them, and any petition for facilities enabling them to live a happy, contented and prosperous life—all these things must be understood as being subject to this limitation, with no wish to interfere in, or dispute the political supremacy of, the Europeans of this sub-continent. But the question arose: "Would you be justified in ordering the lives of Indians amongst you? Would you be justified in ordering their lives in going further than might be necessary in order to secure this essential condition? Would it be wise; would it be in accordance with the highest civilised rule; would it be in conformity with the highest standard set up by Great Britain in various parts of the Empire? Would it be right to raise bars and barriers which are not necessary to maintain your supremacy, but which seem only designed to deny the Indian, sometimes wholly, sometimes partially, the opportunities and facilities which are necessary for his full development? He has no right to shape your politics or alter institutions to his own benefit. But is it necessary to bind him with shackles and fetters which deprive him of the opportunities to which, as a citizen of the British Empire, as one who swears allegiance to the Throne of Great Britain, he is entitled? Is it necessary to impose limitations on him as to the profession he might follow, or on the education he might wish to receive?

Is it or is it not a part of the aims of every civilised Government that every citizen, except he be of evil character or disloyal conduct, shall be allowed to become himself fully? I believe that the ordinary canons of right and justice will give the answer, without reservation, in the affirmative to that question.

There is the promise held out by the Sovereign of Great Britain on dozens of public solemn occasions. There

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is the course consistently held by a long period of Imperial rule by Great Britain, a course which will not be deviated by a hair's breadth, which require that no one will be denied that which is necessary for developing himself.

Whether the institutions are monarchical, oligarchic or democratic, no matter which shape they may assume in outward form, their tendency must always be to utilise all the available talent in the country to the fullest advantage—not only for one section, because it may be dominant, but for the whole community. Everyone of the community is interested not only in giving the best to the whole collectively of the State but he is interested in exacting from the rest of the community the best possible for that collectivity.

I refer to the conditions affecting the Indian in the Cape Province, and in the Transvaal and Natal. In the Cape it is a question whether he is properly educated and put in suitable circumstances, whether he is fit and suitable to carry the burden and responsibility of citizenship in the Cape Province.

“Equal rights for every civilised man” is the motto of administration which on all occasions the Cape has followed. It is my fervent prayer that nothing will tempt you to depart from the straight and broad path. The Government of India wishes nothing better than that they shall adhere to this formula in all that they do with reference to the Indian people. I have neither the knowledge nor the experience to answer the question which may be put: “What are the signs of contemporary time, is that formula in jeopardy, what are the currents of opinion that might wreck that formula and drag the chariot of the Cape Province Administration athwart that straight line? I put the question, but the answer must come from those whose daily lives have been spent in studying the details and the tendencies of administration.

There is just this danger, I fear, that the Cape Province may descend from its high altitude and place itself on all fours with the other Provinces.

As one who wishes with all my heart that the British Commonwealth will continue for a long, long time yet in the history of the world to be the exemplar of the highest

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principles of rule, to be the pattern of all that is best, to secure the welfare of human kind, I pray you not to deviate from the high standard set up by Rhodes, while you might be absolutely required to keep your own supremacy and maintain your own traditions, but to ask the other Provinces to come along and take their stand on your side as the custodians of even-handed justice and fairplay, to maintain the high level of British justice, British equity and the British desire to give every individual under the common flag an opportunity.

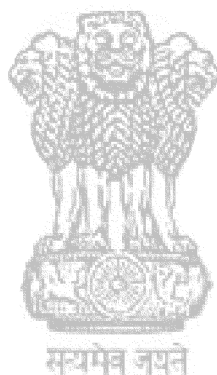
I can assist my countrymen only by assisting you.

To the Indian section of the meeting, I say do not misjudge me; I have not come here to exalt myself in the eyes of the Europeans at your expense. But you have always to remember that you cannot ask anything until you have established fully your desire to benefit by it. I visited the Indian School, and I was sad to see the small number in the higher hall.

Allow your children to have all the facilities of education that are offered to them. I know how you love your children. But every true father desires nothing more than that he should be excelled and passed by his son. I would rather prefer you to be beggars wandering from door to door than that you should have abundance to eat and leave your children in ignorance. It is wrong to take away children from school after the fourth standard. It seems to me that you should have protection up to 17 or 18 years of age. And you should pay even greater attention to the education of your girls. You can only neglect the careful education of your girls at the peril of the community.

The Christmas Spirit

*In the editorial columns of
"The Natal Mercury" of
December 24, 1927, Mr.
Sastri wrote :*



To a Hindu, brought up in the philosophy of the Vedanta, toleration of other faiths and other modes of worship comes easy. Toleration deepens into sympathy and understanding when one has a working faith in the brotherhood of man and allows idealism to shape one's course in life instead of regarding it as a sign of a softening brain or an old-world morality. Every form of earnest piety, every time-honoured religious observance is to him a way of approach to God, not his own, it is true, but not necessarily less suitable or less sure. I own to a feeling of profound reverence when I behold a service in a church and am hushed

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into the silence of communion at the sight of a Moham-medan kneeling in prayer. The rejoicings of Christmas, consecrated to childhood and its innocence and glory, and summoning men and women to the duties of forgiveness and reconciliation, make an intimate appeal to one whose every prayer includes a thrice-repeated invocation for the blessing of peace—that perfect peace of the heart which follows when all passion has been subdued, all desire has been conquered and all regret has been left behind. At the opening of a sacred book or the beginning of a devotional exercise a pious Hindu joins his hands in supplication for the good of every fellow creature: "May every one cross the difficult places of life, may everyone behold happiness, may everyone attain true wisdom, may everyone rejoice everywhere." To forget wrong and admit the wrong-doer to one's love is the sublime teaching of all the great religions of the world.

On one holy day of the year all differences are laid aside, the mind dwells on our common origin and our common destiny, and we all return, if we can, to the ways of simplicity and guileless mirth. But can we? Blessed is he who can cast off the folds of sophistication that overlay his soul. By constant use the words come easily to the lips; but how hard is the reality! The true sages of our race are few. The learning of books, the performance of rituals, the mortifications of the flesh—these lead nowhere. God's grace, according to Hindu teachings, has most often descended on the crude children of toil, on the unlettered denizens of the forest. What rebuke to pride and pomp and power! By a supreme effort we suspend on a given day the outward manifestations of vanity and animosity, but the real chastening of the heart is not there; and the brawls and contending ambitions break out afresh on the morrow. Let us pray that the spirit of the Christmas season animate us at all times. When a man dies his worst critics remember only his good points and overlook his foibles. How much happier both he and they would have been if they had practised a little of this magnanimity while he was alive! This world would be a different place and Heaven would be all around us if but the lesson of these rare moments could be carried into the rest of our lives. A sudden shock

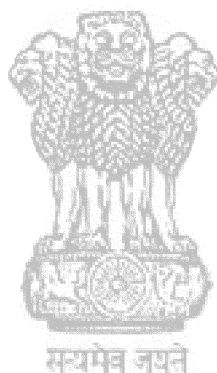
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should not be necessary to awaken us to the realities of life . . . The realities of life ! In daily language we apply this expression to the phantoms and shadows which we pursue, and we dismiss as dreams and trances the revealing flashes of wisdom which come to us when striking events happen. Well was it said of old : " The sage is awake when the world sleeps ; he sleeps when the world is awake."

Another snare from which the spirit of the Christmas season should save us is to suppose that one rule governs human conduct as between individuals and another rule as between communities, nations, or States. Is life one whole or a series of unconnected fragments ? Could it be that God meant the law of love and compassion only for individuals and not for organised groups ? Many things, forbidden in ordinary social intercourse, are supposed not only to be allowed but to be enjoined in war and in diplomacy. International and inter-communal ethic falls far short of ordinary ethic. It is seriously contended by some authorities that the precepts of Christ were intended for the simple relations of private life and must not be extended to the larger sphere of inter-State relations. As if an evil multiplied thousandfold could by some subtle alchemy be transformed into good ; as if virtue was but vice on a large scale ! Surely this is a disastrous blunder of thought. Christ's commands, like the commands of other great teachers and exemplars, are universal in their range ; they know no limit of race or colour, no mere geographical or political boundary. They would discipline us into one brotherhood ; they would constrain us by the gentle bond of love and mutual helpfulness into one family. We believe in the essential dignity of every soul in God's creation. That is the essence of every religion which is called a world-religion. You cannot please God by benefitting one set of His creatures at the expense of another set of His creatures. The fact that you regard yourself as belonging to the one set and not to the other is of no consequence. Injury to a part of humanity is injury to humanity, and a violation of the purpose of God, who is all goodness and all love.

Vernacular Education

*At the opening of the
Hindu Tamil Institute,
Durban, in January, 1928,
Mr. Sastri said:*



IT gives me great pleasure this morning to open this nice building, and I now declare it open. I understand that this has cost in all, building and furniture, a sum of £2,500. It has all been subscribed by the Tamil community, who are, you will admit, not amongst the richest of the Indian population.

The fact that they have, out of their restricted means, found that large amount of money for the purpose is a testimony to the regard they have for the traditions and literature of India. I welcome it, for it is an indication more welcome to me than some of you think, that they have

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not forgotten the land that gave them birth, or the traditions of which they are the inheritors. It makes me very glad to think that this very large sum has been found in order to preserve what they regard in the civilisation which they have brought over with them.

I believe that one of the purposes of this institution is to teach Tamil to the children of the community. This is a very laudable object, and one which it is impossible to over-estimate. I would say a word of praise for the efforts they have made to see that their children, who here attend English schools, are provided with the opportunity of learning their mother-tongue.

Love of the mother tongue is scarcely less powerful in the human breast than love of the mother country, and he who ignores that feeling or despises it makes a terrible mistake. One of the few means left to us to preserve our ancient culture is the study of our own language and literature.

Educationalists will admit to the full the value of employing their mother-tongue as a means of teaching. Whether we study it as a language for its own sake or whether we use it as a medium of instruction the time spent in so doing can never be said to be time lost. In fact, the hours spent will repay themselves several hundred times, for every teacher will admit that instruction conveyed in the mother-tongue is much more beneficial than education conveyed in a foreign tongue.

In Kimberley recently, where we held a great Conference, the question of vernacular education was discussed with a fair degree of warmth. The result of that Conference was published in the papers. Most of you are aware of the direction it took. It chanced that I took part in the discussion and what I said at the time has led to much misunderstanding and exposed me to criticism in this city, which Indians admit to be their chief stronghold.

I do not wish to be misunderstood again. There is nothing I said at Kimberley that I wish to retract or repeat, for every word I said came not from convictions of yesterday or the day before, but of a lifetime. Still, in order to clear the ground and put myself right with my own country-

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men and countrywomen, it may be necessary for me to say a little more on the subject.

That you who have come from another country desire to give your children the best possible education according to your means, goes without saying. Education has two main objects. It fits us for life and it likewise teaches us to respect the past. These two objects you have kept in view, and I wish to praise you for your insight and wisdom. You send your children to the English schools where they receive an education in the ordinary way, but you realise at the same time that their culture as Indians would not be complete unless they received a certain grounding in their own language and literature.

Therefore, at much cost to yourselves, you have built at the various towns institutions at which the children may receive this Indian culture. That is as it should be, but when you go from this stage of thought to another and ask that the children be taught in Tamil and that other vernacular languages be made part of the curriculum then you must consider whether it is practicable.

So far as I am concerned, believe me, if you or I could persuade the authorities to find funds for vernacular teaching in the ordinary curriculum, no one would be more pleased than I.

My point is, however, that you must not place your children at any disadvantage. You love your children and you are prepared to undergo sacrifices for them; all that is to your credit, but the means we take to express our regard for them may not always be wise. In the strange conditions which we find in South Africa it is no wonder that there are many of our people who make mistakes.

You must not overtax your children and compel them to learn more than it is possible for them to learn. They have to live their lives here and compete with the European children. To take any time from them over and above the ordinary school time, is to place them at a disadvantage. It would be amply repaid—this extra exertion, provided that schools were built and suitable teachers were provided and suitable text-books. I take it that the wise ones among you pay attention to these matters, but history is marked

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with misjudged efforts in the ways of improvements and reformations.

I will not venture to dogmatise in a land where I am a comparative stranger, but because I have been a teacher most of my life and because I am filled with the anxiety for your children's welfare it will not come amiss if I say one word.

There is nothing in my heart, either implied or expressed against an institution such as this. I welcome it.

For example, children come here and learn after their ordinary schooling and I could not wish for them a more handsome institution. Then the next matter to consider is the school text books and teachers. It is not for me, ignorant as I am of the conditions of these matters, to say anything, but I do hope that everyone among you makes himself responsible for these matters. I draw attention to them because I know how easy it is to start out upon such a venture with high and admirable motives and find in the final result that little has been achieved.

In an analogous direction I have known teachers of children—most enthusiastic advocates—who wax most eloquent over the scholar of the Indian religion. But what do you find when you visit the schools? These advocates who have discovered the eternal verities of the Hindu religion are but scantily equipped for the task they have taken up.

A few verses of Sanskrit are recited mechanically without knowledge of what they portend. Even the teachers themselves are comparatively ignorant of what they are trying to teach, and the children do not entertain the same respect for them and grow up with little knowledge of their religion. How much have I seen of this? My heart is sunk when I contemplate how small is the real achievement in this direction.

I will willingly admit that in India there are schools and colleges where good work is done, but in most places there is much noise and little done. If that be the case, then with regard to religious instruction, which I value more than anything else, I, at least, should not be surprised if in the much smaller matter of vernacular education there be a certain amount of misjudgment.

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The children are our greatest wealth—I do not mean the wealth of the purses—the greatest wealth of the community and we must do nothing to squander or reduce its value. It therefore behoves us to see in regard to this institution that teachers are appointed who fully understand what they teach and that the text books are carefully selected for the subjects. It will also be necessary for some of you to visit this place frequently and see that the high aims are being fulfilled.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, with these cautions and provisos I have no hesitation in wishing the institution every success. Those who, like me, have to take part in the work of the Education Commission have a task to perform. I am not one of those who think that the general voice of the people is necessarily the voice of wisdom and truth. Everyone who takes part in public affairs comes to a time when he has to speak what he thinks and speak in the voice he thinks will please the multitude.

The multitude is often wrong and he betrays their confidence if he mouths platitudes rather than vent his own opinion. I have learned a higher duty and I will speak what occurs to me to be the correct thing, but I know that no one, statesman, scientist, educationalist, judge, ever does his best work who runs clean against popular wishes. Having to work for a people, we must take advantage of their feelings and wishes. Take, for example, the subject of hygiene in which we are all very much interested.

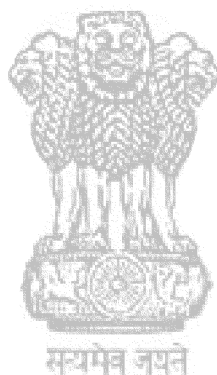
We know that no improvement will take place unless the people are properly instructed and they are so educated that they will co-operate. How often have these great enthusiasts in India failed? Men who prepare admirable programmes fail because they do not adopt these to the wishes of the people for whose benefit they were legislating. I will not make that fundamental mistake.

Where our wishes run determinedly in one direction we must recognise the fact and bow to it. I think I have said quite enough to indicate my point of view. I would ask you to see that your children are not placed at a disadvantage in regard to the ordinary curriculum.

I am very pleased to be amongst you and I declare this nice building open for the purpose of Tamil study. I com-

The New Relationship

At the first anniversary of the publication of the Indo-Union Agreement, which was celebrated at Capetown on February 21, 1928, Mr. Sastri delivered the following speech :



IT has been a great joy to me to welcome you all here to-night. This day last year, by common consent the principal conclusions of the Capetown Agreement were announced in India, and in this country. Being a creature myself of that Agreement, it is no wonder I take great interest in its fortunes. I cannot recall, save with the most intense satisfaction, the proceedings in this very city which culminated in the Agreement.

If I may venture to say so, sir (turning to General Hertzog), although you were not able to be present during the discussion, your earnest words to us in opening the

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proceedings not only laid down the broad lines of our work, but inspired us throughout to reach by every means in our power a satisfactory conclusion. Nor must I withhold a word of tribute from Dr. Malan for the way in which he conducted the proceedings. The consummate patience, the tact, the spirit of conciliation that he displayed at our deliberations made a profound impression on us all. His attitude was responsible, very largely, for our being steered into port.

The Agreement has been accepted both in India and here by very considerable sections of the people. There have been critics; of course, there will always be critics. I hope that we shall learn to profit by their criticisms when these are well-meant and helpful.

I have found in all sections of the people here, and let me express profound gratitude for it, a desire, a general desire, if not actually to support the Agreement enthusiastically, at any rate to give it a fair chance. It is one of the real causes of the success of the Agreement, so far, that you have from the beginning succeeded in placing this Agreement on a non-party basis. The Government and its followers have naturally stood by the Agreement, but I am particularly grateful to those members of the South African Party in both Houses who have with public spirit declared themselves willing to give the Agreement a fair chance.

And, I might say, it is not only political parties who have done that. Going to Natal, as I have occasion often to do, I have found the Administration there—although they might have been expected to take a contrary line—very willing indeed to help to carry out the fundamental principles of the Agreement. Upon the Natal Administration, as you are aware, falls to a great extent the duty of carrying out the first steps of the agreement.

To many supporters of the agreement in all quarters I ought to say that both the Government and the people of India are very grateful. I am glad to say that I have found both from the Government and people of the Union a somewhat encouraging response to the appeals I have had to make from time to time on behalf of the Agreement.

I venture to express the hope that the Capetown Agreement will pass from the field of political controversy, that it

The New Relationship.

will be accepted on all sides as common ground, and that if it must be scrapped in the future, it will be only in order that it may be displaced by a new and more comprehensive, more solid and substantial Agreement. The relations which have now been established between our two countries have now closed a long period of contention and of heated argument in the course of which the two countries forgot how closely they could be united, how closely they could be held together in economic and moral community of interests. I sincerely hope that this period is closed for ever, and that we are now at the beginning of another period of sustained peace between the two countries, of a time of mutual trust and mutual goodwill. On many occasions in the Union, and in India, I have ventured to say, with a certain amount of detail, what the Capetown Agreement did and meant. You will, of course, be well aware of its meaning yourselves, but you will perhaps allow me to say that the Capetown Agreement is one of the most statesmanlike things that have happened within the British Empire in the past few years. The whole credit goes to the present Government of South Africa, and I take this opportunity of saying so. I must say how much my people and my countrymen appreciate, and how I appreciate the courage and the high magnanimity with which they came to conclusions in some respects the very opposite to those they originally held. Sufficient praise, I must say, could not be given to those who reversed their policy to start both countries on the path of mutual friendship, and on a new career of amity.

I have here a message which I shall read to you from the Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., at New Delhi. Sir Muhammad, as you all know, led the delegation that came to South Africa with such happy results. This is his message :—

“ I send you and all friends with you to-night greetings and good wishes for the pleasant evening. Though not present in the flesh, I shall be present with you all in spirit. You meet to-day to commemorate an historic event, namely, the foundation of a new understanding between India and South Africa, on the basis of amity, goodwill and mutual regard. Its significance is not

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limited to the satisfactory adjustment of a question of outstanding importance. In the perspective of time, that question will come to occupy but a minor place. The true value of the Capetown Conference lies in the object lesson which it provides of what two members of the British Commonwealth can achieve by co-operation in the solution of common problems. May the spirit which marked our deliberations in 1926 and 1927 daily grow stronger."

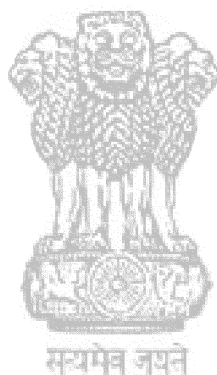
When that message is read in the Press to-morrow, I venture to think there will be very few who will not say "Amen" to the concluding portion.

Now, if I may be permitted to say a personal word, I have undertaken the duties of Agent-General for a time. The office is quite new. What its precise duties are, and how they should be conducted, where my headquarters are to be—all these are questions which fall to my lot to settle. I do not think I have settled any one of these questions, and it will be some time before I do. Meanwhile, I ask the Ministers more particularly, when necessary, to show some necessary indulgence in judging the conduct of one who finds himself in what, I may say, is a trying position. I hope nothing I may say or do in the way of making representations will cause the smallest inconvenience to the Ministers. I hope that nothing I may do or say will embarrass either the Government or my successor in office.

सत्यमेव जयते

*Despair is
Hope . . . "*

*Mr. Sastri delivered the
following speech at the
Rotary Club, Durban, in
March, 1928:*



THIS is the second occasion within six months that I have had the privilege of addressing Rotarians of Durban. I greatly appreciate the honour, and trust you will forgive me if I have to open the subject of Indian affairs, which is of practical importance to us all—to you no less than to me. The Agreement about which I am to speak to-day was concluded somewhat over a year ago. It has been in operation for only two months. Its essence can be stated in two words—repatriation and upliftment; the sending away of such members of the Indian community as will reduce their numbers to what I have already called “man-

“Despair is Hope”

ageable proportions ” on one hand, and on the other, of helping the rest—those who remain here—to become a useful and permanent part of the population of this country. These are the two aims the Agreement kept before it. As to the first, the repatriation scheme has now been improved, and these improvements are so great that they, by themselves, justify the Agreement, because we no longer call it repatriation, but assisted emigration. Sometime ago, the Minister of the Interior spoke in Parliament about the way in which this part of the Agreement was working. He expressed great satisfaction. As a matter of fact, the new terms under which people are taken away to India came into operation only in August of last year, but even so, the figures of those who have been returned to India are so striking that the Minister was quite right in expressing his gratification. To give you an idea of how this part of the Agreement is working, I will give you the figures. In the first part of last year, the scheme was not in operation, but knowing that the scheme would begin to work, the number of those who went back from January to June was 1,320. In the latter part, from July to December, the number rose to 1,655. But it is the figures for this year that are the most striking. During the three months, January to March, there have gone back 1,008 Indians, and there is no sign of slackening. On the other hand, there are more people waiting on the lists than can be shipped back to India.

These figures show results which even the most sceptically minded will admit to be satisfactory. I have only to say under this head that the Government of India are doing their very best to see that those who go back are looked after, so that very encouraging accounts will come back to their friends and kinsmen here. To assure you how the Government of India undertook this part of their duty, the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, Mr. Venn, is now on a visit to India, and I believe that when he comes back he will express his satisfaction at the way in which repatriates are being looked after.

In the second part of my address—upliftment—I hope that those Indians who are to remain here will be helped to achieve such a condition that they will no longer be a menace to the people, but, on the other hand, be a useful section

"Despair is Hope"

of the community, and perhaps reflect no discredit upon those among whom they live.

But upliftment needs not only wise brains, but efficient organisation, and a great deal of money. It is not wise to expect quick results. But it is necessary, on the other hand, to see that no time is lost, and that the best minds in the country are set to work to see that this part of the agreement is in operation as well.

For nothing is more clear than this, that even if assisted emigration works to the top of its abilities, there will be still left on your hands a section of the community relative to your own people, that you cannot afford to let them remain where they are now. In point of view of education, status of life, and in every conceivable point, they are not now as they might well be. It seems to me that it is not sufficiently realised here that the Indians who are here, though they may not be brought from amongst the best section of Indians, are not such as are hopeless. From them a good deal more may be drawn for the benefit of the entire community than is now being drawn, and I entreat you to bear in mind that, if treated with sympathy and consideration, they are certain, in the course of a few years, not only to do credit to themselves, but to be of a certain amount of use to the community here. You may not all appreciate this point of view, for I do not think that everyone knows the Indian very well. You know him occasionally by sight, but you know him more by prejudiced reports you hear. For I have no hesitation in saying that the Indians are held in far less esteem than they deserve to be. Even his virtues are set down as vices, and placed to his discredit. This is, however, the result of a point of view which, it is to be hoped, will change. One of the ways, according to the Agreement, upliftment is to be applied to the Indian community, is to improve the conditions of their education. That condition is described in the Capetown Agreement as "grave," and there is no doubt it merits that opprobrious epithet. There is going to sit in Maritzburg within the next few days a commission which will conduct an enquiry into this subject, and it will not be fitting for me to anticipate the results of their labours, or in any way embarrass their activity. But there is one point of view I must bring before you to-day.

"Despair is Hope"

The question of education lies at the very root of all other aspects of this grave problem. If you educate a people, you provide them with the best means of looking after themselves. Illiteracy is in every conceivable way, literally and economically, a real menace. The Indians must be said to-day to be an illiterate community. Some of you forget that point of view, and say this is the state of things in India. I do not deny it. I do not wish for a moment to deny it, but that is not the right way to look at it. If that were the right way, we might all give way to despair at once. What you should have before your minds is, "These Indians are going to remain here; how are we going to keep them?" For they will soon be your own people. There is to-day more than two-thirds of the Indian population who are colonial-born, who do not know India and who are fast forgetting their own language. In ten years' time the whole of the Indian population here will be part of the country—born here and brought up amongst you. Towards them your duty must be of a far different character to those who have just come here and may go back. It is therefore essential that you examine their South African point of view and not their Indian point of view. We in India have failed because of our point of view and partly because of financial reasons. But you must think of the problem from your own standpoint. A large section of your permanent people remaining sunk in illiteracy is to you unbearable. There is no reason why you should have this problem on your hands if it is possible for you to rectify things. Conditions in India are rotten, but they should not be rotten here. Speaking to you as the Agent for the Government of India, I must ask you that in your interests and in the interests of your children the continued existence of an illiterate, uneducated people living cheaply on the very margin of existence and possibly sinking even below that level, the continued existence of such a people is a thing you cannot contemplate with equanimity. It is from that point of view that we urge again and yet again to give the matter your attention. You may say, 'we will give them suitable education but what shall it be?' Now, what it shall be is laid down in the Agreement.

"Despair is Hope"

That portion of the agreement says "The Union Government—and I may say that 'Government' means every part of the Union and not merely one part—believes in and adheres to the principle that it is its duty and the duty of every civilised government to uplift every section of its permanent population and that the duty of every civilised government is to devise ways and means of uplifting every section of every population." Further, it is realised that, "in respect of education and other facilities that part of the Indian population that will remain in this country is part of the permanent people and they cannot be allowed to lag behind any other section." Now, gentlemen, that is the language employed in the agreement. You see how far it goes. It does not shrink from the position that you must place the Indian community if possible upon the level of other communities resident in this country. There is another way to look at it. If this is too much then you may say: 'It is no good. What type of education is the Indian to receive?' But it is no use considering what other people do. But rather say 'what can we do?' If you look at it from that point of view the problem is not very difficult. I can assure you that anyone that is daily with the Indian children will not hesitate to say that the capacity to receive education and benefit by it of an Indian lad is not less than the capacity of a European lad. I have spoken to your educationalists and they say that the schools they have visited for Indians are not in any respect inferior to the schools reserved for Europeans. They are inferior in respect of everything which the Government provides, but in the matter of brains and in the power of submitting to discipline the one set of schools is in no way inferior to the other. On the other hand, in some peculiar ways the Indian is quicker to receive. If that be the case there is no doubt whatever of his capacity, and this should be more fully recognised than hitherto.

The next point is where the money is to come from for this. Now look at this from the general point of view, for if the Indian population is to be reduced to "manageable proportions" then the question of where the money is to come from need not arise. It is a question for the statesmen. The money has got to be found. Where it can be taken from

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to the best advantage is not a question for me—an outsider—to discuss, but I will say that the money for Indian education does not seem to come from the people of this town. It is financed by a stipend of £5 per head of the Indian population, and whether in Government schools or aided schools £5 is the annual subsidy. It may be that this will not be enough.

There again I can say little. It is the peculiar province of the Commission which is due to sit at Maritzburg. But there are those who allege that the whole of the £5 is not even spent on Indian education. But on European education a good deal more is spent than even the Government allowance. This amount is taken from the general resources of this Province to support one branch of education. Many people to whom I have spoken and who are out of sympathy with Indian education have asked 'Why should I pay for the support of Indian children?' Now, I have already said that the Indian problem is to be regarded as your own and you can look upon it with no degree of equanimity. Gentlemen, in your position who have votes and power to determine the nature of your government, once you realise fully that you must not treat the Indian population as alien but as part and parcel of your own population, you will not disparage them. Once you realise that point of view you will say, 'Yes, we accept them, the burden and responsibility, but where is the money coming from?' The resources of this Province such as they are, do not seem to be quite adequate for this purpose, and it may be necessary to press the Union Government to increase the subsidy. In respect of European children the subsidy is £16 16s. 8d. There is no apparent reason why Indian children should take only £5 to educate. I will indicate one respect where this disparagement no longer holds. There is no arrangement in Natal for the training of Indian teachers. They are not trained. In their spare time these teachers go to some place where lectures on education are given and at the end of a year of such casual training sit for an examination. I have been repeatedly told by the Superintendent of Education that there is a most urgent need for quarters for the training of Indian teachers, for there is much more required for

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teachers than for the upbringing of pupils. No money, however, has been set aside for that purpose. It will be necessary to impress upon the Union Government the necessity for a fixed subsidy and there should be no disparagement between European and Indian teachers' training facilities. A sum must be set aside quite adequate for the purpose in view.

One more point. There is a belief that the Indian community is not sufficiently taxed. If this is so then your system of taxation must be revised, if you have allowed one section of the community to escape entirely by means of bringing them in your financial Acts. It astonished me to be told that this was so, for I remembered that while the Indian community have no votes the European community hold the votes and shape the Government. It will not be believed in any part of the world that the vassals have escaped taxation and that the burden has been borne by the masters. However, we will not shirk the issue but please remember that this is a different question altogether. Taxation must stand upon its own footing. If a particular community enjoys an advantage over others it is not fair to argue with that community. Both things are in your complete control.

And now, Rotarians of Durban, I have enjoyed much of your hospitality. You have given me consideration and courtesy beyond what I believe I am entitled to, and I am very much in your debt. When I first came to this country everybody said I was undertaking a hopeless task. One or two said, "Mr. Sastri, you are welcome, but let me tell you that your task is almost impossible for you are up against a dead wall." There are some here that I see now who told me so and I came over in that belief myself.

But there is Higher Power than we that determines these things. It has pleased that Higher Power that we need not despair and there is a brighter spect to Indian affairs. I do not claim any glory, for a very large number of favourable circumstances has conspired to bring this about. But they are unwise who name a problem as insoluble, either in the field of politics or any other aspect of human affairs. Never is there reason for entire despair.

“Despair is Hope . . .”

I am reminded in these words by a few lines I once read in
Lorna Doone :

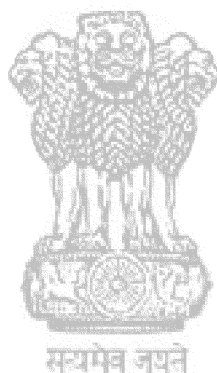
“ Despair was never so deep in being
as in seeming,

“ Despair is hope, just dropped to sleep
for better chance of dreaming.”

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Trade Relations

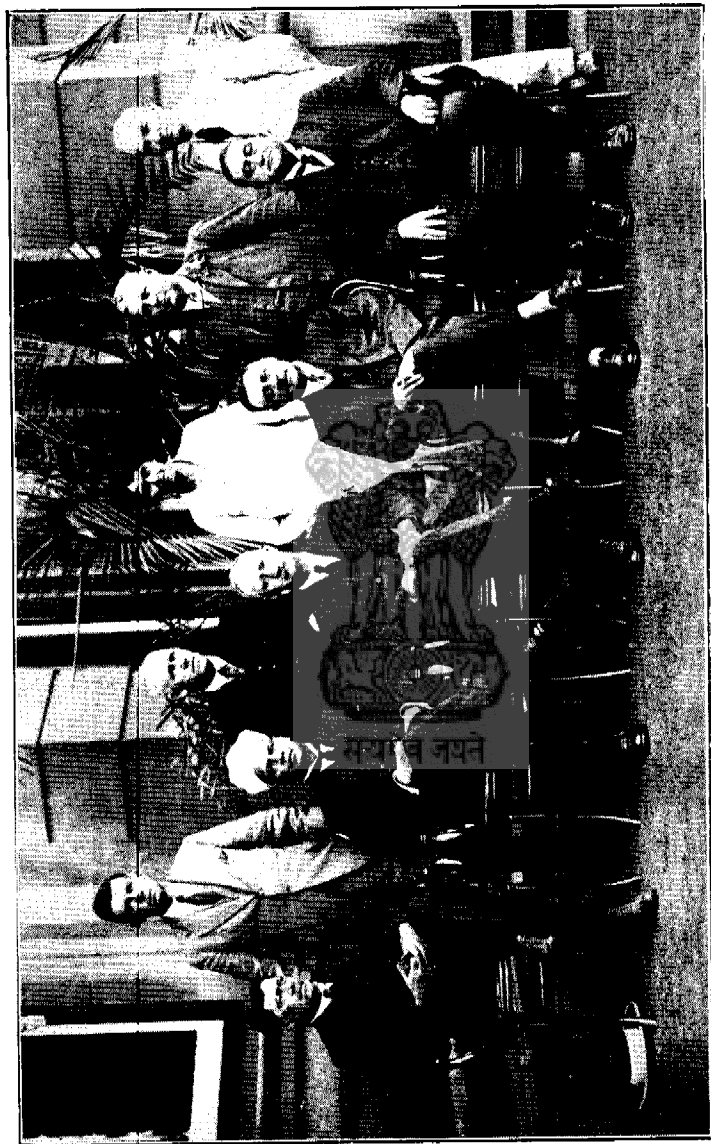
*Bidding farewell to the
Indian Trade Mission, who
were entertained to tea at
Mr. E. M. Paruk's resi-
dence, Durban, June, 1928,
Mr. Sastri said :*



On behalf of Mr. Paruk, our host to-day, I am happy to welcome Dr. Meek and the members of the Trade Delegation from India. As you know, they are about to sail home after a short stay in this country. Before they came to South Africa they had been to other countries as well. Their object, as I understand it, is to examine what opportunities there are for extending trade facilities between India and the countries they have visited. The result of their labours will be known in due time. What they have done in South Africa I have no means of knowing yet ; but I happen to know one thing, and that is that they have been received

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with the warmest welcome by all sections of the people of South Africa. From our own countrymen I need not say that they have received every mark of cordial friendship and welcome. There are people who think that between countries a lasting connection can be maintained solely by moral ties. That may or may not be so. But I should very much like to think that was the case here. Between South Africa and India in recent months, as you know, a great bond of friendship and goodwill has been brought into existence. We desire by every means in our power to give a lasting character to this bond so that it may be able to stand the strain of any differences that may arise similar to those that have held the two countries and people apart in the past. In that work of maintaining the goodwill and friendship that has been established we are bound to seek around for every possible aid, and it seems to me that the establishment of trade relations, the strengthening of material bonds of that kind would help in that great work, and I am full of hope that Dr. Meek and his colleagues of the Trade Delegation will be able to make a report upon their work here which will lead the two Governments in the future to strengthen those material bonds. It is in that hope that I welcome the Trade Mission from India. The direct effect of their work is important. It is not for me to say anything in depreciation of it, but Dr. Meek will allow me to say that this is one of those cases in which the indirect effect is quite as important and desirable as the direct effect. To you, Dr. Meek, and to your colleagues, we give you a hearty welcome and a humble entertainment in the name of Mr. Paruk. At the same time we wish you good-bye and a happy voyage home and a delightful and profitable conclusion to your extremely useful labours.

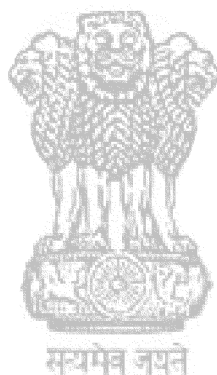


A HISTORIC COMMITTEE:

Mr. Sasri with the Members of the Natal Provincial Committee of Enquiry into Indian Education and the Educational Experts from India. Standing: Mr. F. H. Acutt, Mr. F. W. Fell, Miss C. Gordon, Mr. C. F. Clarkson, Mr. C. A. B. Peck (Secretary); front row: Mr. A. L. Pretorius, Mr. Sasri, Mr. J. Dyson (Chairman), Mr. F. C. Hollander, Mr. K. P. Kiehl.

Instance of Self-Help

Mr. Sastri, before calling upon the Administrator of Natal (Mr. Gordon Watson) to lay the foundation of the College (August 24, 1928) which now bears his name, said :



The promoters of this movement desire me on this auspicious occasion to make a short statement of its origin and progress. The inadequacy and unsatisfactory condition of Indian education has long been known to leaders of the community and the responsible authorities. The principal defect was the lack of an institution for professional training of the Indian teacher. The Department was naturally unable to undertake any large programme of extending educational facilities so long as it could not expect a supply of teachers who could be trusted to impart the rudiments of education according to approved methods. Nor were such

Instance of Self-Help.

men as could be found willing to teach equipped with sufficient general knowledge. We were advised that, if the community could erect a suitable building for the purpose, the Provincial Council might be persuaded to take it over and conduct a normal school. As the idea came to be thoroughly discussed, it was apparent that the zeal of the leading members of the Indian community was equal to the erection not only of a training school, but of an institution of the secondary grade. It was then resolved that funds should be raised for building a combined normal college and high school. The estimated cost was £20,000. As an inducement to donors, we offered to call a room in the institution by the name of each donor of £300 and over. Enthusiastic workers went round among wealthy Indians in Durban and all over Natal. Before long 31 gave their names for donations of £300 and over. Six of these have promised £500 and over. One whose name we have not his leave to mention, will give £750. We intend to name the library after him. The large hall will bear the name of four brothers who promised each £300 on that understanding. So far the promises total up to £16,374. The promoters are confident that the balance required will be forthcoming with a small margin in addition.

This site was chosen because three Indian schools are situated in the neighbourhood, and it would be easy for the teachers under training to do practical teaching work under proper supervision. An additional attraction is the proximity of the Indian play-ground. Till the college secures its own playground we may have to depend on the hospitality of the authorities for this playground, and it is to be hoped that it will be willingly and generously accorded.

The ground belongs to the Town Council of Durban. After much negotiation they granted us two acres on a lease of 25 years, renewable at our option for a second period of 25 years. Subject to certain conditions which need not be detailed now, the leasehold of the two acres was sold to us at a public auction. The nominal price was £5, and the annual rental has been fixed at £60. We wish to record our gratitude to the Town Council for their kindness and help.

Instance of Self-Help.

We submitted our proposals at an early stage to the Natal Indian Education Commission which sat recently in Pietermaritzburg. They were pleased to approve of them and on their recommendation the Provincial Council have accepted charge of the institution when it should be ready. To the Commission and the Council our thanks are due, and we render them now in all sincerity. His Honour the Administrator has allowed me to approach him frequently on the subject and extended courtesy and attention which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. From Mr. Hugh Bryan and Dr. C. T. Loram I have received an unfailing flow of sympathy, advice and assistance.

Our architects, Messrs. Kallenbach & Kenned, have prepared rough plans, which are now on view. They will show that we intend to build, besides the actual schoolhouse, a residence for the Principal and a hostel for about 40 inmates.

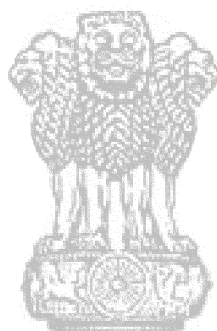
The promoters of this education scheme are conscious of its modest scope and therefore value in a special degree the recognition that His Honour has been pleased to give it by consenting to lay the foundation-stone this afternoon. We trust that it is a sign that the institution will pass in due time under the fostering care of the Provincial Administration, and the Department of Education, whom we earnestly request to maintain it in efficiency and popularity.

The presence, too, of many European ladies and gentlemen in response to our invitation we regard as a happy augury. Their sympathy and goodwill are not only valuable, but indispensable for the welfare of our institution, which can flourish only in a friendly environment. Now and then the Indian community pass under a cloud of political animosity which makes itself felt in various ways. Whatever these may be, let us hope that one of them will never again be the curtailment of the funds which ought to be devoted to their children's education. They surely are innocent and may not be punished for the real or fancied sins of their parents. To deny educational facilities, even though in part, to a community is to condemn it to inevitable stagnation and decay. Since the Capetown Agreement the accepted policy of the Union, and therefore of Natal, is that in respect of educational and other facilities the Indian

Instance of Self-Help.

community should not be suffered to lag behind any other element of the population.

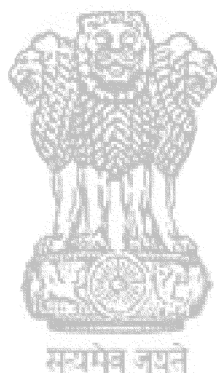
In the name of that noble policy we implore you this afternoon to countenance and support this school as an instance of the self-help of the Indian community, not indeed the only instance, but the most striking of many such instances.



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International Honour

Speaking to a mixed audience of Europeans and Indians at the City Hall, Johannesburg, in September, 1928, Mr. Sastri said:



I am very thankful to you, Mr. Mayor for advising my countrymen to listen to my advice—where, I daresay, I deserve to be listened to. There is before us, at the moment, a somewhat ticklish subject, the condonation of illicit entrant, upon which I am sorry to say some of my countrymen do not see eye to eye with me. I have been trying to make them understand the real nature of the scheme and to appreciate the good intentions and generosity of the Union Government in offering them, what I believe to be, on the whole, a fair and equitable plan of condonation.

International Honour.

Among many of the objections raised is one that goes to the very root of the position of the Indians within the British Empire. It has been mentioned more than once in somewhat important circles in this country, but I happen to know that it lies at the back of the minds of many of my countrymen. The objection is somewhat like this: Indians are British subjects. As such they have all the rights and privileges that subjects of Great Britain, and the white inhabitants of the British Empire, possess. The European British subjects, it will be conceded, enjoy the privileges of free movement and free residence anywhere within the Empire. The local laws, in some Dominions, may give the Government power to restrict entry of European British subjects. It is largely a power held in theory and is seldom brought into exercise, so as to make European people believe that they have this much cherished right to free movement.

It is otherwise with the Indian subjects. They are not looked upon by the British Dominions as welcome immigrants. Restrictions are placed upon their every movement so that at present it is no exaggeration to say that they are debarred from emigrating from India into any part of the British Empire. This cannot but be felt by the greater part of the Indian people as a slur upon their nation, and an attack on their national integrity.

In South Africa the Indian has special reason to feel hurt at the immigration restrictions, and here their feelings were aggravated by the memory of the bitter struggles through which they had to pass. They are apt to say here that, even though they may have entered this country by stealth they were only exercising a right of which they have been deprived from exercising by force. They do not feel that in making an illicit entry into the Union they have been doing any moral or political wrong, although by arbitrary local law their entry was prohibited.

To my countrymen I ask them to remember two very important things before allowing themselves to be carried too far by contemplation of this so-called grievance. It is not for people who have come here by the back door to say that they did so in the exercise of a right. If they were exercising a right they ought to have come by the

International Honour.

open door, announcing their arrival at the ports, and thus challenging the propriety of the local laws. If they came here illegally and were afterwards called to account, it was a strange proceeding to set up the claim of the exercise of their rights as British subjects.

Besides this consideration there is another no less convincing. When the local laws, prohibiting the immigration of Indians, were passed, it was not without consultation all round. These laws were considered necessary for the preservation of civilised standards in the Dominions. This consideration brought forward repeatedly at the Imperial Conferences led to an understanding between representatives of India and the Dominions, by which it was recognised that the Dominions and India also should have the right, if thought necessary, to exclude any people, whether belonging to the British Empire or not, whose entry was regarded as undesirable or unsuitable to their civilisation. The immigration laws that have been passed as a consequence have been in operation for years. It is true that India alone has not passed such laws, but by the reciprocal nature of the resolution she is able to do so even to-morrow. The fact that the Dominions have exercised their right before India does not render them open to reproach.

I will therefore exhort my countrymen to look at this matter from the point of view of international honour, of inter-Dominion honour, of honour between India and the Dominions. Let us carry out the understanding which, in the face of the British Parliament and Cabinet, we voluntarily entered into. We have no right to re-open that question, certainly not in connection with the measures taken by the Union Government to condone illicit entrance into this country.

Do not deceive yourselves by the plea that this understanding was arrived at by the Indian Government, without the consent of the people, or by the Indian Government, acting under improper pressure. That would be far from just. For really and truly, this understanding, hindering the free right of movement within the British Empire, was the result in the first instance in Indian history of the compromise to which Mahatma Gandhi himself was a party in this country.

International Honour.

Mr. Gandhi has found it necessary, after a prolonged, bitter struggle, to give up his right, for he discovered, from the attitude of the Europeans here, that there was some reason behind their persistent representations. He has yielded to the pressure of circumstances, but also persuading himself that, after all, there was something behind the solid wall of opposition to free immigration from India, not only to South Africa, but to Australia, Canada and New Zealand also. The attitude which repeated itself in all these Dominions could not be set down to sheer cussedness.

It was not for them, after so many years of acquiescence in the policy, to raise this issue again. It has been settled for all practical purposes between India and the Dominions, and assented to by the British Parliament.

It seems to me that we would be acting suicidally in reopening this question. I give you a solemn warning in the name of the Indian Government, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, and in the names of others of our great countrymen, whose names, if I mentioned them, you would rise up to greet. I call upon you in all their names—do not think of this aspect of the question, or let your minds be swayed by this sense of grievance.

Mr. Sastri then addressed himself to his European hearers in particular :

I have never ceased to urge my fellow-countrymen to reconcile themselves to the position. When, in 1914, Mr. Gandhi concluded the compact with General Smuts, my countrymen were sore at heart that the struggle, which redounded so much to their honour, should have ended in utter discomfiture, and resulted in the deprivation of their right of free movement, and their consignment to a position of subordination, in which very often they were called aliens. In the Great War, many Indians laid down their lives, and gave rice and other food in abundance, which, if kept in India, might have saved the lives of many people who died in India, during the influenza epidemic. Yet the Indians were called aliens. This could not easily be forgotten.

My countrymen would be right to forget it altogether, provided that, on the part of the Dominions, some recognition was given to the fact that this understanding arrived

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at in London has put us indeed into a position of inequality, and compelled us to suffer what we consider a serious loss of prestige from the political point of view.

To-day, what is the result of this Agreement? People who are not within the British Empire, and are not British subjects, and who are regarded as no more civilised than ourselves, are admitted freely into the British Dominions. The status of British subjects in connection with us is a penalty, therefore, and not a privilege.

It is not a pleasant thought, but it lies within the power of the European people here to dull the edge of this grievous sword.

When we were asked to submit to this necessity; when we were repeatedly pressed in London to give up this claim of unrestricted immigration, because we were not wanted in certain parts of the Empire, what were we told at the same time? We were told, especially by the South African representatives, again and again, that if only we would quietly submit to this necessity, and give up what we regarded our right of free movement within the British Empire, if only we freed the white population of the Dominions of the fear of being swamped by millions and millions of people from other countries, if only we agreed to this, we were promised that the part of the population which still remained within the Dominions would be treated justly and fairly as British subjects, and that they would no longer be treated as subordinates, but would be raised to full citizen rights, and be treated as British subjects, should they be anywhere in the British Empire.

These restrictive laws have been in operation for many years: you have been freed from your fears. But could it be justly said that you have taken any step to strike off the fetters which bind the Indians among you? Indeed, in this country, from time to time, legislation is proposed to still further bind the Indians—long suffering subjects of His Majesty. I wish I could tell you of the anguish of heart among Indians, among the younger generation which has the ideals of youth, as they contemplate the position which has arisen. I tell you that the knowledge that they have given up their undoubted rights on a promise which has not

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been fulfilled is engendering a disastrous feeling among thinking Indians.

It does not bode well for the peace of the Empire, and for the good understanding between the White and the Indian inhabitants owing allegiance to a common flag.

It is this consideration which I was commissioned by the Imperial Conference of 1921, this is the point of view which I was commissioned by the authorities of the Empire to go out and speak about in the Dominions. Accordingly, in 1922, I visited all the Dominions, except South Africa, and I may tell you now that Australia has admitted Indians in all respects to citizenship. New Zealand has done the same, and so has Canada, except in the province of British Columbia. It is only in South Africa that many grievances and disabilities are still existing in contravention of the promise your representatives made to us.

After these years, I am not coming here to make complaint. But I beg you to understand with sympathy the feelings of sorrow which we sometimes entertain upon this question. I ask you to help us to feel pride in our situation as British subjects, to help us to realise that we are consulting our own best interests by remaining loyal to the British Crown. We have to teach the young people of India to feel the same pride in the British Empire as you feel. How can we do so if you do not help us? It is this help which it is my duty on this occasion to solicit, with all the earnestness of my heart. नयन

The grievances which the Indian people now suffer in South Africa need not exist, and should not exist.

I appeal to you to change your hearts, if not on the common grounds of humanity, which should appeal throughout the world, but also on the common ground of citizenship of the British Empire. To some of you that may not sound a cogent reason, and so I would also appeal for great-hearted treatment, and some recognition for the willingness with which we surrendered the right of free movement when you made the promise of fair, just and equitable treatment for those in the country.

You who have an unassailable position throughout the world, I ask you to treat us chivalrously and even generously. Remember the sacrifices we have made at

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your demand in the war, and that we yielded without question to help far beyond our resources. Remember that the Empire had stood for freedom. Britain has gone throughout the world freeing subject races from the bonds of slavery, while we, within the Empire, must be kept in a position of subordination.

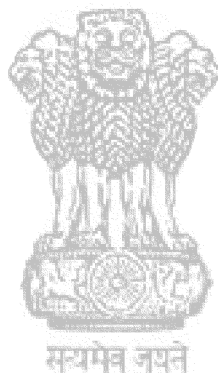
It seems to me that if only I make this appeal with sufficient frequency and sufficient conviction and earnestness, I should strike a chord of sympathy within your breasts, for I know that you are just and generous in your heart of hearts, and if you sometimes do the wrong thing in this matter, it is because of small considerations of the moment which prevail when there is no one on the spot to draw your attention to the higher Imperial considerations, and the higher grounds of justice and fair play, which, for the moment, are forgotten.

It will be wrong, even perfidious, for my people to try to re-open the question of free movement within the Empire, and it is no less wrong for South Africa to allow the smaller grievances to continue when it has attained its own point of view that the country must be protected from the influx of millions of Indians.

We are quite willing to sacrifice our rights, and to recognise the necessity of protecting yourselves, but, in return, where you have allowed us to remain among you, give us fair play and opportunities of civilised life. Give us facilities of trade and education. You cannot with propriety withhold these from us, who are, in common with you, subjects of the one Empire, and hold the same allegiance, and answered with you the call when danger threatened.

***I was
Going to
Speak . . . "***

The following is the report of the speech delivered by Mr. Sastri at Klerksdorp (September, 1928), when there was an attempt made by a small section of the audience to break up the meeting, an incident which was condemned on all sides, from the Prime Minister (General Hertzog) downwards:



The view I am about to express has been accepted by a considerable section of the South African population. It was wonderful to remember the unanimity with which the Capetown Agreement was received in India and South Africa, and in Great Britain also.

Those participating in the negotiations had approached their task without acrimony. Each side was careful in its own interests, but equally anxious to meet the wishes of the other side. Providence has blessed their task so far. The Agreement has stood the test of criticism, and will stand the test of the time.

The first consideration put forward has reference to the status of Indians in South Africa. What was to be done with them? Never till the Capetown Conference have they been accepted as part of the South African community.

A voice: And never will be.

"I was Going to Speak . . ."

Thanks to the forbearance and goodwill shown at that Conference, a position has been reached where they recommend a policy of another kind—justice and fair play to the Indians—and so to replace a policy that had become impracticable.

Indians have come to the aid of one Province, Natal, since incorporated in the Union, and they have grown in numbers. The disadvantages of their status have become more apparent on both sides, but it is a fruitless and disastrous occupation to dwell on the faults of the past. It is better to dwell on the fact that a new policy has now been inaugurated which will serve to bring the Indian question within manageable compass, and those of the Indians left here can be recognised as part of the South African population.

Voices: Never, never.

The second part of the Agreement is concerned with the uplift of the Indians in South Africa.

A voice: At the expense of the Europeans.

Is Klerksdorp so unlike other parts of the Transvaal as really to refuse me a patient hearing? I do not ask you to endorse my views, nor to endorse any of the proposals I put forward, but I do ask you seriously to consider the statements I make.

In Natal it has been urged that educational facilities should be so enlarged as to enable Indians to obtain the degree of education necessary to decent living. The Natal authorities have agreed to the appointment of a Commission, and after patient inquiry, measures of amelioration have been set on foot which, in a few years, I am confident, will bear fruit. In any uplift movement, the best means is to give decent education. This Natal action is noteworthy because it is in Natal that the menace of the Indian element has been most acute.

In the Transvaal, the authorities have always been good and liberal to the Indians, and any educational shortcomings were probably more the fault of the Indian than of the Government. The conditions of housing for Indians in Natal also called for betterment, particularly in and round Durban, where slums were largely the condition there for a long period.

The Government have agreed to undertake an inquiry, and the Minister of the Interior will soon create a Commission to begin its beneficent course in regard to housing.

The third question is trading licenses. Indians have long felt their only protection lay in the judicial tribunals of the land, in which they reposed full confidence. They desire, therefore, that their right of appeal from local bodies shall be amplified rather than curtailed. All that the Government will undertake is a promise to offer additional facilities when the opportunity arises again to revise legislation controlling trading. So long as this question is an open one, it is likely to curtail the facilities for appeal by Indian traders. I nevertheless have no hesitation in recommending the acceptance of the Capetown Agreement.

Mr. Morgan Evans, the Deputy-Mayor, who had made frequent interjections in the course of the address, rose and protested that Afrikaners had not come there to listen to an Indian.

"I was Going to Speak . . ."

Several persons called on Mr. Morgan Evans to sit down, and others cried, "chuck him out."

At this stage there was a great hubbub and the lights went out and a stink-bomb was thrown, the odour of which was overpowering on the platform. It was therefore decided to continue the proceedings in the open air.

On the resumption of the meeting the Mayor, Mr. Erasmus Jooste, feelingly said, "I knew that sooner or later I would have to make an apology, and I now make a heart-felt apology to our distinguished visitor. I deeply regret that one of our foremost townsmen has taken part in the occurrence, and I am thoroughly ashamed that these incidents should have occurred in our town. The perpetrators of the disturbance are cowards, and as they have now cleared out, I hope Mr. Sastri will continue his address."

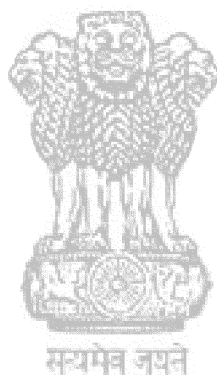
Said Mr. Sastri, smiling, and seemingly the least perturbed person in the gathering: I was going to speak when we changed our venue—(laughter)—upon another phase of the Agreement.

The Union Parliament was in session at the time. Questions from members were possible, but no reference of a hostile character was made concerning the Agreement. The Government has given it their blessing, and the South African Party leader has expressed the view that the Agreement should have a fair chance, General Smuts remarking that if there was merit in the Agreement, he intended to place no let or hindrance in the way of its being consummated, an undertaking which had been loyally observed.

There are men of both political parties present, and I am going to make an appeal that the Capetown Agreement shall be placed beyond the pale of party politics. In international affairs there must be a continuity of agreement, so no matter what Government was in power in South Africa, the Agreement should remain, and it is for all South Africans to see that their national honour is maintained intact.

Indian Philosophy

*Under the auspices of the
Philosophical Society of
the University of Wit-
watersrand, in September,
1928, Mr. Sastri delivered
the following lecture:*



UPWARDS of 4,000 years ago, one branch of the great Aryan race dwelt on the banks of the great rivers of Upper India. The resources of nature were sufficient to spare them much physical exercise, for they could easily obtain the simple things they wanted without much trouble. The silences of the forest, profound and solemn, enabled the great Rishis of old to obtain communion with nature of a kind to which we moderns were absolutely unaccustomed. During that intercourse with nature, they obtained an insight into her secrets, which in these days appear simply marvellous. In particular, the Indian mind, endowed with

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a gift for speculation, was fond of devoting itself to research in the metaphysical region.

Many schools of philosophy arose at that time, and they began to differ, and at last crystallised into schools with specific names. Every variety of opinion was represented. There were atheists, sceptics, materialists, idealists, and there were realists similar to those of whom they heard in Western philosophy. The way in which they discovered those truths—for every one of them called himself only a discoverer—was not through the ordinary processes of reasoning, but by the employment of what was sometimes called, in modern times, the power of intuition.

I cannot tell exactly how intuition differed from the positive methods of reasoning in which such unbounded belief is placed to-day, but it is thought the Rishis, the sages of old, in their communion with nature, developed to a special degree the power of seeing and reading truths on the face of nature. Their discoveries were recorded, not in books, but in the memories of their pupils. In time, the book was called Veda, which meant knowledge. The Veda, therefore, being the record of the intuitional knowledge of the time, came to be considered a sacred book. What was contained in it, obtained in this extraordinary way, was regarded as infallible, and no man could set up any theory or propagate any lesson in philosophy unless he found some warrant for it in that sacred book.

Of course, there were those who rejected the authority of that scripture, as, for example, the Buddhists. About the same time, however, there were other schools, strictly basing themselves on that great authority, and they, being called orthodox, came to be grouped under six heads. Only two of those schools had come down to our time—the two schools of Mimamsa—the science of exegesis.

The first of these two schools concerned itself with the ritual prescribed in the Veda, and might therefore be dismissed, for it was concerned more or less with a degree of ceremonialism that has become a thing of the past. The other branch of Mimamsa was known by the name of Vedanta, which meant the end, or the last aim of the Veda, the final teachings as crystallised by the great masters.

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There were four points upon which all those orthodox systems were agreed, and which formed the mental food upon which those philosophies were fed. The first idea was the existence of the human soul. I use the word "human," for in the East, even animals and the vegetable kingdom have souls. The soul of the ancients of India existed, and was immortal.

In the next place, the actions of each individual existed, as it were, and bore fruit in an endless cycle. Under the various motives and desires, that actuated us, we performed certain deeds. Those deeds had unseen effects that went on reproducing themselves in an endless cycle. That was the theory of Karma, which meant deed or action. There was no deed or action for which a man might be responsible but which must work out its consequences in his own life. That ruthless repetition of deeds and results had gone on always, and was called Samsara. That word was so common in Indian literature that it had crept into English literature. It means the repetition of lives on this planet. Each soul upon death was not extinguished, but was reborn to work out the consequences of its deeds in the birth that had closed. And so it went on in an endless cycle. This theory was called the theory of transmigration.

The fourth idea was exceedingly important. This world, where we had got to be born and to die, to be born again, and to die again, where we had done this from the beginning, and apparently without end as well, this world was, therefore, a world of pain. This pain must be got rid of. But how? It could never be got rid of unless the individual got, somehow or other, out of the sway of that eternal cycle of birth and death. All these philosophies, therefore, had as their aim the instruction of man in the methods of liberating himself from that apparently endless cycle of birth and death. Each philosophy put up its own method, and of these, the method of the Vedanta has now become the most famous in India, and had much the largest following amongst the Hindu population.

The Vedanta itself had subdivided, and the subdivision that had reached the greatest reputation in the world was that connected with the names of Badarayana and Sankara. Badarayana wrote down the substance of this philosophy in

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the form of sutras. The most famous of the commentaries written on the book of Badarayana was written about the beginning of the Christian era by a great scholar, Sankara, who was in many ways an original philosopher, although he called himself merely a commentator. Sankara's theory was so rigid a type of monism that it was now considered among those who could judge as perhaps the most acute and most severely logical type of monism extant.

It is this monism with which I propose to deal, to give you some idea of the great philosophy of India. I am afraid I may not be always clear. Besides the extraordinary difficulty of the subject I labour under the additional difficulty of speaking upon it for the first time in my life. I have not studied philosophy in the schools. I picked it up as I went along in life, and this is the first occasion upon which, in my capacity as an interpreter of Indian thought to the West—a capacity which has been forced upon me here—it is on this occasion that I attempt for the first time to clothe my crude thoughts in words.

All consciousness, every effort or act of our consciousness, disclosed two parts, which seemed to be opposed to each other : the subjective element and the objective element, the perceiver and the perceived. The relation between subject and object puzzled philosophers from the beginning of time. Various theories had been put forward, but Sankara rejected them all and built up one of his own.

Sankara said that both the subjective and the objective were real, agreeing with the realists to that extent. To him it was wrong to separate into two parts what were united together as one act of consciousness. Sankara said that what we called the intellect of the consciousness and what we called the materiality of the objective world were only two different aspects of the same fact of human experience. To Sankara, therefore, the deep-lying reality which showed itself in consciousness both as subject and object was the fundamental substratum of the whole universe.

From the point of view of that substratum both subject and object would become objective. Therein lay the great secret. From the point of view of that great reality that lay at the back of all things, both our thoughts and the material world, both mind and matter, subject and object,

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consciousness and the things that appeared in our consciousness, all became objective or phenomenal. In the same way mind and matter, soul and matter, were but reflections of that deep-lying reality.

It was that reality which was called in Indian literature Brahman. Of its nature nothing was known. Our minds were finite; Brahman was infinite. Our minds and the matter we conceived were both conditioned, limited; Brahman was unconditioned, Brahman had no limits. The space and time and causality within which our mind worked did not touch this Brahman. The words, therefore, that we used, the concepts that we formed, the images which to us illustrated and embodied great truths could not picture to us the real nature of this Brahman. It was beyond words, indescribable, a thing of which we could not even form the remotest idea. It was purely within the region of metaphysics. Of it all that could be said was, "It is." It could only be described by negatives. The moment some positive quality was attributed to it it began to be limited.

There was nothing in this world but this one reality, this Brahman. We saw innumerable souls, we saw matter in countless forms, but they could only be in some way or other, in some shape or other, defaced, disfigured, deformed it might be, but they must be this Brahman and nothing else. The question was: If Brahman was indestructible, changeless, eternal, how did this phenomenon occur? Nobody knows. Nobody could know. But the human mind was a strange thing. It would not be content with that answer, so the philosophers said: "We do not know at all. It is Maya." It was some deception, some screen or veil that hid the truth from us, which we therefore could not see as it was, but which we were obliged to see through that medium that was our finite intellect.

Maya had therefore come to mean in a personified form some deceiving female deity, for according to the unanimous testimony of man in ancient times woman was ever the deceiver. Maya, then, of which the nature could not be defined, because it partook of the nature of that fundamental reality and also of the nature of the phenomenal world, was sometimes called the unreal and sometimes the real, but most people called it the real unreal, the existent non-

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existent, being non-being, because on the one side it had the real nature of Brahman and on the other hand it enabled us in some way or another to catch a shadow of this Brahman. It therefore partook of the noumenal and the phenomenal. Undefinable Maya was the thing which had veiled from the gaze of man this infinite Brahman.

Then we come to the innumerable individual souls. Maya must, therefore, be the person who somehow or other created these souls, divided up the indivisible Brahman into innumerable souls. The next question was : If this Samsara or eternal birth and death had no beginning, had it an end? Could man shake himself free from this bondage and be restored to his original Brahmanhood, and escape this pain which was the inevitable concomitant of life upon earth? To this Sankara gave the answer in the affirmative. There were critics who applied the definition of pessimism to the Vedanta philosophy. Almost all Eastern philosophies started with the idea of pain, which was accompanied by that repeated birth and death, but they ended up by teaching how to get rid of that pain. Surely, therefore, pessimism was not the word to apply. This escape was represented as Moksha. But how could that liberation be reached?

By the action of that Maya the individual soul seemed to have lost sight of its original nature. It had only to know that nature somehow and then Maya disappeared, for Maya was only another word for cosmic ignorance. Getting rid of that ignorance meant getting the true knowledge. That was why in Sankara's philosophy the way of liberation was described as true knowledge. But that could not be obtained by the ordinary man. Only God's grace could give it. It was knowledge of the ordinary type. It was not of the phenomenal world. It was something that had to come from the great beyond. If a man with his inmost being apprehended the doctrine that he was the real Brahman, he had obtained that knowledge.

The Vedanta knowledge was superior to the ordinary metaphysics, to ordinary psychology, to ordinary religion, which was called lower knowledge. My people differentiated between the higher knowledge or the divine wisdom and the lower knowledge or the phenomenal wisdom. The whole of Vedanta was a vast system built up in order to

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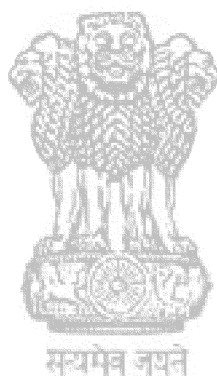
enable them to obtain if possible that higher wisdom—the recognition with their inmost being of the idea that they were Brahman. To obtain the fullest Moksha, the last stage of salvation, to the merit acquired by works and worship must be added the merit of knowing, of knowledge.

To some people to whom this grace of God did not come for its higher purpose, the common method of worshipping a limited or conditioned form of Brahman was permissible. Brahman might either be the undifferentiated, unconditioned, unlimited Brahman, that could not be described at all, or Brahman might be worshipped, be regarded in the light of a personal God. But Sankara would say that those who obtained liberation through that worship of a conditioned or personal God would obtain it only in the lower form. There was a still higher form of liberation that was only open to those who added to worship, to works, the superior merit of esoteric wisdom.

It is true to say that the world is Brahman; it is true to say that the individual soul is Brahman; but it will not be true to say that Brahman is the world, that Brahman is the individual soul. To those who know logic it is perfectly clear. It was exceedingly difficult to employ the ordinary language of our logic and psychology in the description of the Brahman, of the higher metaphysics involved in Sankara's teachings.

It is a mistake to say that Sankara's philosophy is the cold worship of the abstract, which cannot be worshipped—that it has no ethics in it at all, and even no possibility of ethics. The perception of Brahman is obtainable only to those who are pure in their hearts, who have done good deeds and avoided bad deeds, who have lived in the eye and under the fear of God, men who have first conquered everything that is low and base in them.

*If I
Were Young*

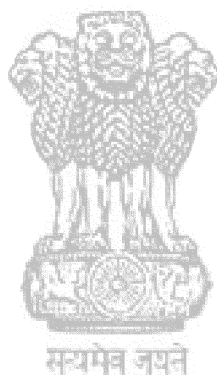


THIS is the work which I should have taken up when I was young. It is a work which demands youth, with its vision and optimism to help in bringing about a state of the South African Indian acceptable to the country; an enlightened community that any people will be proud to claim its own.

I am now old, weak in strength and the power to do. It was the will of the people of India that I came. Had it only been a few years ago! I wish for strength so that I can move about from one end of the country to the other wherever a solitary Indian is to be found sounding a clarion call to duty to this his country of domicile and birth.

Resolutions for Indians

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., Agent-General for India, responded to the invitation of the editor of "The Natal Advertiser" by submitting the following threefold resolution for 1929 as specially applicable to the Indian people resident in South Africa:



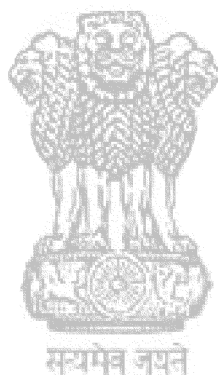
(1) I will remember that the great principles of impartial justice and equality of opportunity for all are not yet firmly established in the world, and that I must exercise patience if I am to help towards their firm establishment.

(2) I will remember that in this land I must regard all Indians, Moslem, Hindu or Christian, as my brethren and help all alike.

(3) I will hope for the best from the Capetown Agreement and have faith in the growing friendship and good understanding between Indians and Europeans in this country.

The Women of India

*The following address was
delivered by Mr. Sastri to
the members of the South
African Efficiency Club,
Johannesburg, in Novem-
ber, 1928:*



I HAVE much pleasure in being present amongst you and enjoying the opportunity of enabling you to understand the conditions under which your sisters live in India. I shall not dwell too long upon conditions in India, but shall confine myself to the topic of women in India.

At the same time it might be well to fill up the background of the picture. It will not be a bad idea if I were to describe the ideals and customs against which the present-day facts have to be understood.

The ideal of women in India is of the old world still. We have not changed it. Woman is still considered to be

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more or less subordinate to man. She is not entitled to live her own life. The idea would be viewed with surprise in India that she had an individuality of her own. She is supposed to have neither soul nor will. Her business was to grow no will of her own, and if she did have it, she had to learn to suppress it. Her will had at all times to be subordinated to that of her protector.

The woman of India is always protected. In her childhood she is protected by her father. Before she is much of a girl, she is passed on to a husband. In her old age (and let it be remembered in India people age more quickly than here) she passes under the protection of her son. She is never without protection of one kind or another.

It is not considered proper for woman to be mistress of herself, or her own destiny. She has no right to guide her own life. As her individuality is of no account, she ought to have no strongly marked wishes. Her needs must be few, and such as can be co-ordinated and made to fit in with those of her protector.

Marriage is according to the Hindu ideal, obligatory for woman. She cannot escape it. There seems to have been a backward step here, for some 2,500 years ago it was permissible for women to follow the interests of learning. She could pursue learning even at the expense of abandoning her own home. But now it is obligatory for every woman to settle down, and beget children. Woman is considered as a child, the property of man—to be used in subservience to his will and economic interests.

The "old maid" is hence unknown in India. Moreover, since marriage is obligatory, it is obviously unwise to let woman grow up to an age when she might have a will of her own. She has to be mated before she shows any signs of individual characteristics which might make her undesirable as a wife. It follows, therefore, that a husband had to be given the girl at a very early age, long before she had a chance to express her own taste or preferences. There was a time when girls had to become betrothed at a very early age, and even now twelve is not considered young. It must be remembered that even in Europe, where girls do not often marry before maturity, the actual legal

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age of marriage is somewhere about thirteen. In India practice and legal opinion go together.

Marriage in India does not, however, mean what you understand it, but mere betrothal. The bride and bridegroom do not begin to live together until several years later. But it is the betrothal ceremony that is of great importance, for the assurance of the disposal of the girl is then gained.

The act of betrothal is never gone back upon. It is considered absolutely binding—so binding, that if the man dies before the consummation of the marriage, the bride is considered a widow, even when they have never lived together.

Widowhood in India is specially miserable. A widow is a widow always : she cannot marry again, however tender in age she may be. In our Census Books these girls are referred to as widows. We find widows even in ages ranging from five to ten. These are, however, comparatively few considering the population of the country. Nevertheless, there is a number, which considered in itself is shocking : a hundred thousand innocent children, still romping about the streets, ignorant of worldly things, have become widows, and so they must remain for life. This ideal of marriage is so cruel, and antagonistic to the demands of human nature, that some communities have rebelled against it and have adopted a system wherein widows re-marry.

The ideals of womanhood are such as to make marriage obligatory, women wholly dependent, betrothal as binding as marriage, and widowhood enforced. If this is the fate and destiny of womanhood in India it is not difficult to understand that education in the modern sense of the word is impossible. Where the girl is a mother at 15 or 16, her education must be ended before she is 12 or 13, and she cannot learn a good deal, especially when to all this is added the idea that a woman's function is to cook for her husband, bring up her children, look after the household, be good, chaste and unoffending, and have no strongly-marked character of her own. This is the background.

Where an ideal is harsh, it is seldom lived up to. People get round it. These basic ideals if faithfully followed would result in much unhappiness. It seems as if women could

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never be happy under such conditions. But when one speaks of happiness, one is on dangerous ground. The human mind is so elastic, so easily pressed into moulds, it is difficult to ascertain where happiness is found. The need of happiness is so great that it is possible for people in unpromising circumstances to be happy, and people in bright circumstances to be unhappy. That depends on the way we bring up our minds. It is the mind that makes Heaven of Hell, and Hell of Heaven. It is possible for people living on small incomes to be happy and cheerful. Soldiers in trenches snatching a little of dangerous pleasure present such a picture.

Some people are more thoughtful than others. If some of your women came to India, lived amongst our women, and studied their happiness you would find that human nature is capable of an enormous amount of accommodation. Really a good part of our womankind are happy in their own way. If they had tasted liberty and freedom, had education, experienced social intercourse, and were in the habit of receiving attention from men, then the conditions under which they lived would bring them misery and unhappiness. If any of you married Indians, you would most likely be unhappy. But the ideals and standards of Indian woman-kind are perfectly contrasted to yours. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that, considering the circumstances, they are quite as happy in their own way as perhaps you are. That is when we understand the inner meaning of happiness, which is something entirely individual, and depends upon our own mode of thought.

Do not be carried away by the idea that the women of India are creatures of woes and sorrows. There are many whose protectors will not allow them to be unhappy. The woman has the love of her husband and children. Those of you who are happily married can understand that if there is a child in the house then that home is heaven. The women of India have that, and are not objects of commiseration.

In this world everything changes, even ideals—or the world would cease to move, and God's purpose would be frustrated. In India ideals have changed recently, and are now continuing to change more rapidly. I have lived fifty years with a mind capable of understanding and feeling the changes that have taken place which are absolutely mar-

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vellous. When I consider how my mother was circumstanced, I realise that my wife came into a greatly improved life of refinement and happiness. But the circumstances under which my daughter is growing up, marks an even greater improvement on my wife's condition.

There is no truth in the theory that the East is unmoving, goes to sleep, and wakes only when there is a volcanic shock. Those of us in India who have seen the West, and would like to see conditions in the East approximate to those in the West, are satisfied with the reform.

There is a great Reform Movement now in India. A modern system of education has been planted there thanks to the sleepless activity of the Christian Mission and the British Empire. This has brought about an entire change in the outlook of our national life. Owing to the change of ideals, our womanhood is receiving liberation. The modern student wants his sister and wife educated. He is struggling hard to raise the age of marriage, and to bring about a state of things which would make marriage optional. Moreover, an attempt is being made to enable widows to re-marry.

In a world where there are widows of all ages, we concentrate on the girl widow. Reform would be surer and more stable when the primary appeal is made to conscience with regard to those who never have been wives, and are already widows.

So we see how all India's energies are concentrated in replacing old world ideals by those we see in more civilised communities. No real progress in Society and social institutions can take place unless the efforts of enlightened men are reinforced by the efforts of enlightened women.

All the world over many of the reforms for the enlightenment of women have been attacked by women themselves. The enfranchisement of women has been opposed by women as much as by men. This is the fate of all reform movements in India. Perhaps the worst enemy of the emancipation of slaves was the slave himself.

Now when we lift our hand to assist her, woman says, "No. Do not make us change our ways of living. Leave us where we are." They seem in love with the chains that fetter their feet. At the same time we find women taking

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their share in all Reform Movements. The first fruits of having given the franchise to women on equal terms with men are now being seen in all the Legislative Councils. Not only do women vote in India, but they also sit on our Legislative Councils.

In Madras a woman is Deputy-President of a Legislative Council where the preponderating element is men. A woman has made herself responsible for three of the four measures of reform. She is working hard to raise the age of marriage, to improve conditions of children, and in strengthening the work of our hospitals and dispensaries. Her efforts are meeting with a good deal of response—more response than would have met the efforts of mere man. These tendencies are strongly marked in Madras, but are likewise operating in other Provinces. This is the redeeming feature of a situation with a black background.

The condition of woman's education is improving considerably. Whereas education was once considered harmful for woman, and calculated to unsex her, it is now reckoned very necessary. No mother is now content to bring up her girls in a state of illiteracy. In all the Provinces are found separate girls' schools, as well as girls' colleges. Considering that woman's education in India is but twenty years of age, it is remarkable that there is hardly a city without its girls' college. In Madras there are two very large girls' colleges. Both are filled, and have long waiting lists. Moreover, they are officered by women graduates—most of whom are Indians raised in India and educated in our own colleges. In Poona there is an entire University for women.

In this University are found many original ideas of education. It has for its basic idea that all education should be imparted through the mother tongue. In India, where the system of education is modelled upon British lines, the medium of education is English. But there is a rising wave of the Nationalistic spirit which attaches great importance to its mother tongue. The feeling is growing up that it would be more economic and conducive to learning if all subjects were taught in the mother tongue. Marhatti is the language of the Woman's University.

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Formerly it was most unusual to find women doing such work as men are able to do. Now man is eager to seek woman's assistance in everything. The work of the world belongs to both men and women. It was rather presumptuous for man to have tried it all himself. The best work is accomplished, and it yields best results when woman's heart and energies are enlisted in the same service as man.

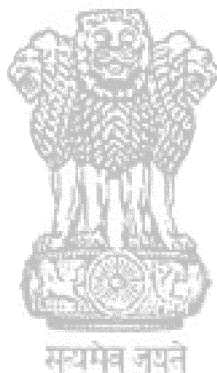
Not only in the Faculty of Education do we find women, but we have women doctors of medicine, nurses and assistants of all sorts. They serve on our Hospital Boards, our Boards of Charity, and there is no Municipality of any consequence that has not women on its Council. In most big towns women are now appointed as Honorary Magistrates.

In Social Service women play a large part. India is such a large country that it is never without its social service problems. There are always areas suffering from famine or flood, and to these assistance must be rendered and relief given. Relief is given either by the Government directly or by our missionary agencies. On every relief expedition where five men go, there is at least one woman. Women always seem glad to volunteer their services for the help of others. About five years ago there was a severe famine in the Province of Bombay. Access to that area was most difficult, and possible only by a combination of means of travel. It entailed a tiresome journey by boat, train, and camel. There were many hardships to overcome, but in this expedition women took their share bravely with the men. That has remained as a precedent, and small contingents of women are found everywhere.

To those of you who go to statistics and historical records, the picture looks dark indeed. But you must note the present-day tendencies. See the marked changes, with their potentialities for the future. Never mind the past. Where is India to-day? Is it moving forward or backward? If forward, is it steady, and will it be permanent? These questions must be asked. As far as I can judge impartially, I cannot conscientiously return any answer but an emphatic positive affirmative.

India Looks at Christ

"India Looks at Christ" was the subject of an address delivered by Mr. Sastri before a congregation at St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral on the night of January 6, 1929, at the conclusion of the evening service. After describing Christ as an "avatar"—one of the manifestations of the Deity—Mr. Sastri said:



LAST time I was here, I ventured to say that among Indians of culture Jesus Christ is regarded as an "avatar." An "avatar," by Hindu notions, is a form assumed by the Deity in the world's crises. In the Gita, which is our sacred book, it has been said, in as clear terms as possible, that, whenever in this world virtue seems to sink and vice threatens to prevail, He comes down among men to redress the balance, to encourage the righteous, and to punish and subdue the wicked. It is our belief that these descents of God among mankind are a continuous process: they have never ceased; they come, not in one hemisphere

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only, but throughout the world; not for the benefit of one race, or one nation, but for the benefit of all His creatures. Several such manifestations have occurred in the history of man.

The Lord Buddha was an "avatar." It is no blasphemy to consider Jesus Christ as a manifestation made for another people, in another stage, in another environment. It is in that light we regard Jesus.

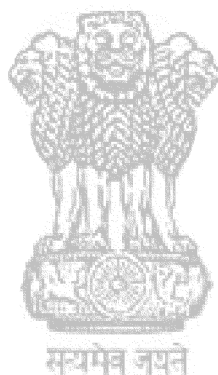
Then we take Mr. Gandhi, who is recognised by the Christian Indians as approaching, more nearly than anyone else, to the character and life of Jesus Himself. I say it in no sense of criticism that among all your exponents of Christianity, none, in their judgment, exemplifies Christ and His teachings so nearly as Mr. Gandhi. And Mr. Gandhi, for a wonder, admits without stint or hesitation, that in his make-up, the religion of Christ and the teachings of the Bible had played no small part, and I think I have said before, that on Sundays, or at least once a week, he sits down with his pupils, and reads from the Bible, explaining it to them as he understands it.

It seems to me that facts such as these should convince you that, in the Hindu outlook on religion and spiritual matters, there is something broad-minded, something that knows no distinction between truth in one place and truth in another place; truth in one garb or truth in another garb; truth for one colour, or truth uttered for another colour.

The institution of caste has outlived its period of usefulness, and I am grieved that, in South Africa, one of our great men, has praised this institution which we abhor so much in India.

I feel we have suffered in India sufficiently, and that the lesson we have learned in India, throughout the ages, may be learned by the world without further cost.

Improved Relationship



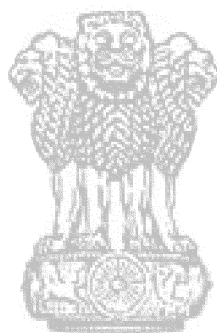
Thanks to the editorial courtesy of *The Cape Times*, I am enabled to say good-bye, on the eve of my departure, to friends and well-wishers, whom I cannot meet, and to offer them cordial New Year greetings.

There is unanimous testimony to the fact that the relations between the Indian and European communities in South Africa have greatly improved. For my part, I ascribe this improvement mainly to the good nature and sound political instincts of the dominant race, and to them I render deep and heartfelt thanks for the kindly and considerate response which they have accorded to my efforts on behalf of the Indian community.

Improved Relationship.

Full credit must be given to the Press for the spirit of fairplay and chivalry with which it has treated the issues arising out of the Capetown Agreement, and the large Imperial issues lying behind them. These last have now happily come to the forefront, and receive generally the consideration to which they are entitled.

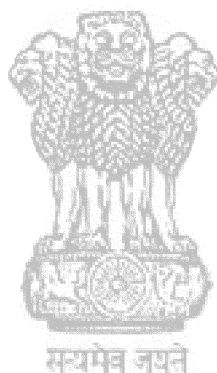
I go back with the feeling that the Agreement was framed on sound lines, that its faithful execution will serve the best interests of both countries, and that good ground exists for hoping that it will be maintained and strengthened from time to time.



सत्यमेव जयते

Hope in the Future

Mr. Sastri made the following farewell speech in the City Hall, Johannesburg, in January, 1929:



YOUR Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I confess to unusual confusion in rising to respond to this toast. You have received it with such warmth and enthusiasm, that I find some difficulty in expressing my gratitude. Words do not usually fail me, but upon this occasion the right ones do not come. You will forgive, therefore, if in the remarks that I shall offer you do not find much continuity or firmness.

It is true that when I accepted office it was with very considerable reluctance. My health was not good, and my people were very unwilling to trust me all by myself to a strange climate. Moreover, I felt that there were some

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aspects of the task to which perhaps I might prove unequal. Several of my countrymen to whom the post was offered seemed to shrink from it. Was I to be ready to accept a responsibility from which wiser and greater men shrank?

My mind was full of misgivings as I landed upon the shores of South Africa. That now I have some hope for the future is largely due to the blessings that Providence has been pleased to confer upon my work in this country. It has pleased Him that a beginning should be made in the work of reconciling two great countries and two great peoples. That I have been to some extent a humble instrument in this great work is a matter of pride and gratification. But really and truly, ladies and gentlemen, you share with me to the full the credit of this great change that has taken place. If to my appeals you do not turn a sympathetic ear, if your minds were not ready to listen to appeals for justice and fairplay, if by nature and training your hearts were not ready to respond to the call of our common humanity, all my work would have been in vain.

You brought the right spirit, you brought the true brotherliness of view; your anxiety was not less than mine that an end should be put to a controversy that had raged with bitterness upon both sides for too long a time. Was it, then, a wonder that I hear on all sides, without so much as a single note of dissent, that to-day the position as between Indian and European is full of promise? Do not then turn all the credit to me. Take your share of it, and in all conscience, yours is the far greater share.

Much has been said of the way in which I approached these difficult issues. Ladies and gentlemen, nothing is simpler. When dealing with human nature stirred to its depths, you have only to be patient, to be forbearant, to try to understand, and above all, if possible, to restrain your tongue, so that you may add no word of reproach to embitter an atmosphere already perhaps too full of the elements of bitterness.

I have endeavoured not only to follow this course myself, but to enforce upon my fellow-countrymen as far as possible. My countrymen have told me to-day, within your hearing, that they are conscious now and again of having been disagreeable to me. May I not say in return

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that perhaps they found me occasionally too fond of sermonising; rather too free with the words "toleration," and "pardon," and "understanding," not quick enough to feel affront and injury, to satisfy them; unresponsive, may I say, to the pangs of a growing citizenship in their minds and hearts? That has been so on both sides.

But I have long been mixed up with public life, and I know this, that if a controversy begins in mutual misunderstanding, that is no cause at all either for surprise or for disappointment or for grief. I am not afraid of the initial misunderstanding; that I regard as only natural, when people bring different aptitudes and different training to the performance of a common task. But what I am afraid of is the continuance throughout the negotiations of this initial tone of bitterness, and the breaking up of the negotiations in that same tone, unrelieved by one note of mutual forbearance or toleration. That is the thing really to fear.

My countrymen and I have often differed, but we have always arrived at a common understanding. It is perfectly true that with the European community our quarrels are by no means still settled. The address that was read to me, and the speeches that were made, have indicated two or three points upon which there is still room for such negotiation.

There is, for instance, the very troublesome question of trading licences, which, in an atmosphere otherwise marked by much reconciliation and friendliness of feeling, has occasionally shown the old bitterness, the old hostility, and the old preparedness to render injustice where perhaps justice was required. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will all remember that this question of trading licences is one of those matters mentioned in the Capetown Agreement, the idea being that more opportunities of going to Courts of Law against unjust treatment by inferior authorities should be provided for the Indian community.

I have been urged time and again before I should lay down office, to take up that question. I have left it, not without some anxiety, to my successor to handle; and a word of explanation is due, why I have not taken up this all-important question.

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I have judged, rightly or wrongly—I believe rightly—that all cause of mutual suspicion and aloofness should disappear before Indians should be accepted in this country as fellow-citizens by the European community. We have to travel a good long way before that consummation could be reached. I am one of those who are content to take one step at a time, provided that step be sure and calculated to make the next step possible.

I have dealt somewhat with the question of education. There has been also the very difficult matter of the condonation of illicit entrants, a measure with regard to which I must acknowledge with gladness that the present Government has shown generosity and forbearance, not altogether too common in political life.

Then, too, I would ask my countrymen to remember that during my time arose the extremely difficult matter of Indian waiters harrassed by the operation of the threatening clause 104 of the Liquor Bill. Upon that point, too, members of the present Government, especially the Hon. Mr. Tielman Roos, met us with generosity and brotherliness which cannot be sufficiently acknowledged. I would ask my countrymen to remember all these points before they enumerate the things that have not been done, and the things with regard to which they have yet to receive full satisfaction.

If I have learned one thing during my eighteen months of office here more than another, it is this : that you cannot hasten the settlement of public questions at your will. Public affairs seem to have a perverse way of their own; they have a notion of time very different from that of enthusiasm. Questions which seem ripe for to-morrow have had to wait for a week and a month before they could receive the attention of the authorities. That has occurred and will occur again and again. I now marvel that in my brief tenure in this country I have found it possible to attend to so many questions and to bring them to something like a conclusion.

This matter of trading licences is one dependent exclusively upon complete friendship and a mutual helpfulness between the two communities. The sense of rivalry, the sense of being ousted by unfair methods from a sphere pro-

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fitable to those that are already in possession; that sense must disappear. It takes a long time, and to me nothing is more unwise than to precipitate handling of a question ending in failure and complete demoralisation. A question of that kind could only be taken up when the sense of aloofness and discrimination that now prevails, had been completely subdued. That happy state of things is not yet, although there are signs that it is approaching.

Then my friends have referred to a very difficult matter arising from judicial decisions, with regard to the right of Indians to reside and occupy houses in certain localities in this Province. It is extremely difficult. I am not unaware—and, ladies and gentlemen, it requires no effort on your part of imagination to be aware—of the immense hardship and loss that would fall upon the Indian community if they were to be driven by the operation of law and judicial decisions from occupation of those premises which in Johannesburg and other localities in this Province they have been occupying. Untold misery would fall upon the community if the few steps that have so far been taken be followed up relentlessly, and the position made more and more narrow.

But it is very easy to realise a difficulty. It is by no means so easy to devise a remedy. And this particular question, upon which perhaps the Government of the day might even sympathise with the Indian community, is peculiarly insusceptible of remedy. We can all only lament that it has come into prominence recently. We must await a better time, when remedies appear possible for the solution of a difficulty against which my countrymen justly complain, but for which, it seems to me, neither they nor you can yet visualise the appropriate remedy.

The third point to which they refer is a question not so very difficult, and it seems to me that I need not trouble you at all with that difficulty. I would rather ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to be so good as to remember that in all my appeals to you I have ventured to present the Indian question as far as possible freed from narrow or small views, but to invite your attention to it from a somewhat broader aspect.

My friend the Mayor spoke of a certain period of silence to which the Servants of India Society subjects its members.

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Like others, I too had to observe this vow of silence for five years. But I seem to have made up for lost time by putting out a somewhat copious supply of speeches. Since I came to this country I have made far more speeches than I have made in a corresponding period of my life anywhere else. But I do not accuse myself of having spoken once too often, for in all those attempts of mine I have endeavoured to ask you, if possible, while considering the merits of each Indian problem, not to lose sight of the fact that, when you were not dealing merely with hawkers, with Indian waiters in hotels, or with Indian traders, but with members of a great people in India; great not merely by numbers, but great by their ancient civilisation, and by the part they have played in the saving of the British Empire from the catclysm which was threatened by the Great War.

It seems necessary, where memories are so short, to recall facts which at one time were blazoned all over the world; it seems necessary to recall the facts that India sent to the battle-fields of the world during that struggle more people than all the Dominions put together, that she suffered more than all the Dominions, and that during the epidemic of influenza which followed on the wake of the War, India suffered, through want of nourishment for her people, the wheat grown in the Punjab having been largely sent away outside for the purposes of the War; that India lost as many people in that epidemic as would have made up the population of this Dominion. *सत्यमेव जयते*

It is well to recall these facts, and to recall the further facts that during the War nothing was so common as for an Indian to be called "a comrade" and a "brother;" no words of the English language were good enough to be directed towards us; not merely in England, but in Australia and Canada, and I am perfectly certain even in South Africa, the Indian was then regarded truly as a brother and as a fellow-citizen, who shared not merely in the glory but in the burden and hardship of the Empire.

Is all that to be forgotten and laid aside when the danger is over? Is the old strife, and the old animosity, the old opprobrium indicated by the word "coolie," "undesirable:" is all that to be revived? No. Ladies and gentlemen, it was that point of view, the point of view of

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the Empire, of the common civilisation for which we all fought and struggled alike; it is that thought that I have endeavoured every now and then to rouse in your breasts as you have handled the Indian problem in this country.

It may seem to you to be troublesome; it may seem to you to involve a certain sacrifice, even perhaps a certain lowering of your standards. But is not this great Empire something for which you too may sacrifice a little, may lower your standards, if necessary? The Indian has not come here of his own free choice. He was brought here for your needs. And then? Ladies and gentlemen, I am not speaking to you as a person who has a grievance, but as a person who would ask you to remember sober facts when dealing with difficulties. You must have the rough as well as the smooth. This Empire, this great British Commonwealth, this smaller League of Nations; this wide political organisation under which the nations ought to be proud to come, and from which no nation should be willing to be expelled; this great organisation is based upon justice and fairplay. Nothing less will do on the soil of South Africa.

I know that when the matter is so put to you your conclusions cannot be very different from ours, and if then we ask you to bring to the treatment of the Indian some largeness of heart, some breadth of vision, some enthusiasm for Empire, some preparedness for sacrifice and a lowering of standard, if necessary; if we make that demand of you, I know we make a demand to which you dare not turn a deaf ear. But upon our side I undertake that my community will make your sacrifice, and the lowering of your standards, as far as possible unnecessary. Give us fair facilities, and you will find that you need make no great sacrifices. On the other hand, we shall prove to your satisfaction that with a fair field we shall contribute something for which you may even feel thankful. Now that is a fair bargain. It is not an impossible position.

And now one word more to my countrymen. I will ask them to remember that the treatment that they get depends entirely upon their own attitude. It is true in the long run we all get what we deserve, and if we want something, nothing is wiser than to try and deserve it. Be patient. Don't expect too much in a day. If you wish the European

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community to show a change of heart, show that change of heart yourselves first. If you want them to trust you, manifest without the shadow of a doubt that you trust their sense of fairplay and justice. Before you ask that your rights should be respected and maintained, be sure that their rights stand in no danger from your existence and your modes of life. Convince them that your continued presence among them is no menace to their standards, is no danger to their level of civilisation. Make them clearly understand that you are an element of strength to them, and not a national liability.

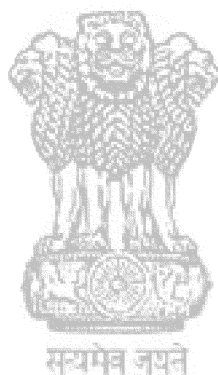
That, it seems to me, is an essential preliminary to all your demands. You have in one part of your address indicated clearly that you are not unaware of these obligations, and that you mean to meet them in right manly spirit. I welcome that note in your address and in your "welcome" speech, and I will only ask you now to translate that promise into action.

Now, friends, European and Indian, to you all alike I give the thanks of my heart for the way in which you have received me in this country and co-operated with me throughout; for the spirit of friendliness in which you have met me upon all points. And through you I render to the Government of the country the thanks of myself and of my countrymen and also of the Government of India, for whom I am privileged to speak; I give them full meed of thanks for the way in which they have handled this Indian problem since the Capetown Agreement was signed and ratified.

Now I go away with much heaviness of heart. It is perfectly true that I have not done even a small fraction of that which remains to be done, but I have had a short tenure of office here. And, if the truth be told, I came here, not to be Agent of the Government of India, but to make the ground smooth for the Agent of the Government of India. That task you have all assured me over and over again I have discharged in some faint measure. It is therefore with a gleam of satisfaction that I lay down my rather delicate and difficult office. To you, then, I give thanks once more, and say that most difficult of words—Good-bye.

South African Citizenship

*Responding to the toast at
the farewell banquet given
by the European commu-
nity at the Carlton Hotel,
Johannesburg, in January,
1929, Mr. Sastri replied as
follows :*



MR. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—This representative and distinguished gathering has received the toast of India, coupled with my name, with much warmth and cordiality. My gratitude is most profound and sincere. We have listened to a very interesting speech. It embodied what I did not expect—a most grateful and luminous summary of the growth of the Indian constitution. It is in itself a field which might tempt me to keep you long here. But there are one or two observations that I would like to make in the proper context upon the growth of our constitution. The speech did much more. It spared me the trouble of

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explaining to you the Capetown Agreement. As you will know, I am the creature of that Agreement. I have been here for the purpose of seeing that on the part of the Government of India and of the people of India here, the Agreement was observed both in the letter and in the spirit. I hope it will be allowed that I have endeavoured to be true to this trust. The Agreement has many things unique. Some of them were mentioned by Mr. Webber. I have often wondered what would have happened if, instead of the two Governments coming to a round table sitting, the usual course had been adopted of the British Government sending its representatives to preside over and guide the deliberations. It is not too much to say that the sensitiveness in political matters of the people of this country would perhaps have contributed to the failure of the usual negotiations.

That we met together directly without the intervention of a third party was perhaps a fundamental reason why we came to understand each other. That understanding, I do hope and pray, will be consolidated in the future, and we shall never hear again of the Indian problem vexing the minds of the South African politicians.

I have a hope on the eve of my going home that during the coming elections in this country no front-rank politician will seek to obtain votes from his constituency by playing upon their anti-Indian feelings. It will be idle to think that everyone who stands as a candidate will forbear to tread the usual path, and that the politicians will not do themselves full justice when they are seeking the votes of their constituency. But there are signs which lead us to think that upon this occasion from the front ranks of the three parties no word will be spoken which will bring the Indian Agreement within the sphere of party controversy. That, it seems to me, would be a very considerable gain upon which India and South Africa may congratulate themselves. The Capetown Agreement, becoming the basis of the relationship between the two countries, which it will be the desire of all the parties to maintain and improve, we may look forward to the Indian population in South Africa settling down without fear of agitation or disturbance to the work (to which I daresay you will invite them) of developing this country to its greatest advantage,

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of evolving herein South African citizenship which is a reflection of the citizenship of the British Empire, which will confer both honour and glory upon them.

To that test I do hope all the sections of this great country will settle themselves. There are, however, some hindrances to this consummation and it will not do for us to lose sight of things in the flush of this new-born hope. We all realise that throughout the Union there is a first requirement laid on the Indian community of giving a guarantee by word and by deed that nothing will be done to disturb the political supremacy here of the white people. That promise was made a long time ago on behalf of the Indian community by a leader whose name we have never allowed to be forgotten or laid aside—Mr Gandhi. Since his time, this pledge not to disturb the political domination of the Europeans has been repeated several times, both by the Government and by the people of India. At several Imperial conferences we have renewed this protestation, and I ask for the twentieth time that our good faith should not be questioned in this matter and that no politicians in this country should seek any advantage by declaring lightly and recklessly that there is real danger of the Indians seeking to dispute political authority in South Africa. I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to put that thought altogether out of your minds. If I had time I would prove to you, by the long course of Indian history as far back as we could trace it, that while, in the palmy days of Indian civilisation we went far beyond Indian frontiers, as far as Java and other places, we never established ourselves as a political body looking for supremacy. We never had that sort of ambition. Neither in ancient or modern times could the Indian be accused of trying to acquire territories or establish supremacy.

To suppose that in South Africa a handful of our people—most of them small traders and men hawking fruits in the streets—should ever seek to impose themselves as political overlords is a statement which may be expected of politicians hungry for votes that they cannot get by legitimate means, but it is a proposition that will hardly receive credence at the hands of students of political affairs.

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In parts of the Transvaal there is a long-worked tradition that coloured people shall not be allowed equality in Church or State. I can assure you that as regards the pledges of which I have spoken it would never be the ambition of the leading Indians to ask, in the usual or unusual constitutional ways, for anything like political equality. We do not seek it. We ask that while you establish sufficient guarantees to keep us in the second place or in the third place, may be, but not a place that will call into any peril your political domination, and that, after having taken sufficient safeguards concerning the paramount objection, you should do nothing whatever to deny suitable opportunities for the development of our people or inflict on them any stigma of inferiority incompatible with their natural pride. Do not do anything that will lead us to think that you are betraying the trust imposed on you as inheritors of British honour and prestige. In your efforts to maintain your traditions do not go beyond your pride or conscience of power and put upon us any affront that people as proud as yourselves must resent.

This is not the occasion upon which it would behove me to make a catalogue of Indian grievances, but I would make a few general observations and deprive them of any offence or insolence. This is to show you that we still have a great many legitimate causes of complaint. Mr. Webber (the chairman) has referred to our services in the Great War. I had no wish to refer to that subject, but there is just one observation you made, Mr. Chairman, that asks for a little enlargement. It was stated that in consequence of our services during the Great War the constitution of India advanced in the year 1919, almost within a decade of a previous statement that had been made by Lord Morley concerning our constitutional position. It was our services during the War that hastened that great step which we called our first step in India towards the establishment of responsible government. At that time it was repeatedly brought home to people all over the British Empire what great services Indians had done. We, for our part, gloried in the scope given for participation in and the maintenance of this world-Empire, and we swore repeatedly that if ever a similar demand was made upon us we should not be found

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wanting or behind any other Dominion that may be supposed to be more intimately connected with Great Britain by ties of blood, race or sentiment. If you search through contemporary records you can find marvellous declarations of our pride in the British Commonwealth. At that time our hearts were full of the hope that in no long time India would be called on to take her place side by side with the Dominions in the most exalted councils of the Empire. That process may be delayed a little or hastened a little, but that process is surely coming. But what is of somewhat melancholy interest at the moment, and throws an unpleasing light on the remarks made by Mr. Webber, is that as I speak here there is in progress in India a movement of somewhat strong and vigorous protest against the way in which the Simon Commission was appointed. I am full of hope that this condition will soon pass away and that we shall soon come back to complete faith and loyalty to the British aim.

Let us take a few of the causes that have contributed to the present unfortunate juncture. I will put a few of the things that have led to unpleasing remarks on our part. The Dominions who played a part in the War no larger or more helpful than we did acquired a mandated territory apiece. What came to India? What did India get—India, whose contribution to the War was scarcely less but more conspicuous! So far from getting any added territory the old pre-war restrictions upon her people settled abroad were stiffened. Even the small openings that had hitherto been in her possession for migration outside were more and more restricted. The people who had been acclaimed as loyal bulwarks of the Empire, as Britishers and comrades and called by other sweet names, they, in a few years have, in these countries, now come to be called "coolies" and "undesirables" and even "aliens." Desires have been expressed that they should be sent back to the places from which they came. But the people of India, who know their history as well as you do, cannot be blamed if they say, as a result of all this, that they are welcome in foul weather for the help that they can give, but Indians of the Empire are despised and abandoned in fair weather. To that charge it is difficult even for ingenious defenders of British

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honesty to give an appropriate answer. I would ask everyone of you to believe, and spread the belief, that among the contributory causes to the present state of things is the treatment of the Indians when they are settled abroad in this Empire itself. I would say, therefore, that every right—always excepting that equality which we do not seek— withheld arbitrarily, every restriction upon their education, their occupations, and every licence unlawfully and improperly withheld, has its serious consequence upon the minds and hearts of millions of people in India who watch these things with a sensitiveness that has been sharpened by an extraordinary discrepancy between what they get and what they deserve. It is your duty both individually and collectively, to put an end to that by a firm persistence in the extension of the honour of British institutions and the justice and fairplay that the British flag carries with it; to see that these principles extend to the relations that obtain between Indians and Europeans. Is that too much to ask of people who are proud of their Commonwealth? It seems to me that that is not asking too much of you, and in taking leave of you this is my earnest appeal to you all—that you will co-operate with the Indian community in their lawful endeavour for that limit due to them, to obtain a position that is compatible with their honour and your honour and compatible with the position of Dominion which India is assured in the long run to obtain.

It has always struck me that in South Africa, as in other countries, there is a surprising amount of sympathy with the under-dog and a readiness to champion those who suffer injustice. You meet that phenomenon in England, certainly. There never was a time in the history of England, even in the days of the worst tyranny and despotism, when there were not larger numbers of people who, by character and ability and courage, could be trusted to speak the brave word and strike the brave blow in defence of the oppressed against the wrong-doer, however exalted the wrong-doer might be. That is the standing glory of British institutions.

A wanderer among the Dominions, I can say this: That I have not failed to see either in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, a far closer people who reproduce this great

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virtue, which, I may mention in passing, is to be found among the great Imperial races of the world. Conscious of their great power, they are lion-like-willing to overlook the small shortcomings. Little pin-pricks they don't mind; annoyances they are willing to forget, and whenever they see among them any one individual or any community treated with undue severity, they have been prepared in great numbers to incur popular odium, to brave the displeasure of their own kinsmen, in standing by the brave and helping them to obtain redress.

Before I came to this country, when I contemplated with a sad heart by study on paper, the misery and woes of my countrymen here, I used to think that perhaps the soil of South Africa was uncongenial to the existence of such heroes among men who were willing to strike a blow in defence of the poor and lowly. I have discovered since coming here that I was utterly and hopelessly wrong, and that in this respect South Africa is just like other nations. I have heard numbers of people come to me and say: "I feel for your countrymen; I think they are badly used." Well, I have drawn comfort every time I have addressed a public meeting or spoken among my countrymen. I have always had the comfort of ladies and gentlemen who said their hearts were not in this wretched business, and that if they had their way they would put an end to it. What a wonder in an atmosphere that without this redeeming feature you get bad laws, bad administration of those laws—you get fresh proposals of bad laws, and you get threats of expulsion. What is the true explanation of this? To be true, I have not seen in my experience of 19 months in this country many people who say "your people are wretched; we shall never be happy in this country so long as they are here. Take them back." No one has told me that. They will not say that because they are out for right and are unwilling to hurt my susceptibilities. People of that character are not always careful of the susceptibilities of the poor Agent of a Coolie Government. The fact is that I am extremely anxious that those among you who are noble-hearted, generous-minded, and wishful that justice and fairplay should be a portion of all who dwell among us—that you will mobilise your good intentions on

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behalf of the Indian community when they are oppressed. You are scattered at present here and there. You think that your voices will be the voices in the wilderness and that you may suffer social odium and other penalties if you raise your voices in protest.

With all my heart I believe that you are mistaken. I do not believe you could do such a political wrong as to refuse to lend a sympathetic ear where the earnest voice of protest is heard. All depends on what you say. If a politician, anxious to get more votes than his rival candidate, might be a wise man and say the wrong thing. But I know of nothing so noble in the conduct of a politician or a statesman, I know of nothing so really heartening and enabling as when a man stands up and fearlessly speaks the truth and loses his chance in the election. Are there no such people in this country who will contest a constituency just for the fun of telling the voters that they are to be just and do the right thing? Four such speeches made in the course of a year would change the face of public opinion.

I have heard it said that there is nothing in our nature, no part of our being, not even the smallest thought, that has not been put into us by Providence for some purpose. Thoughts, even if you do not express them, will not go in vain; they have their consequences, their influences. Great philanthropists and teachers have told us that whenever we have good and generous thoughts we should lose no time in expressing them. A great thought is a great power; it moves mountains and alters the destiny of whole nations.

If God gave you a feeling of sympathy for the down-trodden, you are betraying God's trust if you do not straightway give expression to the idea and get it out in the light; if you do not do something to redress wrong or incur some sacrifice, however small, to put matters right. If you let the Indian community be unjustly traduced and ill-treated, if you allow the natives in this country to be despised and confined to the tasks of hewers of wood and drawers of water, then depend on it the politicians will not save you from the responsibility. While you all cannot take a hand in politics, yet you cannot thrust the blame for bad political doings on those who are actively engaged in them, if you stand aloof. By standing aloof, by not taking an interest

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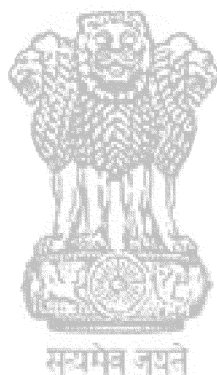
in passing events, you merely make the work of the mischief maker easy. When a wrong is there everyone who sees it but does not rectify it is to blame even as much as its direct author. That is a lesson I have been taught and which I would, in feeble yet earnest words, convey to you.

Some of you may be in sympathy with a policy of repression and unfair treatment. To them I have nothing to say, but only pray that wisdom and better light will one day dawn on them. To those among you who have the right notion, who can discriminate between right and wrong, I would say that your duty is to come together, associate yourselves as defenders of the oppressed community, and join the Indo-European Council that has been formed here. Do one thing or do another as it may seem fit to you, but do not squander noble instincts.

I make this appeal not merely because I am an Indian defending Indians, but because I am a lover of noble institutions such as our Empire under the British Constitution. To me this British Constitution is valuable because of the urge which it carries, the ideals of justice and fairplay, and the love of free development. I do hope that this feeling of a righteous heart and a goodwill spirit is shared by all of you and that each will consider himself or herself a vehicle for, and the custodian of, that generosity and high-mindedness associated with citizens in the great Commonwealth. Let nothing prevail to subtract from the beauties obtaining in that character and let nothing contribute towards the undoing of the work for humanity which British institutions all over the world are at present performing.

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*Mr. Sastri delivered the
following address to the
Indo-European Council at
Durban in January, 1929 :*



MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject upon which I intend to talk to you to-day is that which arises out of the formation of an Indo-European Council in this town. It is under the auspices of that body that we have met this evening.

The Indo-European Council in this town is more or less based on the joint Councils for Europeans and Indians. Its purposes are more or less similar, its methods of work are also very much alike. The Council itself is so young that I have nothing to report about it, except that so far as I am able to form an opinion, it promises well. The move-

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ment for bringing European and Indian together upon a common platform, for the purpose of discussing questions that arise from their mutual contact, I believe is all to the good. Nothing but benefit to both races can accrue from that common meeting, in order to understand common subjects and common needs. It is true that very often in this country, the races seem to collide one with the other where they ought to co-operate in mutual understanding, but to have a few people who understand one another, who have no hesitation to come together for social and other purposes in order to clear up misunderstandings that cloud the air, is a step that often has been taken in such circumstances and with very happy results. That in Durban, therefore, from which strife is not altogether absent, such an Association has not come into existence a day too soon, will I think be granted on all hands. I only hope that this Association will grow from strength to strength, and it will not attempt too much in the beginning, that it will learn to feel its way, and that it will remember in the course of its work that just as often as success brings success with it, so does failure very often bring failure with it. It is, therefore, wise not to attempt tasks beyond its infant strength, and if it establishes its prestige by aiming at small matters and recording successes in them, it may in course of time attack larger problems with some hope of making headway.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a very good example to guide us in this matter. Notwithstanding past insinuations that so often find expression in the Press, and some uncomplimentary observations passed by those who ought to know better regarding the work of the League of Nations, those of us who know how slow human progress is, will admit that after all the League of Nations is wise in acting slowly. It is a body which has been born perhaps somewhat before its time. Although we all recognise that if it had not been born at the Treaty of Versailles, it would perhaps still be very far from coming into existence at all. Whatever that may be, I think that I can never endorse the adverse criticism passed upon its work by those, who in ordinary life are by no means impatient, but somehow or other think that the League of Nations must be vastly better than any Nation that composes it. As if a community could ever be better

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than the individuals making it up. Similarly all bodies that aim at bringing people together for common endeavour must be patient, must learn to essay easy tasks before trying itself against big enterprises. I would, therefore, take the liberty of saying a word of caution to the people now in charge of the Indo-European League in this city, and implore them not to be hurried into risky courses by the criticisms or the vividly expressed expectations of those who merely watch from outside, and may not be sorry if the Association comes to grief.

My purpose this evening is to ask you to support this new association, and to bring before you certain large considerations, with which the whole question is fraught.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we take on work of this character, which seeks to surmount prejudices of standing and possibly run athwart views that are held with vigour and with conviction by large numbers of the community, when we start work of this kind, we are bound to encounter much antipathy and much opposition. Some of it may be vocal, some of it, however, may be underground, plenty of it, I am sure, will be cynical. Just say this sort of thing: "Oh we know this kind of thing—these people are sure to shut up their shop to-morrow—when they come out we will know what to say to them." Remarks of that kind are sure to be passed, and those who take on work of this character must be prepared for a line of attack, which the moment you grasp it will change its form and take a new complexion altogether. It is quite wise, it seems to me, for us to set this enterprise as it were against the big forces of the day; to see where it stands, to see what its underlying motives are, and then make up our minds whether it represents a cause to which we should give our adhesion. That way of looking at things is unfortunately not common, but I think it is the only way in which to begin. You must ask yourselves when an affair of this kind is for the first time brought to your notice, and you are asked to give your support—you are bound to ask yourself—where will this lead? Is it in conformity with the principles of life and conduct? How will it place me in relation to God, to the dictates of religion and humanity, and generally speaking to the forces of righteousness. Is this a cause that judged

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by these principles commends itself, or is it merely a matter of common experiences, with regard to which you may say 'yes' to-day, or 'no' to-morrow, according to circumstances; in regard to which it does not perhaps matter very much whether you say 'yes' or whether you say 'no'; whether you join or refuse to join. Please do not misunderstand me, for the considerations which I mean to urge are not necessarily considerations which apply to mutual relations between European and Indian, but are considerations of far vaster import, with which you will perhaps be confronted whenever you try to do a thing beyond the common.

Somebody has said that the greatest rule of life, that which sums up all our ethics, whether they belong to the order of religious prescriptions or not, that which sums up all the fundamental rules of conduct, observed in the Pagan as well as in the Christian world, that the most comprehensive rule of all would seem to be that we should endeavour to discover if we meet the will of God as expressed in Nature, just as well as in revelations, and having discovered His will, try to conform to it, so that we should be instruments for the fulfilment of His purpose and not work at cross-purposes thereto, for if we did the latter, not only should we bring confusion into existing affairs, but possibly land ourselves in much misery, and from the point of view of spirituality, in serious ill. Now it is not an easy matter to discover the will of God in nature. There are very few who can pretend to have such a range of vision that they can take long cycles of time. For it is necessary that you should do that in order to discover God's purpose. It is a survey of human experience in the large, over generations such as only historians and profound historians at that, are able to conduct. When such a survey is taken what of the principles, the great generalizations that emerge? Now no one will dispute the fact that in the course of our ordinary lives, we find evil prevailing occasionally over good. We find the wrong continually supplanting the right; we find what we stigmatise as unrighteous, succeeding unchecked for all that we can see, over righteousness.

Sometimes a man succeeds all his life through chicanery and fraud and seems to pass away an

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apparently successful man, who made the most of his life, perhaps accumulated a fortune. Sometimes he will gain a reputation. Nevertheless none of us has the hardihood to say that evil is the rule of life. For we see it succeeds, and not very unoften we take, before we come to conclusions upon this capital point, we take not only our limited experience, but the experience of the whole of humanity for consideration. We take into account what has been recorded in the sacred books; we take into account whatever the great ones of our races have continually laid down as the golden rule in these matters, and perhaps any historian will be able to say in the long run how Kingdoms that have arisen seem to grow and fall; how Empires have been built up, but after a while have crumbled to nothing; how human power and human strength which have often seemed to succeed for a time but are not upheld by the eternal principles of right, come to a sudden or quick end, and then added to the great lessons that we learn, namely, that in this world, however things may seem, the rule is that nothing that is not based upon right, that nothing that is not based upon God's will, can stand the test of time.

And I think, ladies and gentlemen, that even if a person could be found who is unwilling to use the language of religion, will not bring God and eternal laws into the discussion of human affairs, who will insist on using only terms of ordinary ethics and morality, even if you can find such a person, he would be obliged to say that nothing seems to be permanent or lasting, unless it in some way or other serves the great ends of our race. That if you study a great institution or great organisation, it seems to pass away after temporary success, having given into the common stock of our experience that in it which was of permanent value. Nothing of course there is which is wholly evil, but this seems to be indisputable, that we gain something of value from all things that come into existence, and when they have yielded up their best to us they seem to pass away. Now if that be the rule we can, I think, upon this subject of the contact of different races, come to one conclusion, that the races that are thrown into contact prosper best in the long run only if they learn to accommodate themselves to common purposes; that their

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destinies are best accomplished by mutual understanding and peaceful progress together, but so long as they antagonise each other, and fight one another, they are bound continually to weaken each other, perhaps to mar the happiness of both, and thus it seems to be, to use the language of religion, the will of God, that the races should learn to dwell together in harmony. But as our German puts it, no Kingdom or Empire anywhere can hang together too long and serve the ends of our races, if within the different races try each to supplant the other, to exploit the other or to dominate over the other.

That, I think, can easily be gathered as the verdict of conduct as we have learned to associate with the life of the individual. In individual lives there is no one who will have the hardihood to maintain as a serious proposition, that he is bound constantly to rule and that another is bound always to obey; that he is bound to succeed by fair means or foul, while his neighbour must only be tied to the wheel of his chariot. No one will maintain the doctrine of self-aggrandizement. The imposition of one's will or influence over the will or influence of another is a good rule for himself. We have all been taught that in whatever we practice, an individual reaches the height of his destiny when he sacrifices himself for the benefit of others; when he loses what he values in order that others may get their due; when regardless of his own personal interests, he lives for others just to promote their welfare, and feels his welfare best promoted when he has created that of others.

We feel that firmly as regards our own lives, and some of us try actually to carry out this principle in practice; others do it occasionally. The region within which we allow not-self to prevail over the self, differs in different people. Some are accustomed by early training and by the influence of wholesome example, some are accustomed to give a large place to the not-self in their lives, whilst others among us less well trained are content to give some small place to the not-self, hoping that this small place will extend until the not-self comes to occupy a decent position in our lives. There are, unhappily, many among us who will not give any place to the not-self at all

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and put self first, second, third and last, so that their lives are starved; their lives are, poor things, pitiable. They make no contribution to human welfare; often what they call their own good, means nothing more than something taken away from other people. It seems to me that their lives apparently happy, are full of misery and sadness; that for their seeming success in this life, they are bound to pay heavily indeed with all their future.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, can there be a different law for a community and for an individual. I often ask myself that question. Can that be right in a community of people which we condemn as wrong in the individual? Are the principles, for instance, of the Sermon on the Mount applicable only to the relations of individual human beings, or is their essence applicable also as amongst different nations and different communities. A good man who pays his rates and his taxes regularly, who goes to Church, just like any other, is seemingly quite wealthy and respectable, conforms to all that we regard as fundamental rules of law and conduct, is sometimes, however, heard upon a common platform to say, "I do not care what happens to that particular individual or that particular community, they are a drag upon us and the sooner we get rid of them the better." An astonishing thing to me is that such a person does not recognise the utter incongruity in his own nature. While he is thoroughly altruistic with regard to his own community and serves that community regardless of his own self, he is content to forget himself in the service of the needs of that small community. He is, however, actuated by quite different and even opposite purposes when he seeks to subordinate the interests of this community against another community.

We are all familiar with the strange ways of statesmen and politicians when they declare war. Then indeed we bid good-bye to ordinary principles. That which we call international law sometimes comes into being to mitigate horrors of war, but for the rest our main operations are directly to ends which in private life would be condemned as outrageous, as wicked, as directly against the commandments of God. Leave war alone, which often raises very complicated issues, to discuss the common relations of

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communities one with another. Could it be right to speak in terms of universal domination of another community? Could we say there is no one in that community whom I could love? Is that true? Could we say they are a hateful people? Is that in accordance with facts? Do we not, ladies and gentlemen, every day of our lives see springing out of the lowliest race, examples of human virtue—and human excellence? Do we not see every day out of the most despised stock of men of the greatest use to humanity coming up? and yet we indulge in sweeping generalisations in these matters.

We say the eternal barriers must be erected between one race and another, the progress of this race must be blocked at this point; we can allow them to progress only so far and no further. We do not say this as individuals, but under the cloak of unselfishness, under the cloak of communal feeling, which for some reason or other seems allowable. We permit these pernicious doctrines to be freely preached, and for a wonder we permit them even to be acted upon. To take form as institutions, laws administered at convenience, so that continually all the social power, all the economic advantages, all the political means of aggrandisement are put into the hands of one community and another community or other communities are allowed not a tithe of these conditions, or a vestige of a share in these advantages, and are in a conspicuous minority.

Now could that, I ask, speaking from the larger view of things, be right. It seems to me that it would be commonly granted that where such serious discrepancies exist between peoples, it should be the duty of the more far-seeing, of the more courageous minded people, to put things right. We cannot afford to see such a condition of things eating into the very vitals of the collective population of a Province or of a Kingdom. For while such feelings are permitted, while these barriers exist, no people will realise their destiny to the full. For nothing is clearer in the words of history than this, that either a whole people rise together or fall together; no one part thereof can rise much above the other. They can place themselves at one slight advantage by artificial and sometimes illegitimate

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means, but beyond securing this small advantage they cannot elevate themselves and realise even their advantages unless they provide similar opportunities for the other peoples as well. One poor degraded and despised community inevitably drags the race to its own level and there is no mistaking it whatever. You may try such a policy for 50 years or a 100 years, you will surely discover at a tremendous cost to yourselves that you have gone wrong during the whole of that time.

Now if there be among the people some serious students of humanity, who know that it is wrong and unrighteous, what is their duty? Now that is a question which is somewhat exceedingly difficult to answer. I know of many people not only in this country but everywhere, who, seeing the right will either do the wrong or tolerate the wrong, merely because they find the forces surrounding them much too strong. "My nature shrinks from adverse public opinion. I cannot bear to see my neighbours frowning at me. I cannot bear my children at school to be marked down as the children of one who holds queer views about races. I cannot bear social odium. When newspapers hit at me I shrink within myself." So there exists many a man that looks further than his fellows, is wiser than his neighbours, and upon whose words, therefore, much more should hang than he knows.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have been taught to regard such people as the very salt of the earth—men who take a broader, a humaner view of life than ordinarily prevails around them, are marked off by Providence for a really higher destiny; it would not avail them to say, "I hold these views in private but dare not express them." Our views are a gift from on high, especially our best views. The noblest part of our nature is not given to us for nothing, it is placed there for some high purpose, and he who having these talents is content to hide them, seems to be running contrary to the purpose of God.

It may be that the possession of these uncommonly wise views, seem burdensome, call you out for very difficult tasks, seem to impose upon you very severe penalties, but no great reform, no great change in the outlook of the people has ever been achieved till there were found some people who

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were ready to sacrifice themselves readily, for a long time to be in an ill used minority in order that in the course of time that minority may become the respected and influential majority. It is impossible for the world to progress otherwise, and I do exhort everyone of you in whom for a moment a noble thought takes its birth, not to suppress it, not to know a blush for it at all, but to let it have full play. Let it transform life's values for you, struggle hard for it, if necessary, suffer for it. Is that a very hard rule of life; has there been no suffering before for a principle, how else can we be fit vehicles of God's purpose?

Now God, if You wish me to act as You wish, let my interests and virtues coincide. I will do the right if it leads me to the realisation of my ambition but I will obey Your rules, if that way leads to suffering, sacrifice, privation, the sacrifice of all that I desire. Now, ladies and gentlemen, neither for individuals nor communities is such a rule possible. You have all read of Don Quixote. Don Quixote is an amusing character when you look at him from an amusing point of view, but Don Quixote is the noblest of characters when you look at him from another. I have always had a weakness for him for he was truly a gentleman. When he knew the right, no matter how impossible it was, he went for it. He knew only one rule, when he saw the right he steered clear for it. Maybe he encountered most ridiculous adventures, but when others laughed, it seems to me they laughed only at themselves. They could not change him from his purpose. He failed, but it seems to me there was far more triumph and gain in his failures than in the successes of many others who followed the smaller rule of life. Now we want Don Quixotes every time—dozens and scores of them. That community is truly rich in which there is a varied assortment of characters, in which while some are to be found who will pursue the easy and the attractive, there are still some others, far fewer in numbers maybe, who will prefer the hard to the easy—who will prefer the substantial to the attractive, who will prefer the righteous to the merely successful or worldly.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, as I said before, never was there such a time in any community among whom such people are not to be found.

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In our own religious book, to which I made reference in one of my previous lectures, every man is enjoined to do some good—something that he recognises as lasting good, and then a question is asked as to what happens when a man is quixotic trying to do a good much beyond his strength—knocking his head against a stone wall? Our Lord God answers in words which live as fire in our bosoms: ‘I do not allow any good action to perish, all come to fruition in time. The smallest good that a man does, not only brings him good, but brings the world good.’ Do not be dismayed then by mere failure at the time of your enterprise. It seems to me that there are the greatest men of our race—who stand up for all that seems to be a losing cause—they show the way continually for that which is better and higher.

I have heard it said, ladies and gentlemen, that when people talk about the qualities of different races and their aptitudes for worthy purposes, of the Anglo-Saxon people for instance, that as a whole they have not much regard for principles. They themselves are often fond of saying that you cannot get an English politician to commit himself to a rule. He looks at all sides of the question before he takes action, but generally speaking he takes the best and noblest action that is possible, but even when he does so, he will not lay down a general principle of conduct. “I have done this now, what I do in similar circumstances to-morrow I cannot say now.” Now that has been regarded as one of the strongest points of the Anglo-Saxon race. I am not disputing this point, but I just mention this point.

This caution, this aversion to the enunciation of all sweeping doctrines, this shrinking from what may be called binding rules of life does not apply to the eternal principles of the conduct of life, or the exultation of righteousness. I am an admirer of the Anglo-Saxon people, and while I know that there are other nations whose traditions I also know, I also know that these Anglo-Saxon people generally like to deprecate themselves. Even when they do a very good thing, actuated by the best motives, they will try and commend it to their people as being a very shrewd act, likely to be turned to their own benefit at a later date. But the inner call is always good. They have an inherent sense of

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justice, and I am persuaded that this caution as I see this aversion to principle, does not extend to rules of conduct.

Well, let critics say what they will, is it not true in the long run, that among the nations of Europe who are in the vanguard of civilisation, is it not within the law of running, whatever the French may say, whatever the Americans may say in the heat of their anger, is it not true that Britain has stood for justice and fairplay among the peoples of the world? Could they have done it if they had no regard for these abstracts as abstracts? Is it an absurd attitude to take up? It is inherent among the great races of the earth, that they have a feeling even although they may not always recognise it; it is a truth that they have an inherent feeling towards the right; towards what has been declared from on high to be the binding rule of conduct of life and of individuals and communities, and I do hope, therefore, that in Durban, as in other places, those who feel the right will also declare it. Some soldiers there must be for God's justice on earth.

It has been truly said that one strong brave man declaring the truth may seem to be silenced for the moment, but his voice will be heard long after he has spoken—others will take it up after him, and in the long run justice will come to play among the peoples and the land will know harmony and concord that previously only knew discord. I would ask, ladies and gentlemen, that some among you who may be so called, do not lend a deaf ear to this great summons, for it is a summons from Him who made you, and if you do not obey His great call, you are frustrating His purpose. Such freedom of the will as has been given you must be used on the side of His purposes and not against them. Well would it be for us if we all recognised where the right lay, but well would it be also if only chosen ones among us recognised their place in the scheme of things and fearlessly pursued it. Do not say that it may be right, but it is not for me.

There is a tragedy in human life, when a man is called to do a great work, but turns his back on it; no greater tragedy we can conceive, and, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, it is that I have ventured to make this the subject of my last remarks to

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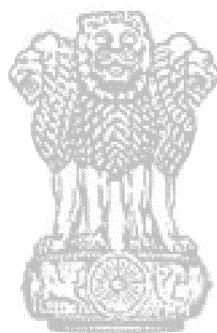
you, that you will consider that among communities as well as individuals, the rule of right and righteousness must prevail, that where that rule is clearly defined that rule must also be obeyed. Where, however, there is a general disinclination to obey, some few of us must enrol ourselves in the army of truth and justice and not mind the ordeal and the sacrifice involved. For he whom you recognise as your Saviour did not serve humanity by preferring his life. He laid it down. He did not seek his own glory and happiness, but he courted pain and suffering for others, and it is not left for us to find out another rule for serving humanity, if he could only serve by suffering. What are we to ask of God, that He should permit us to serve through enjoyment and through pleasure? It seems to me that it is almost blasphemous to demand that our lives should be made happier and at the same time our souls should be saved.

And if I might plead with my Indian friends for once, I would say to them just one observation. It is too common to think, especially where races are despised and down-trodden, that the friends they have among the Europeans should look at all questions just as they do. I have known it said by several European friends of the Indian communities: "Yes, it is all very well, I lose the hold that I had among my own people, but your people do not seem to recognise their friends. They have no better words to say of their friends than of others, they seem to treat all alike. It is hard indeed when a man gives up his own race to champion the cause of the other for him to find in the end that he has no friends here or there." Now, my Indian friends, there is something in that accusation. Do not expect too much from those Europeans who champion your cause, and recognise their service up to the full—do not shrink from giving to everybody their due, and let it not be said of you that you were not found grateful and sufficiently appreciative.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken in what may be regarded as a somewhat idealistic strain, but there are some great questions that must be looked at in this way, no smaller standard would do in cases of this sort. Where long standing grievances have to be redressed, and where

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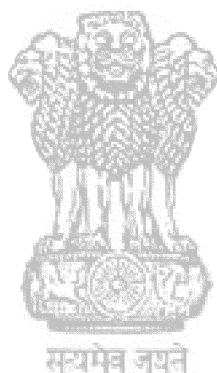
social inequalities have to be adjusted, where institutions have to be demolished, it is no use trying to secure expedient compromises. We must make our choice between two courses open to us, and even if not everybody in the world at least some few in the world, must be prepared to be recognised as those who will utter the truth whatever the consequences, as those who, like the poet, will say : " And because right is right, to follow the right with wisdom in the scorn of consequence."



सत्यमेव जयते

Unity Among Indians

*The following is Mr. Sas-
tri's farewell speech made
at Durban in January,
1929:*



EVERYTHING about this meeting is immense. Its enormous size and the intensity of feeling by which it is actuated, the most cordial, if somewhat hyperbolic, expressions applied personally to me, almost deprive me both of speech and clear thought. If I do not make much reference to what you have said of me, please put it down, not to my being unaware of my debt of gratitude, but to an intention to devote the rest of my time with you—which is now becoming somewhat short—to matters of greater moment. I cannot pass away altogether from the personal aspect without saying how deeply I was touched by the

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allusion Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee made to my wife at home. I am happy to think that in a few weeks I shall be with her. And then our joy will be heightened when I can convey to her the extremely affectionate sentiments expressed towards her.

I have stayed a fairly long time now among you, and as I have used my eyes and ears, and on the eve of my taking leave of you, it would be no wonder if I had a great many things to impart to you. Among the many things which have occurred to me as requiring special emphasis is the necessity of more complete unity among all sections of the Indian community in this country. There are still too many divisions than can be good for a small community living in a distant land. I would in particular recall a certain episode to which it was necessary for me to refer on an occasion somewhat similar to this.

When I left Bombay I had occasion to tell my countrymen of the split which had occurred in the political organisation in South Africa. I then said that it would be my primary endeavour here to establish the authority and jurisdiction of the South African Indian Congress throughout the Union. As you all know, that was not a task by any means easy. In the Transvaal much opposition had to be encountered and overcome, but thanks to the patience and co-operation I have received from many loyal co-workers it is now possible to say that the Congress extends its beneficent sway over the Transvaal.

Nevertheless, I see signs that all is not well with our political organisation. Most of the criticism one hears is ill-informed, uncharitable and based on personal rather than public considerations. No organisation in the world is perfect or is without the need for co-operation and assistance from all quarters. I do not claim all the wisdom in the world for the officials of the South African Indian Congress or the Natal Indian Congress or, indeed, any branch of the Congress in this country. It is no more the case here than in India, but the kind of criticism by which we can improve is that which is offered in a friendly spirit, and I would request all who are dissatisfied with the work of the Congress, who have a bone to pick, to use a collo-

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qualism, with the authorities of this Congress, to come within the fold and then try to improve it. I would assure those critics that if they will join the Congress and offer suggestions they will be acceptable. That, it seems to me, is one of the conditions underlying the success of your public work and the welfare of the community.

The Government of India is now in active co-operation with the South African Indian Congress and prepared generally to listen to its advice. I find also that the Union Government, for its part, are willing to recognise the Congress and accord it that attention and respect which it has always deserved. It would be suicidal for any section of the Indian community to weaken the hand of the Congress, to cast discredit upon its work, or to try to change the attitude of the two Governments towards it. I tell them that their work is not only misguided but calculated to do infinite harm.

To the leaders here I would give sound advice. I am senior to most of them, and I trust they will allow, I have seen more of the world and in a position to judge, these matters more correctly than they. The Servants of India Society has been mentioned so often that it would not be improper for me upon this occasion to ask my friend (Sir Kurma), who understands that society and its work, if it is not possible for the community to start a similar society, or at least to endeavour to be actuated by the spirit that characterises the Society's work. There are not too many consistent workers among us to-day. Let those who see further than their countrymen recognise their responsibility and work together in much greater cordiality and co-operation. It is somewhat sad to see one man giving way to despair. Another says, "I have tried my best, it is no good," and yet another threatening resignation because people are not of his way of thinking. These tendencies require to be strongly checked. Our leaders cannot afford to give way to personal wrongs. They must stand together so that the harrassed Indian community can see that in all their troubles they have at their head a small body of men who think and plan for them and set aside personal affairs for their benefit.

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May I say in my last words that though good work stands to their credit they must do better work in the future and in order to be able to do that there must be a greater spirit of self-sacrifice and willingness to sacrifice their own point of view when they find that this is not generally acceptable. Men are prepared to give up their money, I know that some are prepared to give up their worldly possessions, but these people will not give up their views. I am not, of course, referring to matters of conscience, where every man is his own authority. We all need patience. I have heard echoes in this country of the way very inexperienced young men in India say that all talk of higher ideals of empire, brotherhood of the human race, equal justice and even-handed fairness, free scope for upliftment and so forth, which are always held up as ideals seem at the bottom to be hollow and empty, that it is all mere vanity and that there is no consistent evidence of these higher ends, however acceptable they may be to our ideals of godhead.

They set up a cry of despair. It is easy to understand, it is easy to sympathise with this cry of despondency, but one's faith in Divine dispensation must be greater than that. No one can cast his eyes back on the history of our race on this planet without coming to the conclusion that there has always been some progress or another, some step, large or small, taken towards this final goal. There have been, without doubt, many contrary currents which you cannot call progress, and there have been reactions and backslidings, individually and communally. Nevertheless on the whole we must learn to have faith in this dispensation, for the world has progressed, and will continue to do so. Buoyed up with this faith, it is necessary for us to be patient if no visible progress is made before our eyes.

In these democratic days Governments and leaders are guided by what we call public opinion, but there is evidence of something much higher than that. In a country like South Africa, which abounds with energy and hope and progress, it would be a wonder if we did not find these tendencies strongly implanted. Ideas of equality and

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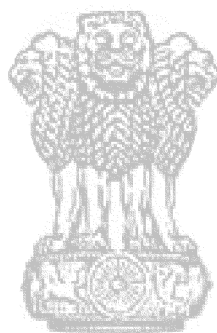
failing vitality which not all the reactionary powers of generations can completely overshadow. They are in the keeping of a far higher power than anything on earth and to co-operate with that higher purpose of God should be our duty, whenever we see failure to pity. Let your faith stand for ever in the exalted nature of these ideals. Upon all sides, even in South Africa there is ample evidence that a recognition of equality and justice is growing wider and more firmly established. I would advise you, therefore, do not yield to despair. Do not allow people to be carried away with the idea that there is no Providence looking after them, for surely no people will ever prosper who have lost faith in their future. We in India have still the courage to go on. Those three points I would ask you to remember—union, public spirit, and this faith in progress.

And now, one word to the European part of my audience who have shown me so much hospitality and cordiality. My word to you, and it will not be long, is: stand by the Capetown Agreement and the spirit underlying it. You will remember that when I first came here I implored you to give the Agreement a chance to show what it contained. I entreated every public leader and politician not to make the situation difficult by condemning it out of hand, by saying it was a mistake or denouncing it. I begged them to remember that it was the Union Government which concluded it, that it broke fresh ground and was untried. I implored them to let it work for a time and watch its operation. I am deeply grateful that the community listened to me.

During the last 18 months the Agreement has had a fair trial and, may I say, as I am now about to depart, that it has abundantly vindicated itself. This Agreement has proved itself to be a safe way of solving the problem. I would emphasise that it is not merely forbearance which should be observed, but it is legitimate to expect that it will regulate arrangements between India and South Africa. Make up your minds that this Agreement should not be disturbed except to be replaced by something better. What we have seen that way lies progress, and that must appeal to you.

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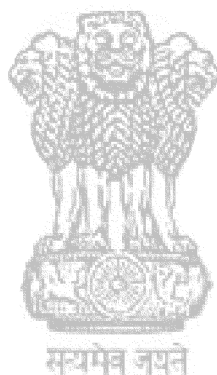
Again I ask you to remember that it is not the immediate result which must be taken into account. It is necessary for you to give up the small in pursuit of the large. It seems to me that you will all now see that the Agreement must not only be worked carefully, but if possible its lines broadened. That is my one word to you. I wish I could say more. I have another opportunity and may possibly speak upon another aspect. My most helpful word is "Cherish the Agreement." It has done good, and if only the goodwill is shown to it, it will do more good. It will do good not only to South Africa, but to that wider sphere of nations in the destiny of which is really included the destiny of the civilised world.



सत्यमेव जयते

Solving the Major Problem

After referring to the remarks made by Mr. Harold Wodson, who presided at the farewell banquet arranged by the Natal Indian Congress (January, 1929), under the presidency of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, Mr. Sastri said :



IN politics you are either rewarded greatly or not at all. To some persons honour is added to honour, and in the case of others that which they have, is taken away. For the last few days you have been rewarding me in both hands without measure of any sort, morning and evening. I am experienced enough, however, to make a very large discount from which is commonly said of me. Still, I do give a thought that there are only two days more before I go, and that there is a limit to the burden you can cast on me.

As I heard what was said I sometimes cast an uneasy glance where my successor in office sat. What did the

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latter think, I asked myself. It reminds me of an episode in the history of India which described how Shri Rama, prince of Ayodhiya, on the point of setting out for 14 years' banishment, advises his wife to remain behind in the palace, do her duties faithfully, but "beware how you praise me to him who takes the Throne from me."

Mr. Wodson seems to be that class of fast friends who consider in the praise of those they love it is not illegitimate to press a certain degree of untruth into their statements.

In work of the nature I have had to undertake there are many more parts than one. If my personality were ten times greater than what it is it would still be only one factor of the numerous things that together go to make up the final result. It is unscientific, Mr. Wodson, to attribute to any one of these factors the whole of the potencies that join together to give us happy results. But I do not wish even in flattery, to say much about that. But really and truly, when you come to consider the problems, what could I have done? Unless all the people I have dealt with had had the mind and temper, moral and spiritual, to respond to my efforts, unless, indeed, there had been already in them the will to do justice, what could I have done? What could I have done with people who had abandoned virtue in a world of virtues and were determined to push ahead, heedless of what might happen to them afterwards?

It was my happy lot to find things had been brought up to that condition in which very little was required to put them on their proper basis. The South African population, it seems to me, have been in the right frame of mind. One had only to come here and talk to audiences in accents of moderation and confidence to discover how little was required to banish misconceptions and misunderstandings. I confess to you that I was among those who believed that there was much more intrinsically wrong in South Africa than there is, and I go back to India in that belief that the Capetown Agreement will solve the major problems which confront us.

Something occurred to disturb your political equanimity. Something occurred to disturb what you consider your economic prosperity, and then things went from bad to worse, until your minds became occupied with thoughts of

Solving the Major Problem.

an anti-social nature until it seemed as though in South Africa there was to be racial bitterness as a firm feature of public life. But the aspect of the problem changed, and the natural feeling of sympathy and fair-mindedness rose to the surface to be committed to paper in the Capetown Agreement.

The doctrine therein contained was an indication to the civilised world that the Government was bound by certain obligations which could not be set aside. These obligations embraced every section of the community. . . . (Here Mr. Sastri referred to the misunderstanding created by the South African Party that repatriation under the Capetown Agreement was not permanent. After explaining its working, proceeded.)

I hope that the matter will be understood in its true nature, and that no attempt will be made by the South African Party, or the Labour Party or the Nationalist Party to have the Capetown Agreement brought within the controversy during the elections.

I have been told by many people on both sides of the House that, so far as they are concerned, they will not use the Indian question as a means of gaining votes. The Agreement, it seems to me, has worked marvellously well, and I strongly deprecate any attempt to interfere with it. On the question of upliftment, a good deal might still be said, but I am tired of discussing it. Much has been done, and although much still remains to be done, it will not do for me to weary you. My friend Sir Kurma, who has to begin his life here, will perhaps find it necessary to touch upon this matter. I hope you will extend to him the same indulgence as you have extended to me.

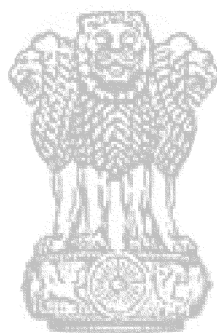
My time with you has been an exceedingly happy time. I have been met with a sympathetic response to my work on all sides. Hospitality I have had in abundance in every part of your beautiful country.

Just one final remark on behalf of my successor. My successor comes from my Province. We have been associated for many years, and I can therefore speak of him with a certain amount of knowledge. He has had a very prominent part to play in the affairs of the Madras Presidency. The fortunes of a great political party have

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been in his hands for the last six years. He was entrusted with an important portfolio. He attended Geneva on behalf of India, and I can tell you that in coming to this country, he has made a very great sacrifice indeed. He might again have been a member of the Madras Government.

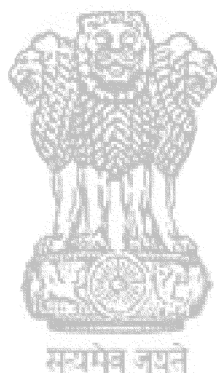
It is prospects of this kind that Sir Kurma has set aside in order to serve his countrymen in this part of the world. You must treat him even as you have treated me, for the interests which are so sacred to the British Commonwealth of Nations are safe in his hands. I leave this country with the feeling of confidence that the work that I did will be carried on in a higher level and with greater efficiency.



सत्यमेव जयते

Christianity

Mr. Sastri wrote the following article on Christianity for "The Outspan":



I HAVE rather rashly consented to write of the influence of Christianity on the world at large. My credentials to discharge such a task are rather thin. I am not a Christian, nor have I, like many others of my countrymen, studied in a Christian institution. But I have been, through a fairly long life, a sympathetic observer of the work of Christian missionaries, and, while not a student of Christian books, such knowledge of Christianity as may be gained from a study of English literature and poetry with zeal and devotion, I may claim to have.

Christianity.

There are some distinctive qualities which attach unmistakably to each religion. I am unable, being an outsider to Christianity, to draw out the precise points that a Christian would like to emphasise as the distinctive features of Christianity, but, speaking as a sympathetic observer, I recognise the special features of Christianity to be: Humility and meekness; a broad compassion and love of our kind, knowing no barrier such as race, country of origin, language, or complexion of skin; a renunciation of spirit, including and even surpassing asceticism; and, lastly, a spirit of service—service delighting in sacrifice of self, and considering it a privilege to suffer for our fellowmen.

Christianity is a religion seeking to embrace the whole of mankind, and is often spoken of as the world religion. To make such a claim is to challenge the judgment of the world, and so Christianity cannot object if the standards applied to it are more exacting than those applied to religions not aspiring to such a position. In India, a religion is judged by its best characters. It is a well-known fact that governments and administrations are not authentic vehicles of the spirit of religions. Things a pious Christian, Hindu or Mohammedan would alike condemn in the conduct of an individual are excused, tolerated, and even vigorously defended in the conduct of governments. Most people, even exponents and official spokesmen of religion, often say that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are meant to regulate the conduct of individuals, but to be excluded from the conduct of statecraft. There is much to say for such a theory, but I prefer to dwell with hope on the large body of opinion, which believes that governments are not exempt from the laws of morality and ethics. It will, however, be long before these principles will be allowed to govern the relation of nations, one to another. But, taking the conduct of individuals from my experience of Christianity in India, it stands distinguished among the religions of the world for the inspiration it has given to the self-sacrifice and philanthropic service of our kind.

It has done possibly more towards bringing the ideal of the brotherhood of man within our horizon than any other known institution. The very fact that Christianity has organised missions in every part of the world, among

Christianity.

civilised nation and among barbarous people, often discharging these offices in complete isolation, with no sympathy, often against antagonism, and exposed even to calumny, is enough to show that there is something in the religion to liberate the highest and noblest qualities of human nature.

It would take too long to recite the vast services that Christian missionaries have rendered in my country. It is not only that they have tried to spread the doctrine of Christ; there is something which we outsiders appreciate even more; they have realised and put into practice the truth that, on the whole, the highest forms of moral and spiritual endeavour exist only where a minimum degree of physical comfort is available.

The degradation to be found in India is largely due to ignorance as well as destitution. In educating the ignorant, Christian missionaries are facilitating the spread of Christianity, and because they spare neither money nor energy in bringing these fundamental conditions of spiritual life to all, Christianity is conquering the world, and is likely to conquer it still further in future.

Hundreds and thousands of my countrymen have been educated in Christian colleges and schools; hundreds and thousands of them have found relief in Christian hospitals; hundreds and thousands have been given help in time of distress through fire and flood. The missions are more to us in these respects than the secular institutions for which the British are responsible.

In India, the higher form of religious life is associated with asceticism. We recognise no one as a representative of true religion who values the things of the world, who cares or strives for them. Our religious people have to practise self-denial.

It is, therefore, the Christian missionary, who goes poor among the people, who prefers to work among the lowly and the oppressed, who ignores the pomp and circumstances of the world . . . it is he whom India honours above everybody else. It is in proportion as the representatives of Christianity combine poverty with piety, lowliness of life with high thoughts and high work, that

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Christianity will make its way into the heart and intellect of India.

When we contemplate the great abuses in India, the pernicious social institutions which have degraded and corrupted Indian society, we wish our reformers to be inspired with the courage, determination and spiritual fervour of the Christian minister. Many of the reforms now taking place in India owe their origin to the influence, self-sacrifice and humanitarian efforts of the missionaries.

The best and truest representatives of modern culture in India are those who, in addition to the ancient ideals of the land, have realised the great life of the Gospel. The man who founded the Brahmo religion received a large part of his inspiration from contact with Christian missionaries, who helped him to understand the life and philosophy of the great Founder of the Christian religion. Gandhi, now recognised as one of the greatest men in the world, traces a part of his spiritual growth to the study of the Bible. His spirit of non-violence is in a large measure due to the influence of Christ.

There is still much for Christianity to accomplish. It has not abolished war. The religion of Jesus Christ, the religion of the Prince of Peace—of Him who stands for goodwill among nations, and the brotherhood of man—cannot be said to have done that for which it was intended until war has been abolished.

And there are some other conquests that Christianity has still to make. Every form of racialism, all assertions of arrogance of one people over another, all assumptions of superiority, are alien to the spirit of the Christian religion, just as they are alien to the spirit of every great religion. It cannot be said with truth that these have been put behind as they deserve to be. It is a melancholy reflection that still in the Christian (as in the Hindu and in the Mahommedan) world, there should be heard voices asserting that there can be no brotherhood among the races, that there are deep and impassable barriers, that these barriers are not to be found so much in spiritual character as in mere colour. It is a melancholy reflection that there should be found among intelligent and intellectual people the notion that a man is to be considered good or bad, worthy or unworthy,

Christianity.

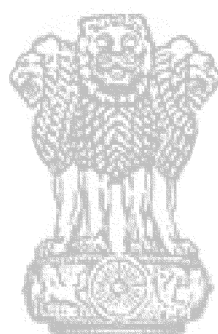
not according to what is inside him, but according to the
the colour of the skin.

Whatever the colour of the skin, the soul is the same within, and yet there are still institutions and laws governing our relationship on the belief that a man's inner nature depends on the colour of the skin. Nothing can be more direct negation of true religion than this doctrine, yet we allow it in too many walks of life that matter to shape our doings.

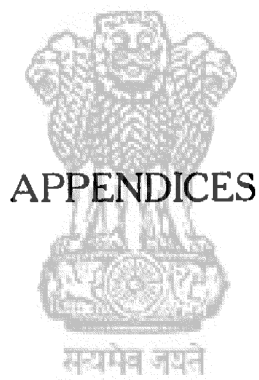
More than that, it is necessary that our governments and our administrations should order their actions according to the principles of religion. Lastly, no Christian, no Hindu, no Mahommedan can fulfil his destiny till he has made up his mind that when he thinks of another man, he thinks of what is inside himself, of his own soul, through which runs our kinship with one another, and with that eternal life from which we spring.



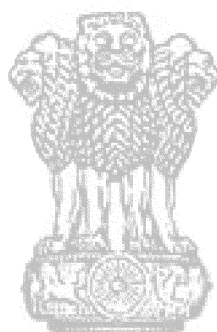
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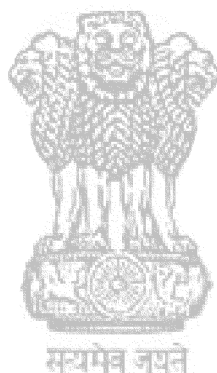


APPENDICES



सत्यमेव जयते

The Capetown Agreement



The following is the text of the Capetown Agreement :

SCHEME OF ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

1. Any Indian of 16 years or over may avail himself of the scheme. In the case of a family, the decision of the father will bind the wife and the minor children under 16 years.

2. Each person of 16 years or over will receive a bonus of £20, and each child under that age the sum of £10. A decrepit adult, who is unable to earn his living by reason of physical disability, may, at the discretion of the Union authorities, receive a pension in lieu of or in addition to a bonus. The pension will be paid through some convenient official agency in India, out of a fund provided by the Union Government, to such amount as they

The Capetown Agreement.

may determine. It is expected that the amount will not exceed £500 per annum in all. In every case the bonus will be payable in India, on arrival at the destination, or afterwards through some banking institution of repute.

FREE PASSAGES

3. A free passage, including railway fares to port of embarkation in South Africa, and from the port of landing in India to the destination inland, will also be provided.

4. Emigrants will travel to India via Bombay as well as via Madras. Emigrants landing at Bombay will be sent direct from their ship to their destination at the expense of the Union Government. The survey and certification of ships shall be strictly supervised, and the conditions on the voyage, especially in respect of sanitary arrangements, feeding, and medical attendance, improved.

5. Before a batch of emigrants leave the Union information will be sent to some designated authority in India at least one month in advance, giving:—

- (a) A list of intending emigrants and their families;
- (b) Their occupation in South Africa and
- (c) The amount of cash and other resources which each possesses.

On their arrival in India, emigrants will be:—

- (a) Advised, and, so far as possible, protected against squandering their cash, or losing it to adventurers, and
- (b) Helped, as far as possible, to settle in the occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude or their resources.

An emigrant wishing to participate in emigration schemes authorised by the Government of India will be given the same facilities in India as Indian nationals.

RE-ENTRY INTO UNION.

6. An assisted emigrant wishing to return to the Union will be allowed to do so within three years from the date of departure from South Africa. As a condition precedent to re-entry, an emigrant shall refund in full to some recognised authority in India the bonus and cost of passage, including railway fares, received on his own behalf, and, if he has a family, on behalf of his family. A pro rata reduction will, however, be made (a) in respect of a member of the family who dies in the interim, or of a daughter who marries in India, and does not return, and (b) in other cases of unforeseen hardship, at the discretion of the Minister.

7. After the expiry of three years, Union domicile will be lost. In agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to it, which will be of general application, the period of three years will run from the date of departure from a port in the Union, and expire on the last day of the third year. But to prevent the abuse of the bonus and free passage by persons who wish to pay temporary visits to India or elsewhere, no person availing himself of the benefits of the scheme will be allowed to come back to the Union within less than one year from the date of his departure.

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For the purpose of re-entry within the time limit of three years, the unity of the family group shall be recognised, though in cases of unforeseen hardship, the Minister of the Interior may allow one or more members of the family to stay behind.

A son who goes with the family as a minor, attains a majority outside the Union, marries there, and has an issue, which will be allowed to return to South Africa, but only if he comes with the rest of his father's family. In such cases, he will be allowed to bring his wife and child, or children, with him, but a daughter who marries outside the Union will acquire the domicile of her husband, and will not be admitted into the Union unless her husband is himself domiciled in the Union.

ENTRY OF WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN.

(The entry of wives and minor children, to give effect to Paragraph 3 of the Reciprocity Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918, which intended that an Indian should be enabled to live a happy family life in the country in which he is domiciled.)

The entry of wives and children shall be governed by the following principles:

(a) The Government of India should certify that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child, as the case may be, of the person who makes the claim;

(b) Minor children should not be permitted to enter the Union unless accompanied by the mother, if alive, provided that (1) the mother is not already resident in the Union, and (2) the Minister may, in special cases, permit the entry of such children unaccompanied by their mother;

(c) In the event of divorce, no other wife should be permitted to enter the Union unless proof of such divorce, to the satisfaction of the Minister, has been submitted.

(d) The definition of the wife and child, as given in the Indians' Relief Act, No. 22 of 1914, shall remain in force.

UPLIFTMENT OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY.

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

2. It is difficult for the Union Government to take action which is considerably in advance of public opinion, or to ignore difficulties arising out of the constitutional system of the Union under which the functions of the Government are distributed between the central executive and the Provincial and minor local authorities, but the Union Government are willing:—

(a) In view of the admittedly grave situation in respect of Indian education in Natal, to appoint a Provincial commission of inquiry, and to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such inquiry.

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(b) To consider sympathetically the question of improving facilities for higher education by providing suitable hostel accommodation at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, and otherwise improving the attractiveness of the Institution for Indians.

To take special steps, under the Public Health Act, for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which will include the question of (1) the appointment of an advisory committee of representative Indians and (2) the limitation of the sale of the municipal land to restrictive conditions.

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT.

The principle underlying the Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924) and the Wages Act (No. 27 of 1925), which enables all employees, including Indians, to take their places on the basis of equal pay for equal work will be adhered to.

LICENSING LAWS.

When the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing laws arrives, the Union Government will give all due consideration to the suggestions made by the Government of India Delegation, that the discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited in the following ways:—

(1) The grounds on which a licence may be refused should be laid down by statute.

(2) The reasons for which a licence is refused should be recorded.

(3) There should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers, as well in cases of renewals, to the courts, or to some other impartial tribunal.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN UNION AND INDIAN GOVERNMENTS.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

The communique was as follows:—

It was announced in April, 1926, that the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa had agreed to hold a round-table conference to explore all possible methods of settling the Indian question in the Union in a manner which would safeguard the maintenance of Western standards of life in South Africa by just and legitimate means. The conference assembled at Cape Town on December 17, and its session finished on January 11. There was, in these meetings, a full and frank exchange of views, which has resulted in a truer appreciation of mutual difficulties and a united understanding to co-operation in the solution of a common problem in a spirit of friendliness and goodwill.

1. Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

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2. The Union Government recognise that Indians domiciled in the Union, who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life, should be enabled to do so.

3. For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it, the Union Government will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required. Union domicile will be lost after three years' continuous absence from the Union in agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to domicile, which will be of general application. Emigrants under the Assisted Emigration Scheme who desire to return to the Union within the three years will only be allowed to do so on refund to the Union Government of the cost of the assistance received by them.

4. The Government of India recognise their obligation to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India.

5. The admission into the Union of the wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union will be regulated by Paragraph 3 of Resolution XXI. of the Imperial Conference of 1918.

6. In the expectation that the difficulties with which the Union has been confronted will be materially lessened by the agreement which has now happily been reached between the two Governments, and in order that the agreement may come into operation under the most favourable auspices and have a fair trial, the Government of the Union of South Africa have decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill.

7. The two Governments have agreed to watch the working of the agreement now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any changes that experience may suggest.

8. The Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint an agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments.

RECIPROCITY RESOLUTION.

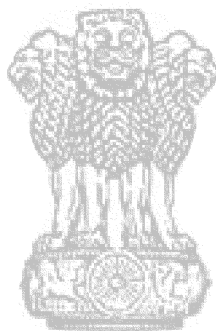
(1) "It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any of the other countries.

(2) British citizens, domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows:

- (a) "The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such a country.

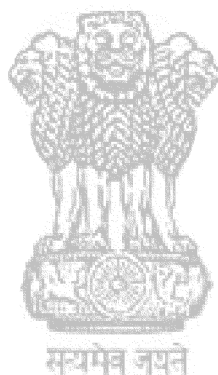
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- (b) "Such rights of visit or temporary residence shall in each case be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.
- (c) "Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement. . . .
- (3) "Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring their wives and minor children on condition (a) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian; and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian."



सत्यमेव जयते

Dr. Malan on the Indian Agreement



Rising in a full House after the discharge of formal business, the Minister of the Interior asked to be allowed to make a statement on a matter of great importance to the country, and which he also owed to the House.

In the Governor-General's speech at the opening of Parliament it was announced that during the recess a conference had been held between representatives of the Governments of the Union and of India on the position of Indians in the Union, and that a provisional agreement had been reached which in due course would be laid before Parliament for their information and, if required, for their consideration.

Shortly after the Conference this agreement was submitted to and formally approved by the Union Government, and at the end of last week official intimation was received that it had now also been ratified by the Government of India. It was also

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agreed between the two Governments that the results of the Conference would be officially announced both here and in India in identical terms, and that immediately thereafter a more detailed and mutually approved summary of the conclusions of the Conference should be laid upon the table of the House and of the Legislative Assembly of India.

Dr. Malan then proceeded to read the communique approved by both Governments, and proceeding, said he would like to make a few observations bearing more especially on the general nature of the agreement.

It must be obvious, continued the Minister, that the Conference fulfilled its difficult and responsible task in strict accordance with the spirit and character which this House and the country have been led to expect as a result of the preliminary negotiations about which the House was fully informed last year. As members will remember it was then agreed that the Conference to be held would not be such that the people of South Africa could justly look upon it as an interference from outside with their domestic affairs, but that on the contrary both Governments would loyally co-operate with each other in the solution of a common problem. Throughout the Conference there was remarkable absence of the spirit of bargaining, and the decisions taken were arrived at solely and wholeheartedly with a view to comprehensive, effective, and peaceful settlement. The results achieved cannot, therefore, be looked upon as reflecting a diplomatic victory in whole or any particular point for either side, but as the fruit of a common purpose carried out in the spirit and by means of friendly collaboration. It will also be obvious that the agreement which has been reached is more in the nature of an honourable and friendly understanding than of a rigid and binding treaty. By their decision not to proceed with the particular legislation which was contemplated last year, the Union Government have not in any respect or to any extent surrendered their freedom to deal legislatively with the Indian problem whenever and in whatever way they may deem necessary and just, nor on the other hand have the Government of India bound themselves either permanently or for any limited period to co-operate with us in the practical solution of our problem in the manner agreed upon.

The position truly described is rather that both Governments have agreed on a solution which to some, indeed, may not seem ideal, but which is at least practicable and peaceful and which holds out every hope of being effective, and that both have further agreed by means of mutual goodwill and co-operation to give this solution a fair and reasonable trial. The chief and most satisfactory method of dealing with the problem has obviously been found in an approved scheme of assisted emigration to be initiated by the Union Government with increased facilities and inducements, and with proper safeguards against possible abuse. The most important feature of this scheme as well as of every other part of the agreement which has been arrived at is that no stigma of racial inferiority is implied, and that in fact such stigma has deliberately been removed where such may have been considered to exist in connection with the so-called repatriation scheme, while South Africa's right to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards

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of life remain untouched and absolute, and has in fact been re-affirmed.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE PROVISION.

Indians who are willing and able to conform to these standards will be enabled to do so in so far as further restrictions of immigration may be expected to result from the agreement. This will take place in strict accordance with the general provision which was formulated by the Imperial Conference in 1918, and is now in operation with other Dominions, and to which India herself was able to subscribe, and in the carrying out of which she has found herself able honourably to assist. Further, if a three years continuous absence from the Union would in future legally entail the loss of the right of domicile, it was agreed that such should be the case, not as a result of discrimination against Indians or any other race in particular, but as the result of an amended immigration law which will be of general application.

In these circumstances there seems to be no reason why any section of the community should be otherwise than friendly disposed towards the working of the scheme, which, if successful and effective, will go very far to ensure the peace and happiness of the Indian community, which will remain permanently settled in the Union and to establish lasting friendship and goodwill between the two great nations on either side of the Indian Ocean.

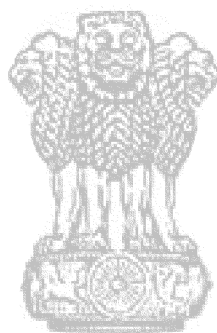
In conclusion, Dr. Malan paid a tribute to the members of Parliament, to the members of public opinion among the Indian as well as the European community, and not the least to the Press, and generally to the people of South Africa for the patriotic way in which they had assisted in the creation of that favourable atmosphere upon which the success of the Conference was dependent, and which was such a marked feature of its deliberation last year. He ventured to make an earnest appeal for general self-restraint and co-operation, and the complete and whole-hearted response to that appeal has proved that now that the results of the Conference were known the continuance of any curb on the public expression of views could not be expected, but in a matter like this where sentiment could so easily be aroused and where any agitation of the public mind, either here or in India, could so easily wreck the best results of the Conference and the vital interests of South Africa, he knew that with the fullest confidence they could once more rely on the good sense and the true patriotism, not only of that House, but also of all sections of the Press and of the people of South Africa. "On behalf of the Government and the people of South Africa," said Dr. Malan, "I also desire to express our gratitude to the Government of India and to pay a tribute to the honourable leader and members of their delegation.

"The invitation to the Government of India, of which we availed ourselves during the recess, to send a representative deputation on a friendly visit to India, was prompted by feelings of genuine friendship, has afforded to the Government and members of Parliament a much valued opportunity of studying at first hand conditions in India and has been a potent factor in the creation of that atmosphere to which the success of the Conference must be mainly attributed. The hospitality which the members of the deputation received from the Government and

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the people of India could not be surpassed at the Conference. The leader and members of the delegation displayed all that ability, sincerity and keen desire for a real and happy solution which inspired confidence and which belonged to the essence of statesmanship.

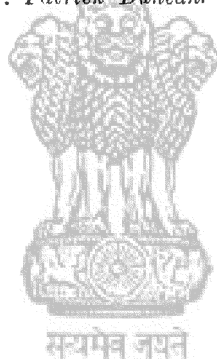
"I feel assured," said the Minister in his concluding sentence, "that both this House and the people of South Africa will join in the fervent hope that the reward of their labours will be the inauguration of a new era of peace and friendship in the true interests of both, between our country and the country they serve."



सत्यमेव जयते

*Anniversary
of the
Indo-Union
Agreement*

The first anniversary of the Capetown Agreement was celebrated at Capetown on February 21, 1928, and among the speakers on this occasion were the Prime Minister (General Hertzog), the Minister of the Interior (Dr. Malan), and Mr. Patrick Duncan.



The Prime Minister (General Hertzog) said:—I do not intend to speak long, following the example that has been set by our host to-night. It is a good example, so I shall say just a few words. I wish to begin by expressing to you my appreciation of the kind words you have spoken as to the share I have taken in bringing about the Agreement which we all of us value, I think rightly, and will continue to value. I think I deserve less than you have indicated.

Mr. Sastri: No, no.

The Prime Minister: Oh, I felt this at the time, and I still feel it to-day, that the Agreement would never have come into existence if it had not been for the desire which was felt on both sides, and the necessity which was felt on both sides, as to the coming into existence of an agreement between the two countries which would put an end to all that—shall I say wrangling?—no,

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no, I cannot call it that, but, let me say, put an end to the things that were threatening to estrange rather than to draw together.

I think it was the will which dominated the Conference to come to an agreement, both on the part of the representatives of India and of the representatives of South Africa, which eventually forced you, as it forced us, to be reasonable. Well, I must say I think we have attained something through that Agreement which we have the right to appreciate and value; and to value, as you have said here this evening, as a star which, I hope, and I think we all hope, will lead to something better as far as the two countries are concerned. When we look at it all, we find that through that Conference, through that Agreement, the two countries and the two peoples have been brought into such a contact as, a year previous, no one would have been bold enough to predict. It shows that no matter how much people may be estranged, when you look at things from the same point of view, inspired by feelings of friendship, sincerity and trust, you could not but get to realise that, after all, the one is as human as the other, and that the one is as good and especially as bad as the other.

Let me say this. We in South Africa are more and more appreciating the viewpoint of India. I feel that we in South Africa who are moving about among the people who are made out to be the most stubborn in their prejudices—that is, the Dutch people—are more than ever appreciating the viewpoint of India. When I see the papers on the other side, and see what is taking place there—that we are no longer, or not so often, called names—I come to the conclusion that the same thing is taking place in India.

Well, I think we can all be grateful. The millenium has not yet come; I doubt very much if there are many here to-night who wish for the millenium to come. We politicians, or at least some of us, would hardly know what to do if the millenium should come. We might not appreciate it. But while we recognise this is a hard world, a world of hard facts and very cold, if, at any time, we, as politicians, do succeed in making it a little less cold, and a little softer, we deserve all the more praise. I wish you to take this from me, that this Agreement, which has been entered into, and is undoubtedly appreciated by me, and by my friends, has brought about a feeling between the two countries which is going to last. We shall never be blamed (I am glad to see that we are not blamed) because we in South Africa, with our own particular problems, should, though we could not make things as smooth for every section of the community, as they themselves would like, at least did all we could to soften, as much as possible, the hardships of life of part of our community.

I feel this, that, through India having sent you as its representative in South Africa, it has put us into personal constant contact with her, and there is nothing like personal contact to smooth out differences and difficulties. In your presence here we have a pledge of continuance of the amicable friendship which now exists, and we have a guarantee of a co-operation which will enable us to solve all our future difficulties in the same amicable and friendly spirit in which we have succeeded in solving this problem.

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I assure you, what I have said is said in all sincerity, and is endorsed by my friends. You have mentioned that this problem has been dealt with on non-party lines. Well, I also point out that here again is a problem which has been made comparatively easy for the Government, because in its initiation we were assisted by all sections of the public.

I can assure you that the Government appreciates the sign of public spirit. And, I assure you, that, with this Agreement as a basis, although there are difficulties which may still arise, South Africa and India will no doubt continue on the most amicable lines.

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

The Minister of the Interior (Dr. D. F. Malan) said:—Mr. Sastri will bear me out when I say that I did not agree to make a speech. I promised him that, between the other speeches, I would throw in a word or two. There is one aspect of the Agreement which has not yet been touched upon, and that is, it has brought for a considerable time into our country our host. As one of those who had the privilege of taking part in the negotiations which led to the Agreement, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be here to-night, and to make this statement. The Agreement concluded has been lauded from various points of view, but not so far from the point of view that it has brought Mr. Sastri to the country. He is not only a man of world-wide reputation, but he is a man who deserves that reputation, not only on account of his accomplishments—or what he has done—but also, and chiefly, on account of what he personally is. He is one of the most outstanding examples in the world of personal self-sacrificing devotion to high personal and patriotic ideals. His presence in the country—which means that South Africa is in a position to-day to make the personal acquaintance of a most illustrious representative of the Indian nation—is of the utmost value to the two nations. It is of the utmost value to India that one of her most illustrious sons should come to stay in South Africa, and learn to sympathise with us in our difficulties, and come in time even to love our own Fatherland.

I hope that when the time comes for him to return to India, he will take with him the best recollections of South Africa, and I hope that he will never forget us. He will certainly take with him our best wishes and our lasting friendship.

The Agreement has been criticised, sometimes severely, from various points of view, and in various ways. There are some who say the Agreement is as bad as it can be; there are others who say it is as good as it can be. Some say it was a very courageous step which we have taken. It is also held that it was not only courageous, but at the same time the most outrageous that they had ever heard of. Every undertaking which is courageous—I think everyone will agree that the Agreement was—is criticised in this way. We who took part in the discussions expected nothing else.

I do not think that we can make any extravagant claim, either one way or the other, for the Agreement, at this stage. This Agreement—I think I am expressing the position correctly

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—is very largely in the nature of an experiment. It is a new and untried way of solving one of the most difficult problems we have had in South Africa. Being in some way an attempt at a solution of one of our problems, it will be judged, naturally, in the course of time by its success. I am not prepared to say that it is a great success or not. The reasonable thing to do is to give it a fair trial.

But there are certain things which we can say with a large measure of assurance now, and one is that part of the Agreement which has to do with assisted emigration, a part which we in South Africa consider as of vital moment to us. It is working as satisfactorily as we can under the circumstances expect. We must remember that the Agreement only came into operation on August 15th last, only six months ago, but even though it has been in operation for such an inconsiderable time, we may say that the assisted emigration scheme has fulfilled all the expectations which we could reasonably have had with regard to its working in such a short time. Another aspect about which we can speak with a good deal of assurance is that we have succeeded, as a result of the Agreement, in getting to a larger extent than has ever been possible in the past in South Africa, the co-operation and good feeling of the Indian population in South Africa.

The Indian population in the Union—I am speaking generally—have loyally accepted the Agreement, and have, as a body, decided loyally to stand by it. Naturally the Indian community have much to criticise. They would have wished for a good deal more as far as their interests were concerned. But, in spite of that, they have loyally accepted the Agreement, and they have the will loyally to abide by it. More than that, I have positive proof that on the part of the Indian community generally, they are prepared to go even further, and to set their faces as a community against any infringement of the immigration laws, such as have taken place in the past, and might conceivably take place in the future. Where we get the co-operation on the part of the Indian community to maintain the immigration laws, and the determination, as a body, not to tolerate or countenance any infringement of those laws, I think that we have, as a European community and as a Government, attained a very good position. Apart from the Agreement as a solution of our own difficulties, I think it has done a great deal, in so far as it has improved the relations between the two countries concerned. Apart from the problems which there may be, it is of the greatest importance that, between the two countries concerned, there should be the attitude of mind which makes it possible for any problem, easy or difficult, to be solved.

If this mental attitude, with its friendly spirit, is absent between our two countries, it makes it impossible for any problem, easy or difficult, to be satisfactorily solved. Now, as a result of the Agreement at which we arrived last year, we have got the best of feelings between the two countries. One result of the Agreement—if I may put it this way—is that South Africa has discovered India, and India has discovered South Africa. India does not look to-day upon South Africa—as for a very considerable time it did look—as a country where common justice was absent, and we ourselves look on India to-day as a country where there is an understanding of our problems, and

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to a great extent a sympathy with us in our difficult problems, resulting in assistance being rendered to us as far as possible. In that we have gained a good deal.

So I say, "We have discovered India." A new light has arisen for us on India, and again to a large extent India has discovered South Africa. A new era has certainly dawned as far as the relations between these two countries to each other are concerned. Perhaps I should say that India and South Africa have re-discovered each other. India will never forget that South Africa has indirectly rendered great service to it. I take it that India places a very high value on the fact that she has been brought into direct contact with Western civilisation, that she has been placed in a position to retain what is best of her own ancient civilisation, and to add to that what is best in European civilisation. And, therefore, India, I take it, prizes very highly her connection with Western civilisation. We must not forget that it was for a long time South Africa which had been a half-way house, shall I say, a stepping-stone, by the aid of which only it was possible to reach India. What would have happened to mariners if they did not have this half-way house. Certainly very few of them could have reached India.

On the other hand, we may not forget that India has indirectly been the cause of our possession of South Africa. India, and the lure of India's wealth, attracted our forefathers from their haunts in Europe to venture the long sea voyage to India, and, in stretching out their hands to India's wealth, they stumbled on South Africa. And we, in that way, came into possession of what has become our own beloved Fatherland. So, indirectly, we owe our national existence to the influence of India. Neither India nor South Africa can afford to forget their historical relations.

I sincerely hope, as it has already been expressed this evening, that the Agreement will be an abiding one, and that, whatever may happen in the future, the relations of mutual goodwill and friendship which have so happily been established between the two countries, will not only be maintained, but will be increased and widened out in the not too distant future.

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, K.C., C.M.G., M.L.A., said:—I had the honour of being asked by the Government to go to India on the Delegation which went in response to an invitation from the Indian Government. There are present this evening one or two friends who were also part of that Delegation. It would be only fitting on my part to say how much we all appreciate the welcome we got in India. The reception we had there had the material effect of bringing about those better relations which made the Agreement possible. I went there feeling that our mission might be a difficult one. One knew that South Africa was not very popular in India's eyes. We went there, not knowing what welcome we should receive. My friends, I think, will support me when I say that the Indian Government and the Indian people opened their arms to us, and that we were received as friends. Everything was done to make our visit as informative as it could possibly be. I should like to take this occasion of acknowledging that fact to you here to-night.

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I can speak to-night with less responsibility and certainly greater freedom than can the Prime Minister, or the Minister of the Interior, and it seems to me that, quite apart from the question of how the Agreement may achieve immediate results, I say, quite apart from its success in that respect, I think that a great success in itself was achieved by the mere fact that an Agreement was reached. I think the Government can claim praise for its courage in making that Agreement. No one who knows the past history of this country can deny that it needed great courage, both on the part of the Government, as Mr. Sastri said, in making the Agreement. I do not think we can claim that that courage has been rewarded. In the first place, it provides a new method for approaching difficulties and troublesome questions which have arisen in the past, and will continue to arise in the future between the European people here, and the Indians. If it is not a means of settling questions, it is a method of approach to attempt to settle them.

The Agreement has brought about a method of approaching these questions by friendly discussion, and coming, if possible, to an agreement rather than being left to coercion. It is an **example set for the world.** It is bound to have far-reaching effects the world over.

India, like ourselves, is constitutionally a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But India, in itself, is more than that, it is something bigger than that; as others have said, India is not so much a country as it is a world. It is a vast section of the human race, and it is that particular section where contact between the civilisations of the West and the East is taking place in its most acute form. West and East, if they have not met, are in close contact. It seems to me that it is in India that the East and West are deciding the question of the relation between the Western and the Eastern civilisations. Whether the issue is to be one of conflict or one of friendly co-operation, will largely depend upon what will happen in India.

It is, therefore, of great importance that we have been fortunate enough to have found a way of dealing with a question by this method of a round table discussion, and of trying to find a solution by agreement. I think that in this alone this Agreement has been a success. It has created a new atmosphere. We cannot go back. We are bound in the future, whatever difficulties might arise again, to meet in a friendly spirit, and to attempt to come to a compromise.

The Agreement has laid down a new and agreed principle in South Africa. It has laid down the principle that, although we are out for the principles of Western civilisation, although we stand for them, we recognise that those of other races who have settled here or have been born here are members of the same community, with the interests of the community, and are to be admitted to our civilisation and nation, and not to be left outside. Without this principle, we cannot exist as a nation. Indians who settle here are entitled, as far as their abilities permit, to take part in our national life. This is the sound principle now laid down, and without it, I say, we cannot exist.

Another thing this Agreement has done is that it has brought our host in our midst. It is a very great thing for us

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to have had among us a representative of Indian culture at its highest. We know that Mr. Sastri has made very great sacrifices in coming here. He came, I feel, simply because he felt it his duty to come where he could best serve India. His coming here has been of very great service to his country and to us, and it has opened the eyes of the people to what Indian culture really means. I hope that he will continue for a long time to live among us.

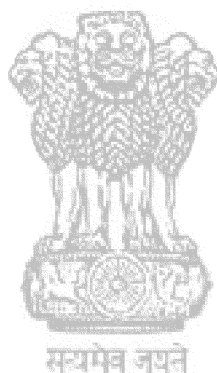
We are going to have a great many difficulties still in this country. The Agreement has not solved everything. We cannot look back on the history of this country without seeing that the clash of one section against another will give rise to differences in our public affairs. But if we have not found a solution, we have found a way—an atmosphere—a principle by which we can keep going and face anything without saying that the difficulties are insoluble. However hard it may be to continue to apply the principles of this Agreement, however hard particular cases may seem, I hope we will never forget the principles of the Agreement, and that we have found a way.

These things take time: we, as a Union, have not yet reached our majority—we are only about 18 years old—and these things take time. Do not let us try to hurry them. Let us, above all things, have patience. Let us rely, above all, on the principles of justice and the desire for friendship. Let us follow these lines, and if we do not solve our difficulties, we will not go very far wrong. Time will bring things to a happy issue. I am sure we all hope this Agreement will be a landmark in our history.



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Mr. Sastri submitted the following memorandum and evidence to the Natal Provincial Committee which enquired into Indian education (April, 1928):



MEMORANDUM.

Now the Natal Education Commission is about to begin work, it is fitting that I should place before it such particulars as are settled of the education scheme which, with the advice of the Department and the support of prominent Indians, I have been maturing. I dare not ask for a definite expression of opinion at this stage, but there can be no doubt that the scheme will receive a great stimulus from a hint, if it may be given, that it is conceived on right lines.

The Department is clearly of the opinion that Indian education has no greater need to-day than that of an institution for the training of teachers. The supply of this need is thus a proper object to which the first considerable effort at self-help on the part of the Indian community may be devoted.

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The community is equally, if not more, eager to have a good High School in Durban. The present school in Carlisle Street has not sufficient accommodation or equipment. There is no laboratory, library or playground. Our scheme therefore combines the idea of a training college and a High School within the Borough of Durban.

The management and maintenance of the combined institution is beyond the ability and resources available in the community. After constructing and equipping the necessary buildings, it is proposed to request the Administration to take them over, and run the institution.

The High School will include Standards V. to X. The Training College will prepare students for two grades of certificate, Senior and Junior, and each of these courses will be of two years' duration. The classrooms required for instructions will, therefore, be at least ten. Besides, we must have a Principal's room, and assistant masters' room, a visitors' room, a library, a laboratory, and a large hall for assembly purposes. Since the institution is to serve the whole Province of Natal, a hostel with accommodation for at least 40 inmates is a necessity. It is likewise intended that the Principal should have a residence on the premises. Our ambition is to make the buildings both suitable and attractive, with a characteristic Indian aspect.

The community desire strongly that the staff should be composed of Indians, and it is their belief that the idea would commend itself to the authorities, and to European opinion generally. But neither the Province of Natal nor the Union can supply the teaching staff from within. They must be brought from India. To meet political and other objections, stipulations may, if necessary, be made that the persons brought over should remain here only for a specific period, at the end of which they should return home with their families. It must be borne in mind, however, in this connection, that the Indian community in Natal have not hitherto made use of the provision in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement that each Province in the Union may introduce ten educated Indians every year for the purpose of its upliftment. The above suggestion does not apply to the case of the resident Principal. For many reasons, this officer should be a European belonging to the local Educational Service.

The Fund for the purpose has reached the figure of £18,000. The estimated expenditure is £20,000, and the remaining amount will soon be collected. The donors have been encouraged to believe that they would be permitted to elect a small committee, say, of five members, as the Department may suggest, to assist the Department in the actual management, under conditions which may be laid down. The present school in Carlisle Street would then become a good, fully-equipped primary school. Pupils need no longer be turned away for want of accommodation. Perhaps the Vth and VIth Standards would still be maintained at the top to round off the education of those who cannot proceed to the High School stage.

The Town Council of Durban has been pleased to give two acres for this object, out of a plot of about six acres for which I made application. Two acres are not sufficient, even, to contain the buildings above specified. The Superintendent of Education has, in a letter to the Mayor, recommended the grant of four

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to six acres. It is fully hoped that the Town Council will realise the needs of the scheme, and assign the whole of the plot.

On behalf of the Indian community, as well as the donors of the scheme, I would make an earnest appeal to the Administration, and the Provincial Council of Natal, to extend their active sympathy and support to the proposals outlined above. Besides the soundness of the project from the point of view of education, the encouragement of a genuine effort at self-help on the part of the Indian community would be an act of statesmanship of a high order.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri (Agent-General for the Government of India) is called, and is examined as follows:—

By the Chairman (Mr. J. Dyson):

Will you give us, Mr. Sastri, your considered opinion of the full meaning you attach to Clause I of part III of the Agreement—the upliftment of the Indian community? Perhaps you would like time to consider, and would like to put in a written statement later? I believe you helped to write it?

I don't think I need time to give you my interpretation of this clause. It is true I helped in the writing out of this paragraph, as in the writing out of other paragraphs. I would say that this sums up the goal, as it were, which the Union Government would keep in view in its work of uplifting the Indian population. Interpreted broadly, it would mean that the communal way of looking at these questions should be dropped; that is to say, that in considering what should be done for a community you must not ask: Who are they, which community do they belong to, what is their complexion, and so forth? But you must consider their capacity to develop by measures of upliftment, and whatever they can turn to their advantage must be afforded to them. That is to say, take education, with which we are primarily concerned at the moment. In considering how much education an individual should receive, the question should not be asked: What community does he belong to, where does he come from, how much tax does he pay, but what is his capacity? How much education is he capable of receiving and turning to his advantage and to the advantage of the community? In other words, he must be made an efficient member of the entire community, as efficient as he can be made. Education and other facilities must be afforded to him in the measure that will draw out of him the best of which he is capable, to make him a most useful member of the community. That, it seems to me, is the ideal which generally is held up for the Government, and the Union Government said that they would be actuated by that ideal in dealing with the Indian community. That, however, as I said, is the goal. No man in his senses would ask, considering the disparity between the ideal and the practical in this country, and this goal should be reached to-morrow, or by a sudden effort. It is quite another question what is practical—how much can be done? Then comes the question of the resources that this Administration has. It is not, therefore, a goal which is to be immediately reached, the contemplation of which should paralyse us, but it merely means that the common rule of civilised Governments, that they should make

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no distinction between elements of their population, but that they should deal with all alike impartially as their capacities warrant, is the ideal which is in this paragraph. It is clearly visualised as the goal of effort.

The members of the Commission have got your memorandum which you sent to the Administration with regard to the erection of a High School and a School for Teachers in Durban. I am quite satisfied with your explanation on this paragraph of the Agreement, but I should like you to give us what is in your mind with regard to your statement of the collection of this sum of money. You don't mind that information being given to the Press?

Certainly not.

You propose to control the building of this school yourself, subject to some expert advice, and to hand it over to the Department and expect us to equip it with teachers and so on and take charge of it finally as an Administration?

That part of the equipment which is material I propose to make part of our scheme, and we will equip it with furniture, and perhaps, if our funds warrant, with a laboratory and library too. Before handing it over we intend to make it complete.

It would not be a serious trouble to us in taking over this school to obtain 10 or 12 teachers from India—Indian teachers, even including lady teachers?

It would not be difficult; on the other hand, I hope to be able to secure for you some of our good men. I have some in view, and I want to be able to address the Governments and the Training Departments, and to ask them to send men out here. I am in full hopes that at all events at the start, for the first five years, this school shall be well equipped and well taught.

It would give us efficiency from the start?

Yes.

We can only proceed to that extent when we have pupils offering, who are qualified to enter the School?

Of course.

It will take some two years to build?

No, I think once we start we can build in six months. I would like a word of explanation. Talking of a High School, I would like the Commission to remember that there is a High School already in Durban. We are not going to start a new High School. That High School will be shifted, and brought to this building, and it will include the training of teachers. It will be a combined institution.

What is the position in India regarding compulsion in primary education? Take any State that is to some extent modernised?

Perhaps you mean certain Presidency towns?

We have an Indian population roughly of 140,000, and we have roughly from 20,000 to 25,000 Indian children to deal with in Natal. What element of compulsion would you recommend to bring us into line with a State in India?

In India all our compulsory schemes so far have embraced a course of five years. When first started we thought four years would do, but the Education Departments advised us that a mere four years' course would mean waste of money and waste of effort, because what is acquired in four years in a primary school would not last. They therefore advised us to come more up to the standard of advanced countries. They would have recom-

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mended six years, but I think in Bombay and Madras and certain other large towns we have started with five years' course. It is not yet in operation in the full areas, in the rural areas, but in some of the towns it is being carried out. In some of the territories of the Native Rajahs it has been in existence for some years with success. One State, which is governed by the Gaekwar of Baroda, has nearly all its population of school age at school, and it is considered to be a model, which British India is slowly following. If we aimed at anything less than five years good money may be wasted.

For the moment would you make compulsory education a period of years?

What is the position with regard to the question of fees in India? Are the primary schools free?

The primary schools have become mostly free now. They were not free until about ten years ago, but then the effort of making them free began, and I think it is almost entirely the case now that primary education is free in Government and what are called Board Schools in the country. There is a very large number of private schools, which are allowed to levy fees, or remit them, just as they please. Where they remit the fees the Government makes the loss good to them which they incur by remitting fees altogether.

I don't know whether you would care to give us your views as to whether there should be any proportion of European teachers retained in the primary schools of the Province?

I would prefer it as a goal to have education entirely in the hands of the Indians, but I am not attaching great importance to the personnel of the teachers. I am advised by all those who know, that the number of European teachers employed in the primary schools is comparatively small.

By Mr. Kichlu:

Is it proposed to have residence for the Principal of the College in connection with the Training College scheme?

Yes.

Is it proposed to provide sufficient ground for a complete institution in every way?

We should very much like to do that, but perhaps the two acres that the Town Council have so far agreed to give us may not afford enough scope. We must wait until the Town Council change their view as to our requirements.

I take it it will be essential to have the Training College in close proximity to the present school, and also to the other schools, in order that the teachers may be trained with ample facilities for learning how to teach?

That is why we have chosen that particular spot, and are unwilling to take our institution from that place even with the temptation of ten acres the Town Council might give us outside that area possibly.

I take it that your requirements would include sufficient space for a European Principal's residence with a separate entrance, and also any other additional building, and also two hostels, because hostel provision will be necessary for about 40 teachers who will be taught there? And there are other requirements?

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That is part of our scheme as I drew it up, and it is embodied in the memorandum; but all these ideals have got to be curtailed a good deal by reason of the very restricted space we now have. We only have two acres, and we must cut our coat according to the cloth. We cannot afford to have the whole of this scheme brought on at once. We must wait.

By the Chairman:

Have they not agreed to extend that land? I understand you have made a further application?

I am afraid it has been turned down. Two acres is all we have, and we have to build as much on two acres as we can commodiously build.

By Mr. Kichlu:

Will it not mean that the training of teachers will be delayed if we cannot get all the necessary buildings?

The provision of training, and the turning out of trained teachers, will certainly not be delayed because we have not got a very large space. It would be fitting with educational ideals to have a good large area, but we must do without that. We cannot have everything.

By Mr. Acutt:

Could not the Indian Sports Ground adjoining this proposed Training College be utilised for physical exercise and sports?

We could, but that is always open to matches and other things, and we should have to depend on the mercy of two or three committees who cannot always be in their sweetest moods. Your school should have its own playground. That, of course, would be the ideal, and in ordinary circumstances a school is an institution for which Town Councils are the readiest to grant as much space as possible. However, I recognise the difficulties of Durban, and I have to wait.

By the Chairman:

With regard to the education of girls, shall we find any difficulty in applying compulsion there? At what age do you think they should go into mixed schools, and when should they be separated? You are acquainted with all the religious limitations of the Indian community?

I should not say there was any religious difficulty about girls attending schools. There is a difficulty arising from the sentiment that the other sex does not require so much education as the male sex. That somewhat backward notion of the female sex is rather more common in Indian society than it is in European society, and that is a sentiment which is rather hard to eradicate. It will take time. I think until about 12 years of age, girls and boys might be educated together without serious inconvenience, but after that I think the sentiment would demand a separation. I don't know how far it is the case in the whole of the Province of Natal, but from my little experience in Durban and Maritzburg there is, I think, an increasing disposition to send girls to school even after 12, provided a separate establishment could be made of them. That is a very difficult proposition, and I am not prepared to advocate a separate system

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of girls' schools in the immediate present, although where there is such a demand perhaps the Administration would be inclined to regard it sympathetically. At present perhaps it is quite enough to go on with co-education. There are two free schools which I have myself inspected, maintained specially for girls by private mission agencies. They seem to be very popular, and are doing well. The Government seems to maintain no separate girls' schools. On these matters I am prepared to abide by the decision of the Department, acting in consultation with the accredited leaders of society here. I am not prepared to dogmatise on the point, or bring my own notions into the discussion. I know at the present moment the Department is very sympathetically disposed, and whatever measures they resolve upon, in consultation with leaders of Indian opinion, should, I think, be generally acceptable.

Of course, you have become acquainted with the system here—very largely an aided system through grantees?

That is for Indians; for the Europeans the system is reversed largely.

Would you favour pretty well an entire Government system of education as soon as possible?

I am a practically-minded man, and whatever my ideals may be, I try to remember them and go forward. I go forward only slowly. I am perhaps a conservative, but I am not quite prepared to advocate a very speedy abolition of this grantee system. I know that with the very limited resources at your disposal, you cannot immediately launch upon a wide system of schools. I must see which system will bring education within the means of the largest possible section of the Indian community, and I think the grantee system promises to bring quickly more under this system than the Government system. I would not, therefore, advocate any precipitate conversion of grantee schools into Government schools. But there are many things connected with the grantee system to which I object, and which, perhaps, may be remedied without falling back on the Government system altogether. I daresay in the course of the evidence which will be tendered to you many points will be brought up calling for reform in the grantee system. One thing struck me very specially, that the grantee in this country is overburdened with work, and it is becoming almost a profession with some people. One grantee becomes responsible for several schools separated by considerable distances from each other. He charges a travelling allowance, and I understand takes a certain remuneration for managing, and in some cases, at least, I have been informed so, this poor subsidy which the Administration gives to the schools is made to pay the cost of the buildings which are erected. Fancy the small stipends that you give by way of teachers' salaries being invaded for the purpose of paying the capital expenditure by contributions to a sinking fund. The amount given by the Union Government is five guineas, out of which this Provincial Administration gives only £2 10s.

This position existed long before we had this basis of subsidy. It is not the intention to save money. It is only about three years ago that the subsidy arrangement was altered, and Mr. Havenga's statement at the Conference in Durban was that he had adopted this form of subsidy to place it on a scientific basis, and he placed it on the European, the Coloured and the Indian

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for all the purposes of the Province, and not in relation merely to education. The grant has never been lessened because the subsidy was lessened or because it was decided on the school-going population. A mistaken idea has got about concerning this matter. The decision of the Natal Provincial Council to limit education was a decision deliberately arrived at. A political fight was going on between the Indian and the European. The basis of subsidy has had nothing to do with it. The political fight, I understand, now that we have this Agreement, is to disappear. We are to start on a new basis, and as a result of this enquiry whatever we can do to carry out this Agreement will be done straightforwardly by every member of this Committee. It is a mistake to think that we have been trying to save on the subsidy. Previously we had a subsidy on a £ for £ basis. Then it was cut, and a block sum subsidy was given by Mr. Burton, and eventually that block sum subsidy was altered by Mr. Havenga, and now we have a subsidy based on the school-going population of the Province. That hurt us. We suffered under the new arrangement. I hope you understand that the subsidy has not had any influence whatever on the way we have treated Indian education?

I am very thankful to be instructed on the subject. I was not thinking of the legal aspect of the case at all. I realise from the beginning, from a talk with Mr. Havenga himself, that there was no obligation on the local Administration to spend all the monies they have got by way of subsidies on education. From the point of view of law I put it aside altogether.

Miss Payne-Smith has told us that if we increase the grant from £2 10s. to £4 that will give immediate relief, and will be a satisfactory basis. That would be a beginning for these aided schools?

Yes.

By Mr. Clarkson:

In training these teachers in this Training College, would it not be preferable for their salaries eventually in these Government-aided schools to be paid by the Government?

So long as the salaries are fixed by the Department it does not matter who is the paymaster.

I understand the position to-day is that a large number of these teachers are very poorly paid? It is due to the fact that the grant is only £2 10s. The salary is in relation to the amount of the grant practically?

I was thinking that what you thought was that the Department should fix the salaries to be paid to the teachers. Who actually hands them to the teachers is a different matter.

We cannot revolutionise Indian education in five minutes. These schools are here, and you cannot convert them in five minutes into Government schools. In connection with the remark you made with regard to compulsion, there is a large number of Indian children not attending school. Should not the aim be to extend facilities to enable those who are anxious to attend to go before you talk about compulsion?

You mean that the full results of the voluntary system must be obtained before you begin to think of compulsion?

Yes?

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It may be a solution. As far as I can see the community will stand compulsion.

Is it not far better to make provision first for those who want to go to school voluntarily?

I understand your point. A certain amount of very impressive evidence has been given that the present accommodation is not sufficient even for those who offer voluntarily. Let us meet that demand first before we consider compelling children to go to school. There is a good deal to be said for that.

By Mr. Lidgett:

In those Presidencies in India where education is further advanced, does the compulsory system and the provision of free educational facilities apply to all sections of the community?

It applies to all sections of the community, but subject to a fairly considerable number of exemptions which are granted.

Which may be religious or from some other point of view?

Yes.

There is no social line, no caste line, or anything of that kind? It is applicable to everybody. They all have to attend school?

Yes.

I think from some of the results that we have heard of from witnesses, they have an idea that as a result of the sitting of the Committee a sudden change of policy is going to take place, and every Indian child is going to be within a school within 12 months, perfectly free and paid for out of the general revenue. What you have said this afternoon, if it is listened to attentively by them will have very great effect. There is one point I would like to emphasise, and that is this, that whereas the £4 suggested would come out in the hands of the capable administrator like Miss Payne-Smith in a Government-aided school, the actual cost in the Government school of the Indian people at the present time is something like £7?

Largely on account, I think, of the expense of the Carlisle Street Secondary School which is staffed with a European staff.

It may be due to that and other things. If the Indian community are looking to Government schools, I want them to realise what it is going to mean for the community?

You mean it will mean a great restriction?

I mean there is a very vast sum of money to be found, and the amount suggested by Mr. Clarkson this morning of £250,000 is not by any means overdrawn?

It is a very conservative estimate if it means placing the Indian children on the same basis as the European children in regard to education.

32,000 children at £7 10s. would come to about £250,000 a year?

Yes.

There are numbers of people who think that the white population of Natal is a very wealthy community?

I hope you are.

The position absolutely is that beyond what we get from ordinary taxation all the way round there are only 11,000 people in Natal who come above the £400 a year bar so far as Income Tax is concerned, so that whatever anybody wants in the way of increased services in Natal at the present time, if you cannot

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get it by means of a Personal Tax there are only 11,000 people in the Province who will find these additional funds. Therefore, it becomes a very grave problem—the demands of any section of the community put forward. I understand you regard all these demands made by your people as a goal toward which we are to work by means of instalments?

Speaking for myself, I believe in steady and gradual progress. I am struck by the distance you have got to cover in this respect before this goal can be reached, the enormous distance, and nobody expects the Natal Administration to be able to accomplish that in a limited number of years. If you were the American Government you would find it difficult, but you are only the Natal Administration. You will find it very hard to reach the goal. If you keep it steadily in view, if you don't turn back from it and go back altogether to the old policy to which Mr. Dyson was referring, and say "so much this year, and so much the next, and so much the third," providing always there are funds, that is all that a reasonable person can ask. I don't put my demands higher.

By Mr. Acutt:

You have just said you realise we have a long way to go before we reach the goal which is being aimed at, and it all revolves on the question of finance. It is all very well for you to say that it does not matter who pays the taxes, or what complexion a man has, in endeavouring to give the community a chance of uplifting themselves to their fullest capacity; but we have got to look at the financial aspect of matters, and the people of Natal consider that they are overburdened with taxation, both Union and Provincial, at the present time. Any improvement of the conditions with regard to Indian education is going to mean further taxation, and in my opinion the bulk of the taxation of this Province is borne by Europeans. We, as representatives of the people, have got to study the wishes of the people, and I am quite sure that we are going to be faced with considerable difficulty, if we put forward any proposition for increased taxation for the purpose of improving Indian education, and I think you, as a broad-minded man, will fully appreciate our position. It comes to this: would it not be better to have necessary funds for carrying out the aims in regard to Indian differentiation with regard to taxation in order to provide the education?

It is a very thorny subject which Mr. Acutt has broached, but if you think you will give me sufficient time to develop my views I should be quite happy to deal with it. I said I was a very practical man. I believe that I am, but at the same time I am an idealist in this sense that when I realise what is right and proper I don't like to lose sight of it. I may be crawling my way towards it, but I crawl towards it. And one of my ideals is that in any advanced State, while the franchise may be withheld from certain sections for particular reasons, what are called the elements of social well-being, such as education, good sanitation and good laws, equal administration of justice and so forth, must be made the common property of all. They cannot be withheld. The right to take part in the Administration to shape the policy which is connoted by the franchise and by the power to make or unmake a Government, that may be restricted, but these

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other things what we call the ordinary elements of social well-being ought not to be measured out to people. The general revenues of a country are the creation of a system of taxation to which all people contribute. Every one that contributes to the general revenues of the Province is entitled to a share of these elements of social well-being. The poor man may contribute a little to the State; he contributes according to his capacity. He contributes indirectly perhaps more than directly as a consumer of articles that are taxed at the ports. But he does contribute when he contributes indirectly. You never ask in creating schools or in creating hospitals: How much does this locality pay, or how much do these people pay by way of taxation. You do what you can irrespective of that. We do not differentiate usually on the ground that a community pays or does not pay. The community is taxed to the utmost capacity, and whatever might be said about the amounts contributed by the respective communities here, I believe it will be maintained that there is good ground for believing that the Indian community does not escape taxation unduly. The taxable capacity of the Indian community is perhaps somewhat inferior, but they are paying their share, and to divide the amounts expended on education into certain portions according to the taxes is to evolve a novel principle. I don't think it is done. You don't say that the Jews pay on the whole so much in taxation, and therefore they shall have so many schools. I think if you accept the Indian community under this Upliftment Clause as a part of the permanent population here for whom you are bound to do as much as you can—I don't say as much as they deserve—the question of how much they pay in the way of taxes ought to be taken into consideration. That is my point. They may not pay as much as the European community pays, but that does not mean that they should receive less education, or that their sanitary needs should be less cared for, or that they should be allowed to become the victims of disease more than others. Mr. Acutt mentioned that you are the representatives of the people, and you must act according to the wishes of the people. That point is recognized in the Agreement. The Union Government say they cannot legislate much in advance of public opinion. I am never likely to lose sight of the fact that actuated by the very best intentions in the world you will not be able to do as much as you would like to do by reason of the backwardness of European public opinion upon this subject. In educating public opinion I should certainly enlist the sympathies of an enlightened body like this Education Commission. It seems to me that your duties are not ended by saying that public opinion will not support this. I should personally like you to enunciate what you consider to be right or proper, and then measure what is done exactly to-morrow or the day after by the comparative backwardness of public opinion. I quite realise what Mr. Acutt wanted to enforce upon me, that the wishes of the people mean the wishes only of the European people. This is a practical and vivid way of putting the difficulties to me. He practically means to say that what determines the progress to be made in Indian education is not the wishes of the Indian people but the wishes of the European people. Am I likely to forget that you have the votes, and that the Indian people have not the votes, in this country? I can only urge that you will take the claim of the Indian people as to be looked upon

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with double care. Because these people have been recently disenfranchised it is up to you to pay very special and very tender consideration to their wants. You have taken upon yourselves tremendous responsibilities in taking away the franchise from them. It means you have a moral responsibility before God of the most onerous kind. That you have accepted, and I hope that same God will give you the courage and magnanimity to take that responsibility in the proper spirit. The Indian community cannot, of course, command a means of publicity to the same extent as you can, but they look to you to see that the aim is kept steadily in view, and that as far as you can you will do for them to-day, to-morrow and the day after what can in reason be done. More it is impossible for us to expect, but less, may I say, it is not in us to put up with.

Mr. Sastri has got away from the point I had in view, and that is the financial point. He talks about educating public opinion, but what he leaves us to do is to educate public opinion to put their hands in their pockets to provide additional facilities for Indian education. I conclude, Mr. Sastri, you are in favour of differentiation?

It appears to me that if I were to sub-divide the Indian community into so many sections, and ask for differential taxation among them, I should be doing something ludicrous. I don't think that I should advise the Indian community to accept the position that if they want so many schools, and so much to be spent by way of teachers' salaries, they must contribute the whole of that expense themselves. As a matter of fact, it is not so done now. Your general revenues are called upon in a very considerable measure for the support of European education. That means that the Indian supports European education to some extent. The Indian contributes to the general revenues what he can or what he is called upon to do, and from those general revenues a good deal of money is taken now and spent upon European education. Is it unreasonable for the Indian to demand in turn that something should be taken for the support of Indian education? Nothing is done so far; on the other hand, the whole of this subsidy given by the Union Government is not ever spent on Indian education.

By Mr. Lidgett:

There was no stipulation that it should be?

The amount granted by the Union Government per head in aid of Indian education is £5 5s., and the rate to which European education is aided is £16 17s. 6d. and this amount also increases and decreases according to the number of pupils at school. It cannot be said that although the statute failed to say these amounts should all be spent on education that there should not be a parity maintained between the monies received for these purposes and the money spent. So far the Indian has been deprived of the benefit of these revenues, which he has been rigorously excluded from the benefit of the general revenue. The European does not pay a penny towards the cost of Indian education, while the Indian for years has been paying something towards the cost of European education. That seems to me to be a point which is quite sustainable. From the general revenues monies have been taken hitherto as they were needed for the support of European education. From this general

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revenue so far not a penny has been taken for the support of the Indian education. I am not making a complaint of it, but if the Indian is asked that he should be brought on to the same level under the general revenue he would not be making a foolish or an unsustainable complaint. The Indian is paying now for European education—not that he is paying wholly or largely, but he is paying. He is getting nothing from the general revenue.

By Mr. Acutt:

You are aware that a differentiation is made by the Union Government in the case of Natives as regards education. Would you call that policy ludicrous?

I don't pretend to understand Native education, and I don't desire to enter that controversial field.

I take it you are opposed to the idea of differentiation in regard to taxation?

I am entirely opposed to it.

By Mr. Clarkson:

There is one impression I would like to remove from your mind, if I am able to. You are referring to this five guinea grant for Indian education. You are losing sight altogether of the fact that a large number of Indians use our roads, and particularly our hospitals, free, and if you made up a balance sheet—I wish to remove from your mind the idea that there has been a deliberate attempt to deprive the Indian of what was considered right and proper in the way of education—you would find that the Provincial Administration is spending more than the grant on the Indian population?

Oh, no!

If you took a balance sheet you would find that the debit balance is against the Indian community. We deal with the whole problem as an Administration. Indians use our roads, and they contribute Wheel Tax, but according to the figures that have been put up, they don't contribute more than one-fifth of the general revenue that we collect, so that the contribution from general revenue for European education is more than provided by the Europeans?

That is putting forward a view which I combat in toto.

I don't want a general impression to get abroad that the Administration has been using money specially earmarked for Indian education for other purposes?

I don't say so for a moment. The law is on your side, but the fact that these subsidies have been regulated according to the number of pupils in schools, and that there is a further differentiation made between a European child and an Indian child, shows that in the mind of those who framed it there was some proportion between the amount received in that way and the amount to be spent in that way.

By the Chairman:

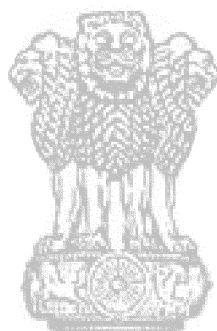
Since the new subsidy has come into existence the Indian community has lost through not getting as many children into school as possible. I think to-day we can get substantial relief by getting more children into school, and that, I think, is the proper way to look for relief at the moment.

Indian Education.

That is the way a Provincial Administrator would look at it.

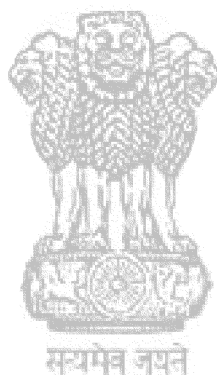
I think the Indian community should look at it in that way too?

You know best, and as you get on with this enquiry towards the end you will be much wiser. I daresay you will hit on the best means of solving this very difficult problem, but since Mr. Acutt opened up that view of the enquiry I thought I should say that the Indian community has a claim as taxpayers, which it would be unwise to ignore.



सत्यमेव जयते

*The Agent's
Report, 1927*



**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AGENT OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31st DECEMBER 1927.**

I.—APPOINTMENT OF AN AGENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. The appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in South Africa is an outcome of the Conference held at Cape Town in December 1926 and January 1927 between representatives of the Governments of India and of the Union of South Africa. Part IV of the "Summary of Conclusions reached by the Round-Table Conference on the Indian Question in South Africa" (laid on the table of the House of Assembly, New Delhi, on the 21st February 1927) is in the following terms:—

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"IV. Appointment of Agent,—

If the Government of the Union of South Africa make representations to the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments, the Government of India will be willing to consider such a request."

2. In announcing on the 21st February 1927 in the House of Assembly that the Government of India had ratified the agreement reached by the representatives of the two Governments at Cape Town, Mr. J. W. Bore, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., stated that the Government of the Union had requested the Government of India to appoint an Agent and that the proposal was receiving the earnest attention of that Government.

3. The appointment of an Agent in South Africa was subsequently approved, and the creation of a small secretariat was sanctioned, provision being made for a Secretary, an Office Superintendent (also to act as the Agent's Stenographer) and a typist.

4. The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C. took up his appointment as Agent on the 28th May. Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., joined as Secretary on the 30th May, and Mr. C. S. Ricketts, M.B.E., as Superintendent on the 1st June. All these officers joined at Simla. The typist's post was to be filled by recruitment in South Africa.

5. The Agent, his Secretary and Office Superintendent sailed from Bombay on the 8th June in the B.I.S.N. Company's steamer "Karoa." The Agent was accompanied by Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, M.A., of the Servants of India Society, in a private capacity.

6. At the several ports of call on the voyage to South Africa, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam and Beira, the Agent was welcomed by the local Indian community. At Zanzibar he was also entertained at a Garden Party attended by the son of the Sultan, the British Resident and the Admiral Commanding-in-Chief the East Indies Squadron. At Dar-es-Salaam the leading Government Officers attended a lunch given in the Agent's honour; and at Beira the Portuguese Governor presided at a meeting of welcome which was attended by the consular body of the Port.

7. In conformity with the suggestion of the Union Government the Agent landed at Lourenco Marques, where he was met by the Union Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs, (Mr. H. N. Venn), by the Union Agent at Lourenco Marques and by the British Consul-General for Portuguese East Africa. From Lourenco Marques he proceeded at once by train to Pretoria which he reached on the 28th June.

8. Since his arrival in the Union the Agent has spent, during the period under review, 26 days in the Transvaal, 110 days in Natal and 41 days in the Cape Province.

II.—HEADQUARTERS OF THE AGENT.

9. The orders of the Government of India were that the Agent should settle the location of his headquarters in consultation with the Union Government.

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10. No final decision has yet been reached regarding the location of the Agent's headquarters. Pretoria is the seat of the Administration, but Ministers and Heads of Departments in the Union Government spend at least six months of the year at Cape Town during the sessions of Parliament, while seven-eighths of the Indians in the Union are to be found in Natal. Even as regards Natal, while the Indian population is most numerous in and around Durban, the Provincial Administration is centered in Pietermaritzburg.

11. Expectation in the Union, both in Government circles and among Indians was that the Agent would maintain at least two houses, at Pretoria and at Cape Town. Suitable hotel accommodation is not always readily obtainable at short notice in either city, and residence in a hotel is in any case open to the objection that, in the present state of feeling in South Africa, it would render the Agent inaccessible to Indian callers. In the circumstances the Agent has taken a lease for a year (with effect from the 4th July, 1927), of an unfurnished house in Government Avenue, Pretoria: this house has been furnished out of the provision made for the purpose in the Agent's budget. As regards Cape Town, a furnished house in a suitable quarter, Rondebosch, has been rented for six months with effect from the 15th October.

12. It is, however, doubtful if this is the best solution of the problem. As events have turned out, the Agent has, during the period under review, spent more time in Natal than in the Cape and Transvaal Provinces together. It is impossible as yet to foretell how far the experience of 1927 may prove to be in this respect normal. The task of carrying out the "upliftment" part of the Agreement falls chiefly upon the Provincial and Municipal authorities of Natal, and it is reasonable to suppose that in the future, as in the year under review, a great part of the Agent's work will lie in that Province. There is much to be said in favour of the Agent's having a house in Natal, preferably in or near Durban, from which place the Provincial capital Pietermaritzburg, is accessible in two hours by motor: while as regards Pretoria and Cape Town it may well be that the Agent will be able to dispense with the two houses which he has leased, relying for the future on hotel accommodation in these two cities.

III.—ESTABLISHMENT.

13. There have been no changes in the personnel of the establishment of the Agency during the period under review.

IV.—THE AGENT'S RECEPTION IN THE UNION.

14. The appointment of a member of the Government of India's Delegation to the Cape Town Conference to be, under the provisions of the Agreement, India's first Agent in South Africa was acclaimed by the Press of the Union as a proof of the importance which the Government of India attached to the Agreement and as an earnest of that Government's intention to carry out their obligations under the Agreement in the spirit in which the Agreement itself was conceived. A proof that the appointment was also welcomed by the Union Government is found in the fact that the proposed amnesty for Indians illegally present in the Union (vide paragraph 47 of this report) is ex-

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pressly stated to be an "act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri as the First Agent of Government of India in South Africa."

15. The telegrams of welcome received by the Agent on his arrival in Pretoria included messages from His Excellency the Governor-General of South Africa, from the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Union, from the Right Honourable General Smuts (leader of the Opposition), from His Grace the Archbishop of Cape Town and from societies representative of the Indian community throughout the Union.

16. At the meeting of welcome organised by the Indian community of the Transvaal on the day of the Agent's arrival in Pretoria, the Mayor of Pretoria (Councillor De Vries) presided thereby setting an example which has been followed by the chief citizen of every place of importance which the Agent has visited in the Union. The Agent has been made an Honorary Member of the Clubs of Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Kimberly, and has everywhere been most hospitably received by both Europeans and Indians.

17. *Precedence of the Agent.*—While the general question of the precedence to be accorded to the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, as such, has not yet been decided, the Union Government have agreed to regulate the precedence of the present Agent in accordance with his rank as a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, a decision which had indeed been anticipated in their treatment of the Agent both by the Departments of the Union Government and by public bodies such as the Municipal Council of Durban. Thus the Agent had already been granted the privileges of a Minister of the Union Government as regards railway travelling,—he travels in a special saloon charged at ministerial rates.

18. *Feeling in the Union.*—It should not be hastily assumed that the welcome extended to the Agent betokens a complete change of attitude among the Europeans of the Union towards the Indian problem: there are directions (notably that of trading facilities for Indians) in which feeling would sometimes seem to be hardening against the Indian. At the same time there can be no doubt that the friendliness and sympathy which have been widely accorded to the Agent both in Natal and the Transvaal represent quite a new phase in the political outlook of these provinces, and that the establishment of friendly intercourse with people who have hitherto been taught to regard and to treat the Indian as a "coolie" predisposes them to consider the whole problem of the Indian in South Africa in a new light. Indeed one of the most striking features of the Agent's reception in Natal and in the Transvaal has been the readiness which the "white" population has shown, even in places reputedly anti-Asiatic such as Stanger, Estcourt, Ladysmith or Dundee, to attend the Agent's meetings and to "hear the other side." More than two thousand Europeans attended a meeting held on the 11th August in the City Hall of Pietermaritzburg to hear the Agent plead the cause of Empire citizenship with special reference to the place of the Indian in the Empire. Educational, literary and social service societies have volunteered to place their platforms at the Agent's disposal for addresses and lectures on topics connected with India and Indian thought; and both in Natal and at Cape Town the Agent has been given opportu-

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nities of which he has gladly availed himself to address gatherings of school-boys and school-girls and (in Natal and at Pretoria) of University students.

19. *The Churches.*—From the Christian Churches of all denominations the Agent has repeatedly received proofs of goodwill and of a desire for the settlement of race problems on the lines of justice and mutual forbearance.

20. *The Press.*—The English Press of the Union has either, as in the case of the Cape papers, the Johannesburg "Star," the "Natal Witness," and the "Natal Advertiser," maintained an attitude of constant friendship, towards the Agent and towards carrying out the Agreement, or has decided at least "to give the Agreement a trial." The Afrikaans Press has refrained from criticism of an Agreement to which the Nationalist Government were a party.

21. *Indian Opinion.*—All sections of the Indian community in South Africa welcomed the Agent, though the warmth of the welcome was tempered in some cases by lukewarmness towards the policy for which he stands,—the carrying out in its entirety of the Cape Town Agreement. As this aspect of the Agent's activities has developed there has been a considerable rally of responsible leaders and responsible opinion to the side of the Agreement, and the South African Indian Congress has completely identified itself with the policy of the Agent in this respect. Opposition still exists and both in the Transvaal and in Natal there are leaders—more vocal, perhaps, than influential—who, without any alternative policy worth the name, have declared war on the Agreement. Their views obtain publicity in two of the three Indian-owned papers of the Union,—the "African Chronicle" and "Indian Views". These two papers are sometimes quoted in the Press in India: in South Africa they have little influence. The remaining Indian-owned paper, "Indian Opinion", published at Phoenix by Mr. Manilal Gandhi, supports the Agent in his policy of working out the Agreement.

V.—POSITION IN THE UNION AT THE DATE OF THE AGENT'S ARRIVAL.

22. The Cape Town Agreement was concluded on the 12th January, 1927, but pending ratification by the two Governments concerned its provisions were not made known till their simultaneous publication in India and in South Africa on the 21st February. Thereafter the Union Government lost no time in introducing legislation to implement their undertakings under the Agreement, and the Minister for the Interior received a deputation of the South African Indian Congress, headed by Mr. C. F. Andrews and representative at that time of all the associations and bodies of the Indian community in the Union, with whom the details of the proposed legislation were fully discussed. The amending legislation when introduced was not officially opposed by the South African Party: indeed it was welcomed by such a responsible leader of the Opposition as the Honourable Mr. Patrick Duncan, K.C., C.M.G. The principal Bill passed the House of Assembly without a division and became law, as Act 37 of 1927, on and with effect from the 5th July—seven days after the Agent's arrival in the Union.

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23. *Assisted Emigration Law.*—Act 37 of 1927 makes all the legal changes necessary to bring into effect the clauses of the Agreement effecting surrender of domicile by "assisted emigrants." The new rates of bonus had already been introduced with effect from February 1927, though owing to shortage of shipping comparatively few emigrants sailed between the date of the publication of the new rates of bonus and the date on which the terms of the new Act took effect. The new scheme of "assisted emigration" may be said to have come fully into operation only on the 15th July,—the date of the regulations under the Act.

24. *Introduction of Minor Children.*—Part II of the Cape Town Agreement—the new rules governing the introduction of minor children—took effect in law from the 5th July 1927, though the Minister agreed to allow minor children who sailed from India on or before the 20th July to enter the Union under the old regulations. The object of this concession, which was granted at the Agent's instance, was to obviate the hardship which might have arisen if the law had been enforced against a child actually on the way to South Africa on the critical date unaccompanied by its mother.

25. *Indians in the Northern Districts.*—The position of Indians in the Northern Districts of Natal,—old Transvaal districts annexed to Natal by Act 1 of 1903,—was regularised, on the lines agreed upon at the Cape Town Conference, by Act 33 of 1927 which enables those Indians who are permanently resident in these districts to exercise an option and either to obtain Transvaal rights by taking out registration certificates or to quit the northern districts on the expiry of their present contracts.

26. *Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs.*—The Union Government had also already created the post of Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs (since altered to Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs), the creation of which had been recommended by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1921 and again by the Cape Town Conference. The first holder of this post is Mr. H. N. Venn, previously Under-Secretary for the Interior, who has a long experience of the Indian problem in South Africa.

27. *The Position in Natal.*—With the exceptoin therefore of Part III ("Upliftment of the Indian Community") the Cape Town Agreement was in full effect within a few days of the Agent's arrival in the Union. So far as the "upliftment" portion of the Agreement was concerned nothing had yet been done. Most of the provisions of this portion of the Agreement concern chiefly the Province of Natal and at the date of the Agent's arrival Natal was, for many reasons, unpromising ground for the initiation of a policy of betterment of conditions obtaining among Indians. Apart from the difficulties arising from the relative numerical strength of the Indian and white communities in Natal and from the history of anti-Asiatic legislation there, there was among the politically-minded white population in Natal a widespread feeling that in the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government had been generous at the expense of, and in the teeth of, the province most intimately and vitally concerned: that promises or at all events virtual promises, had been made on behalf of Natal the implementing of which would involve the Province in a policy on which she had not been consulted and of which she disapproved, and in provincial expenditure which she

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had neither the mind nor the power to bear. This feeling had found utterance in a Resolution (Appendix 1) of the Natal Provincial Council on the 10th May 1927 viewing with "misgivings" the "general conditions of the Agreement" and "deploring" the fact that the province most concerned had not been consulted through its Provincial Council on those points of the Agreement which "contemplated a relaxation of existing licensing legislation and the provision of increased education facilities" for Indians. The refusal of the President of the Union Senate and of the Speaker of the Union House of Assembly to lay this Resolution before their respective Houses was resented by the Provincial Council and did nothing to enhance the popularity of the Agreement in Natal. Coupled with this there was considerable ignorance in Natal as to the exact terms and implications of the Agreement and a large measure of doubt and suspicion as to the purpose for which the Agent had been sent out.

28. Amid so much uncertainty and suspicion it was both natural and advantageous, from the point of view of the Indian community, that pending the arrival of the Government of India's Agent in the Union, no hasty steps had been taken to press for the immediate implementing of the undertakings contained in Part III of the Agreement. The Province was left to adjust its opinions of, and define its attitude towards, the "upliftment" portion of the Agreement in its own time and after it had had an opportunity of listening to the explanations and the appeals of the Indian Government's Agent.

29. *Indian Opinion.*—As regards Indian opinion in the Union, Mr. Andrews had laboured strenuously and with success to secure the acceptance of the Agreement by the community in South Africa. The Congress had given qualified support to the principles therein laid down, but as will be explained in Part VIII of this report, the attitude of the Transvaal British Indian Association towards the Agreement was doubtful, and there were many both in Natal and in the Transvaal who affected to dislike both the scheme for assisted emigration and the provisions regarding the introduction of mothers as a *conditio sine qua non* of the introduction of their minor children.

VI.—THE POLICY OF THE AGENT.

30. The policy of the Agent may be briefly summed up in the words which he himself used on the occasion of his first speech in Natal.—"I am here as the Agent of the Government of India, and my orders are to help the Government of this country in carrying out the Cape Town Agreement. While I am among you clothed with the authority of the Government of India, I will endeavour faithfully to confine my vision to the four corners of the Agreement."

31. This, as the Agent has been at pains to explain, involves not merely his helping the Union Government in the working of the scheme for assisted emigration but also helping the Union Government and the Provincial Administrations in all those projects for the betterment of the Indians who remain which form what has been called "the upliftment portion" of the Agreement.

32. In carrying out this policy it has been the Agent's aim to secure, by exposition and explanation, the acceptance by Europeans and Indians alike of all the principles of the Agree-

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ment. To Europeans it has been made plain that the Agreement contains no mention of the franchise or of any threat to the political supremacy or the institutions of the dominant political race in South Africa; but that, short of giving the Indian in South Africa full political rights, public opinion must be prepared for the extension to him of those rights and advantages—for example in educational and vocational training which will fit him to take his place as a citizen of the South African Union. With Indians the Agent has pleaded for unity in upholding and carrying out the Agreement, for the observance of a better standard of living, for the full utilisation of such means of education as are already, or may in the near future be made, available to them, and for some measure of self-help within the community itself.

33. To these ends, and towards a general improvement of the feelings existing between European and Indian in the Union, the Agent immediately set himself to work. Especially was it his hope that during his period of office he might see the setting up of the commission on Indian education in Natal, which the Union Government in the Agreement undertook to advise the Natal Administration to appoint.

VII.—THE AGENT'S WORK IN NATAL.

34. The Agent arrived in Pretoria on the 28th June. After a fortnight in the Transvaal during which he was able by discussion with the Ministers, Departmental officers, leaders of the Indian community and Mr. C. F. Andrews to acquaint himself with the facts of the situation then obtaining, the Agent left for Natal to begin the task of educating public opinion there for the carrying out of the Agreement, and more especially to work for the appointment of the commission to inquire into the condition of Indian education in the province. Between the date of his arrival and the end of the year the Agent has spent 110 (out of 187) days in Natal, visiting practically all the centres where Indians reside in any considerable numbers.

35. *Indian Education Commission in Natal.*—With the help of the Mayor of Durban and other influential persons, the Agent was early enabled to meet the Administrator of Natal and some of the leading members of his Executive Committee in whose power it lay to set up or to refuse the commission on education. There can be no doubt that the clear statement of the Agent's position and policy enunciated in his first and subsequent speeches in Natal—as being intent only upon carrying out the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement—went far to disarm the doubts and suspicions which the European population in Natal had harboured regarding his objects and mission. Once it became clear that the Agent had not come to Natal to lead a mass movement for the franchise or for equal citizen rights for the Indian, sympathy and help were forthcoming from many quarters. Here again, as at Cape Town during the discussions on the Bill (Act 37 of 1927), the way had been prepared by Mr. Andrews, and the Agent was in a position on the 22nd September to announce authoritatively that the setting up of a commission on Indian education had been agreed to by the Administration of Natal, and that the expert assistance from India promised in the Cape Town Agreement would be welcomed by the Commission. The appoint-

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ment of the Natal Commission on Indian education was gazetted on the 17th November and the experts deputed by the Government of India,—Mr. K. P. Kichlu, I.E.S., Deputy Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Miss C. Gordon, lecturer in kindergarten methods at the Government Teachers Training College at Saidapet (Madras),—arrived in the Union during the last week of November. After interviews with His Excellency the Governor-General and with the Honourable the Minister for Education (Dr. Malan), the experts have taken up their residence in Natal where they are studying the problem with the help of the Natal Education Department and the teachers and leaders of the local Indian community. A change in the Administratorship of Natal has delayed the commencement of the Commission: it is expected to begin its sittings early in April. The terms of reference are very widely drawn (*vide* Appendix 2 of this report), and the sittings are to be held in public.

36. *Teachers' Training School Scheme.*—A reproach which is constantly levelled at the South African Indian and which is sometimes regarded as affording a reason for refusing him the help of the State is his alleged failure to do anything for the education or betterment of his own community. Other communities, it is said, build and endow schools and hospitals, while the rich Indian leaves the poorer brethren to be looked after by the State or by Missionary enterprise. The charge is not wholly true—witness the charities of the late Parsi Rustomjee, of Durban, and the existence of private “vernacular schools” all over the Province—but there is admittedly room for improvement.

37. To meet this criticism and to stimulate in the community the spirit of proper pride and mutual help the Agent has initiated a project for an educational institution in Durban, to be erected and equipped solely at the expense of Indians in Natal. At present there is no teachers' training school which Indians in Natal may attend: the Indian teachers now working in the schools are left to pick up their training and pass their teachers' examinations as best they may—by their own reading and by attending special lectures in their spare time. As a result it may be said that even the few Indian teachers who hold a departmental (Indian teacher's) certificate cannot be regarded as fully trained teachers.

38. The Natal Education Department advised the Agent that a training school for teachers was the most urgent need of Indian education in the Province. To parents and the Indian community generally the multiplication of facilities for education up to the matriculation standard seemed to make a stronger appeal. Combining the two ideas, the Agent formulated a scheme for a combined training school for teachers and High School. In this institution students will be able to read up to the matriculation standard either for the purpose of a general education or as a preliminary to the more specialised work of training as teachers to which it is hoped many of them will proceed.

39. The Agent announced his scheme privately about the beginning of August and asked the Indian community in Natal to subscribe a sum of £20,000 towards the erection and equipment of a suitable building,—the intention being that once the building is completed and equipped the Provincial Administration should be asked to take it over and run it. The scheme as

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roughly drawn up involves the erection of three buildings: the chief building to consist of a large central hall with six classrooms on the one side for the high school classes and four on the other side for the training classes. A hostel for at least forty students must be provided,—the appeal for funds has been made throughout Natal and students from outlying districts must therefore be catered for. The third building to be erected is a house for a resident principal. The plans provide for a playground and require for their most advantageous lay-out an area of from five to six acres.

40. Although broadly speaking the wealthy traders in Natal have not in the past shown the same desire for education (beyond the bare rudiments) as has been evinced by the poorer classes descended largely from the indentured labourers, a most gratifying response has been made to the Agent's appeal. A sum of about £18,000 is already in the Bank, in the form of cash or bills maturing from month to month, and there is no reason to doubt that the remaining £2,000—and more if it be needed—will be readily forthcoming.

41. When the collection of funds had sufficiently proceeded to justify making application for a site, the Agent interested the Mayor of Durban in the scheme, and with his help and the support of several Councillors who have shown themselves friendly to the project, he approached the Borough Council for the grant, on lease or otherwise, of a vacant plot of about six acres extent adjoining the Municipal (Indian) recreation ground. The advantage of the site is that it lies within a few hundred yards of three Indian schools—a boys' primary, a boys' high school and a girls' school. These would be readily available as practising schools for teachers under training. The Agent was allowed on the 8th November to address the Council-in-Committee regarding his project, and the Council on the 25th November agreed, by a majority, to the principle that some land in the plot designated should be leased on easy terms for the Agent's scheme. The area granted was, however, cut down to two acres—a site insufficient for the buildings themselves. In accepting this the Agent is not without hope that when his detailed plans are laid before the Council with the approval of the Natal Education Department a larger area may be granted. In the meantime the scheme has been well received even in quarters not generally favourable to the extension of educational facilities to the Indian community, and the fact that the Natal Indians have already raised the greater part of the money required has been the subject of favourable comment in the Province. This essay in self-help cannot fail to stand the community in good stead when the educational position is considered by the Commission.

42. *Housing and Sanitation.*—As a step towards the improvement of the conditions under which Indians live in Durban and the neighbourhood the Agent has revived the bands of Indian voluntary workers who at the time of the Durban smallpox epidemic last year admittedly accomplished excellent work under the leadership of Mr. C. F. Andrews. This movement has the support of the Mayor and of the Medical Officer of Health of Durban. An Indian branch of the Child Welfare Movement has also been formed in Durban, and European and Indian ladies are co-operating in the conduct of its activities. In the matter

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of housing the Durban Municipal Council have addressed the Union Government calling for the early setting up, in terms of the Cape Town Agreement, of the machinery for an investigation under the Public Health Act into housing conditions in and around Durban. The constitution of a commission of inquiry is contemplated by the Union Government.

43. *Health Boards.*—The working in the peri-Durban area of the Health Boards established under the Local Urban Areas Administration Ordinance 1926 (Natal Ordinance No. 4 of 1926) has not always been a matter for satisfaction either to the Administration or to the Indian community. It should be explained that as the law stands at present Indians cannot be directly represented on these Boards, and only in a few instances have steps been taken towards the establishment of the Indian advisory committees envisaged in the Cape Town Agreement. One source of dissatisfaction arises from the fact that under the wording of the Ordinance (section 42) the penalty for non-payment of the rate is a compulsory levy of interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per mensem subject only to the proviso that such interest shall not exceed the principal sum outstanding. There has been much criticism of the mandatory character of this disproportionate penalty and it is understood that this provision of the Act will shortly be amended in the direction of greater leniency and a wider discretion. In one case,—that of the Mayville Health Board,—the refusal of the Indians to pay the rate and their determination to fight the matter in the courts have, it is believed, contributed to cause the present insolvent condition of the Board.

44. *Sentiment in Natal.*—It has already been stated that the Agent has visited practically every part of Natal where Indians are to be found in numbers. The reception accorded to the Agent personally on his tours in Natal has been all that could be desired on the score of courtesy and cordiality. An interest in India and things Indian has been aroused. The Agent's meetings are everywhere crowded. This is especially true of Durban and Maritzburg where many of the newspapers took the occasion of the Agent's birthday to offer him their good wishes and felicitate him on the appointment of the Natal Education Commission which was announced on that day and which they generally welcomed. Though this attitude towards the Agent and his work must, if maintained, exercise a good effect on the relations between the European and the Indian communities in Natal, the improvement cannot but be of slow growth. Race feeling against the Indian is strong in Natal, especially in places where professional or trade rivalry exists to aggravate it. It is noteworthy that where this rivalry is not found,—for example at Colenso where there are no European traders and no Indian professional men,—the feeling between the two communities is good. Such instances, it must however be admitted, are the exception. It is perhaps sufficient for the present to say that there are many signs that opinion is changing for the better; and if the Agent has been able to throw a new light on India and the Indian for the European in Natal, there can be no doubt that his presence has also given heart and a measure of unity to the Indians in the Province, which has borne early fruit in their public-spirited reply to the appeal for funds for the training school.

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VIII.—THE AGENT'S WORK IN THE TRANSVAAL.

45. The Agent's power to help the Indians in the Transvaal has been to a great extent weakened by the divided state of the community there. The most influential Indian society in the Transvaal has been the Transvaal British Indian Association. There are other bodies, such as the Tamil Benefit Society, the Transvaal Colonial-born Association, and the Patidars Association, but these have in the main been content to work in matters political through the Transvaal British Indian Association. The latter has been affiliated with the South African Indian Congress and was represented through one of its own members in the Congress delegation which, under the leadership of Mr. Andrews, waited on the Minister of the Interior to discuss the Bill necessary to implement the undertakings of the Cape Town Agreement.

46. Two provisions in that Bill (now Act 37 of 1927) were a source of offence to the Transvaal community. The first was the provision regarding the admission of a minor child only if accompanied by the mother. This was in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement and could not reasonably be resisted by the Congress delegation. The second, which is compendiously referred to in South Africa as "section 5," is a matter of very general interest (especially in the Transvaal) and one which, though treated of in the Bill, did not arise out of anything which was discussed or agreed upon at the Cape Town Conference. Section 5 of the Act gives power to Immigration Officers and to the Boards to whom appeals from such officers lie, to cancel the registration certificate or certificate of domicile of any person whose document is proved to have been obtained by fraudulent representations made by him or on his behalf. This section was introduced to meet the situation arising from the decision of the Court in a Transvaal case to the effect that, under the law as it stood in 1926, a certificate of registration, once granted, could not be cancelled even if it were proved or admitted to have been fraudulently obtained.

47. Proposed amnesty for illegal entrants.—No objection can legitimately be taken to legislation designed to close this "loop-hole" in the law and to provide a safeguard against future abuse; but by a process of reasoning as common as it is curious, this ruling was regarded as conferring a vested right upon the community in the Transvaal, and the action of the Union Government in legislating in the matter was resented, even though the law had been differently interpreted in other provinces. Resistance to the section itself was dropped, but steps were taken to secure that its provisions should have no retrospective effect. To this the Union Government agreed, and in reply to a question by Mr. Patrick Duncan in the House of Assembly the Minister of the Interior (Dr. Malan) gave an undertaking that, provided the Indian community promised to carry out the Cape Town Agreement and undertook not to countenance the illicit entry of Indians into South Africa for the future, the Government would refrain from utilising the new section against persons already in the Union. It was not found practicable to concede the request of the Congress delegation that this concession should find a place in the Act itself; but in view of the fact that the Department has full power to deal with the matter administratively

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and that, as regards the future, no Ministry was likely to re-open the question of an amnesty granted by the present Government at the instance of one of the leaders of the present Opposition, the Congress delegation accepted the position.

48. *Secession of the Transvaal British Indian Association.*—On the return of their representative, however, the Transvaal British Indian Association protested against this decision and, failing to get satisfaction on this point and blaming the Congress officials and Mr. Andrews for not pressing a case which in magnitude if not in principle, affects the Transvaal more than it affects the other provinces, the Transvaal British Indian Association in a mass meeting held on the 8th May severed its connection with the South African Indian Congress and telegraphed to the Minister asking him to treat with their Association direct in matters affecting the Transvaal and to name a date when he would receive a deputation from them regarding the Bill then before Parliament. The Minister replied by telegram on the 10th May "regretting extremely" a resolution which he thought "contrary to the best interests of the Indian community" and added that as he had already consulted with the South African Indian Congress and Mr. Andrews he considered another deputation unnecessary.

49. In spite of repeated attempts by Mr. Andrews to close the breach between the Transvaal British Indian Association and the South African Indian Congress, the position in the Transvaal remained unaltered up till the time of the Agent's arrival in the Union. The Agent lost no time in coming to grips with this disastrous situation. He explained to the leaders of the Association the necessity for the provision in the Cape Town Agreement regarding the admission of the minor child only when accompanied by its mother. Satisfied on this point, the leaders of the Association, on the 7th July, assured the Agent that they would stand by the Agreement. As regards "section 5," when the reason for the omission of an amnesty clause in the Act was explained the leaders said that they were now agreeable to the Minister's proposals in this matter, and that they were prepared to give on behalf of their own members (the Transvaal Indians) the undertaking which the Minister required. They absolutely refused, however, to consider the possibility of re-affiliation with the Congress whose officials, they declared, had consistently neglected Transvaal interests. The Agent emphasised the need of presenting a united front and appealed to them not to delay a settlement and thereby prolong the menace of "section 5." The leaders had come to no declared decision when the Agent left for Natal in the middle of July; an undertaking that re-union would be brought about was given to Mr. Andrews before he sailed for India at the end of July but this has since been repudiated by the Association as "unauthorised."

50. From Natal, and again on his return to the Transvaal in September, the Agent continued his efforts for the re-affiliation of the Association with the Congress, and, on the 12th October, addressed a crowded public meeting in Johannesburg explaining the points at issue, pleading for a re-consideration of the disastrous secession decision of the 8th May, and offering his services to secure, after re-union, a full inquiry into the charge that the Congress habitually neglects the interests of the Transvaal Indians.

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51. *The Transvaal Indian Congress.*—The Agent had then to leave for the Cape, but the movement in favour of re-union with the Congress made progress, and when efforts, in committee of the Transvaal British Indian Association, to secure the submission of the re-affiliation question to a mass meeting of the Transvaal Indians failed, the supporters of the re-union policy called a mass meeting of their own, on the 18th December, and secured the passing of a series of resolutions the effect of which was to set up a new body, to be called the "Transvaal Indian Congress," separate from the Transvaal British Indian Association and affiliated with the South African Indian Congress. The formation of the new body was opportune as it enabled the Transvaal to be represented at the important Congress Conference held at Kimberley in the first week of January 1928.

52. *The South African Indian Federation.*—The advantage, both to the Indian community and to the Governments concerned, of having a single body which can speak for the great mass of responsible Indian opinion in the Union and can take action on its behalf, is obvious; only divergence of opinion on points of vital importance could justify the existence of more than one body claiming to speak for the Indians of South Africa. An attempt is however being made to maintain another such body. The movement, which has followers both in Natal and in the Transvaal, originates (to quote the words of a leader) in "the serious divergence of opinion" prevailing "as an outcome of the Indo-Union Agreement." The first step was the establishment of resuscitation of a number of separatist bodies in Natal. For example the "Natal Indian Association"—a body founded in 1925 for the purpose so far as is known, of holding a single meeting—has been revived with some differences in personnel, to protest against a number of things including the Cape Town Agreement, the proposal to admit Indians to the Native College at Fort Hare, the "assisted emigration" scheme, the Industrial Wages Act, the Simon Commission in India, and the South African Indian Congress. The next step was to summon the meeting of "delegates" at Johannesburg, where on the 28th December 1927, a "South African Indian Federation" was formed. This body "will function exclusively for a revision of the Indo-Union Agreement which is of no practical advantage to the community in this country" and will aim at obtaining for Indians all over South Africa the status which is enjoyed by the "coloured people." The Chairman in his opening address made it plain that if the protest of the Federation went unheeded "the bulk of Indians would be forced to continue their agitation against both the Union and the Indian Governments." The Federation, it may be mentioned, passed a vote of "no-confidence" in Mr. C. F. Andrews.

53. As between the South African Indian Federation and the South African Indian Congress it is easy, in the absence of statistics, for interested parties to arrive at very varying assessments of the volume or the value of support which either of these bodies enjoys among Indians in the Union. Membership of the constituent associations is often merely nominal and is apt to fluctuate greatly from time to time. There are however clear indications that responsible opinion has ranged itself in support of the Agreement: the policy of the Federation in opposing the Agreement appeals only to a comparatively small body of extremists. It may with confidence be affirmed that in Natal the provincial

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branch of the Congress and the South African Indian Congress itself have no serious rivals. In the Transvaal, it must be admitted, there was at the time of the Agent's arrival in the Union a widespread dissatisfaction with the South African Indian Congress. How far that feeling has subsided or has survived and will support the new Federation as against the Congress and the Cape Town Agreement is a matter which will be decided largely by the way in which the Congress performs its duties during the forthcoming year. Meanwhile, it is understood that no association of any importance,—and not even the remnant of the Transvaal British Indian Association itself,—has yet officially joined the Federation, while the transference of the headquarters of the South African Indian Congress to Johannesburg and the fact that the headquarters work of this body will for the next twelve months be carried on by the Transvaal branch of the Congress will, it is thought, go a long way to allay suspicion that Transvaal interests are neglected by the Congress. The Union Government has shown itself slow to countenance separatist bodies setting up in opposition to the Congress. With the success of the negotiations which the Congress is carrying on with the Minister of the Interior,—negotiations which promise a satisfactory solution of the problem of "illegal entry" into the Union (arising out of "section 5"),—it may safely be prophesied that the prestige of the Congress organisation throughout South Africa will be greatly enhanced and the menace of a divided front will practically disappear.

IX.—ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

54. The working of the Assisted Emigration Scheme which forms Part I of the Cape Town Agreement is being very closely watched by the Union Government and by Europeans in Natal. The enhanced rates of bonus provided for in the Agreement were introduced in February 1927 but the new law regarding loss of domicile (Act 37 of 1927) took effect only on the 5th July, and the rules under the Act only on the 15th July. The new scheme may therefore be said to have been working for less than six months during the year under review.

55. *Emigration Statistics.*—Detailed figures regarding emigration of Indians under the old scheme and the new will be found in Appendix 3 of this Report. The last batch of emigrants to sail under the old rules were the 183 Indians who sailed in July, 1927; these received the new rates of bonus, but were subject to the old rules regarding surrender of domicile. Omitting these it will be seen that in the five months August to December during which the new scheme has been in full operation 1,655 persons have availed themselves of it, giving an average of 333 per month—against a total of 1,320 and an average of 186 for the previous seven months of the year. The total figure for the year 1927 was 2,975, as against 2,100 in 1926 and 1,358 in 1925.

56. These figures have given considerable satisfaction to the Union authorities and to European opinion. And indeed it should not be overlooked that on the success of the Assisted Emigration scheme depends to a great extent the public acceptance of those parts of the Agreement which tend towards the upliftment of the rest of the Indian community in South Africa.

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In a speech made at a dinner given by the Agent on the 21st February 1928, the anniversary of the publication of the Cape Town Agreement, the Minister of the Interior (Dr. Malan) said: "There are certain things" (about the working of the Agreement) "which we can say with a large measure of assurance now, and one is about that part of the Agreement which has to do with assisted emigration,—a part which we in South Africa consider as of vital moment to us. It is working as satisfactorily as we can under the circumstances expect. We must remember that the Agreement only came into operation on August 15th last,—six months ago,—but even though it has been in operation for such an inconsiderable time, we may say that the assisted emigration scheme has fulfilled all the expectations which we could reasonably have had with regard to its working in such a short time."

57. In view of the irregular sailings between Durban and Madras, it was agreed, at the Cape Town Conference, that emigrants should be allowed to avail themselves of the regular fortnightly services from Durban to Bombay, being railed from the latter port to their ultimate destinations at the expense of the Union Government. The Immigration authorities report that hitherto the number of emigrants who have returned to India by this route has been negligible, the vast majority preferring to wait for the service which goes direct (albeit more irregularly) to Madras and Calcutta.

58. *Supply of Information Regarding Emigrants.*—Provision was made in the Cape Town Agreement for the supplying by the Union authorities to designated authorities in India of detailed information regarding each batch of emigrants "at least one month in advance." In practice it has been found impossible to meet this provision as, for a variety of reasons, the actual number and condition of the emigrants on any particular ship cannot be definitely known until the day of departure. Chief among the factors contributing to this uncertainty are the irregularity of the service between Durban and Madras, the fact that many intending emigrants when they have filled up the form of application prefer to live at their own expense in or around Durban (instead of boarding at the Depot) and do not report again at the Depot till within a day or two of the advertised date of sailing, and the uncertainty that emigrants who have filled up the application form will sail by the first available ship as individuals, families, and even whole communities have been known to change their minds, preferring to sail by a later ship with friends or not to sail at all. In the circumstances the procedure at present being followed is that the information required by the Agreement is handed over to the ship's officer at the time of the ship's departure from Durban, and is by him handed over as soon as the ship arrives at her destination, to the officer deputed to receive the emigrants; and, further, at the time of the ship's departure from Durban—that is to say a clear fortnight before the emigrants arrive in India,—a cable is despatched to the Government of India stating the number of emigrants, the number of male adults among them, who require work in India (this information being given under various occupational headings), and the number who will land at Madras and Calcutta respectively. It should be added that at present there appears to be considerable reluctance on the part of intending emigrants to state in advance what work they wish to do on arrival in

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India. In some cases this is due to a desire not to bind themselves in advance but to leave themselves free on arrival in India to take stock of their position and seek out their relations. There is, however, reason also for believing that in many cases reluctance to take advantage of the scheme for securing work through the Indian Government agency is due to a fear that the work allocated to them in India will be in the nature of enforced or indentured labour. It is chiefly to the reports of emigrants regarding their treatment on landing in India that we must look for a corrective of this false impression.

59. *Visit of Mr. Venn to India.*—It is a matter for satisfaction that the Union Government have decided to depute the officer most closely in touch with Indian affairs in the Union,—Mr. H. N. Venn, Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs,—to pay a short visit to India during the months of February and March, 1928. The object of the visit is to enable Mr. Venn to meet the officers responsible for the treatment of emigrants returning to India and to see how the emigrants fare on arrival in India. Mr. Venn's visit cannot but lead to a clearer understanding, on both sides of the Indian Ocean, of the difficulties which have to be surmounted in so working the Assisted Emigration Scheme as to secure the greatest advantage for the emigrant.

60. *Criticisms of Assisted Emigration.*—The scheme of Assisted Emigration is not without its critics among the Indian community in South Africa. The arguments used fall generally under three heads—first, that emigration is to the disadvantage of the emigrant; second, that the scheme constitutes an insult to the Indian community in South Africa and through them to Indians generally; third, that emigration though in form voluntary is in fact compulsory. The first argument is based on the feeling that the emigrant will be worse off in India than he is in South Africa. In the absence of reliable statistics this objection is probably as hard to support as it is to rebut; but the scheme for providing emigrants with suitable occupation when they reach India is designed to meet this very point, and it can fairly be claimed that the introduction of this new feature,—the co-operation of the Government of India in the reception and settlement of the emigrants when they land in India,—alters, greatly for the better as compared with previous schemes, the prospects of those who take advantage of it.

61. The second objection is a sentimental objection and one therefore which it is difficult to meet by mere argument. But here again the Agreement provides for the removal of one of the most objectionable features of the previous system. No emigrant is now called upon to sign away the "domicile" of himself or of his minor children: the loss of domicile is automatic at the end of three year's absence from the Union, in the case of Indians as in the case of other South Africans; during those three years the emigrant has a *locus penitentiae*,—he may return and resume his domicile. It is true that the conditions of return are stringent; but hitherto there has been no right to return at all. The fact is that those who urge the sentimental objection to "assisted emigration" claim to object to it on principle,—as involving a stigma on Indians in general,—and as constituting an unworthy attempt to induce ignorant men to sell their birth right. Persons genuinely holding such views must, logically,

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object to any scheme of "assisted emigration" and if they attack the new scheme with especial denunciation it is not on the ground that it is less attractive but because it is more attractive than its predecessors. Those who hold the view that "assisted emigration" should be opposed at all costs should bear in mind the alternative which threatened in 1923 and again in 1926,—segregation. The fact must be faced that political opinion in South Africa demands with no uncertain voice a substantial reduction in the number of Indians resident in the Union. If there is to be emigration from the Union it is assuredly better—from the point of view of the emigrant at all events—that it should be "assisted emigration," and that there should be an acknowledged responsibility on the part of the Government of India for the treatment of the emigrant when he reaches his destination. Emigration would continue were the Government of India to withdraw its co-operation, and to urge that this is a matter involving national honour and that the Government of India should not only withdraw their co-operation but even forbid emigrants to land when they arrive in India is to betray a disregard for the fate of the emigrant as cynical as it is impractical.

62. The third argument against assisted emigration is again no argument against the present scheme but an argument rather against the trend of public opinion and of legislation in South Africa. It is argued that owing to economic, social and political pressure brought to bear in countless ways upon the Indian in the Union, the present scheme of "assisted emigration," in common with its predecessor, is virtually a scheme of compulsory deportation and not the voluntary system which on paper it professes to be. It is not suggested that direct pressure is brought to bear upon Indians to force them to emigrate: and it may at once be said that neither at the Depot at Durban nor in his talks with Indians in their places of employment, or at meetings, has the Agent's attention been drawn to any case where improper inducement or pressure is alleged to have been employed to induce Indians to emigrate. There is, at the same time, some truth in the contention that the economic pressure brought to bear upon the Indian by public opinion and even by legislation during the last 25 or 30 years,—pressure resulting from difficulties in obtaining land, from loss of employment on the railways or in municipal service,—has exerted an influence in predisposing the poorer classes to seek their livelihood elsewhere; but if certain classes of work are now virtually closed to the Indian, in other classes there is a demand for his labour,—a demand which in the sugar-cane industry is backed by the offer of vastly improved wages. If in the face of the competitive demand for his labour in the cane and wattle-bark industry (to mention only two) it is found that the Indian labourer is availing himself of the facilities offered for emigration, the argument that emigration is forced by economic pressure is deprived of much of its basis. Indeed the economic pressure is directed against and felt by classes,—e.g., the clerical and trader classes,—who have hitherto shown and still show no tendency to emigrate but who prefer to stay in South Africa despite the drawbacks to which they are subjected.

63. *Effects of Industrial Legislation on Emigration.*—It is impossible as yet to say how far the operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act (11 of 1924) and the Wages Act (Act 27 of

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1925) will adversely affect the Indians who may come within their purview. It is anticipated that in some callings for which Indians have shown special aptitude, (e.g., the calling of cook or waiter) the community will have little to fear from the application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work." There may be other callings (though as yet there is nothing to substantiate the fear) in which the fixing of a standard wage, irrespective of colour or race, will adversely affect the Indian if he cannot prove himself as efficient as men of other races in that particular calling. At present there is not sufficient experience of the working of these two Acts to justify either conclusion or prophecy. The Wages Act has not so far determined wages in any trade in which Indians are extensively employed. The Industrial Conciliation Act operates in the industries of printing, furniture making, building and boot making. The numbers of Indians employed in these trades according to the Census figures of 1924-25 (the latest available) were respectively 342, 463, 86 and 198. Only in the printing trade it appears, did any serious consequences ensue upon the fixing of wages under the Act: in this trade most of the Indians were at first discharged: it is understood however, that all but about 50 have now been reinstated at the higher wages prescribed.

64. With a view to discovering what classes of Indians are emigrating and whether any connection can be established between the operation of industrial legislation and the increased emigration figures, inquiries have been made from time to time from the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Durban, who supervises the working of the assisted emigration scheme. A consolidated statement showing the occupations of all the adult male Indians who emigrated from South Africa under the provisions of the "assisted emigration" scheme during the five months August—December, 1927, form Appendix 4 to this report. It will be observed that more than 50 per cent. of the adult males who have availed themselves of the scheme are classed in South Africa as agricultural labourers. The figures of railway and municipal employees are also large, and of these it must be admitted that they reflect the result of economic pressure: it has for some years been the policy of the authorities in the South African Railways and in certain municipalities to displace Indians in order to find employment for "poor whites." This policy is not attributable either to the Industrial Conciliation Act or to the Wages Act: it was initiated before these Acts had begun to take effect, and before the conclusion of the Cape Town Agreement. There is, unfortunately, no indication that the conclusion of the Agreement has effected the pursuit of this policy, which has the support of the Labour Party in South Africa. On the other hand, the large figure under the head "sugar mill" shows that the scheme is attracting emigrants even in callings in which other forces such as anti-emigration propaganda and the offer of high wages would naturally operate to keep Indians in South Africa. The figure 57 under "mines" does not appear to reflect any unfair race pressure: there has been a steady exodus of Indian employes from the Natal coalfield ever since the colliery disaster at Dannhauser in 1926. Taking it all round an analysis of the emigration figures lends support to the view that increased emigration is not attributable to the operation of the Industrial legislation referred to in the Cape Town Agreement.

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X.—LIQUOR BILL.

65. Though the offending clause has been withdrawn and the subject is no longer a matter of public interest, a review of the year 1927 would be incomplete without a reference to clause 104 of the Union Government Liquor Bill, and the consternation which its appearance in the draft Bill caused throughout the Indian community. The Bill itself is a long one purporting to consolidate and amend the laws for the control of the supply of intoxicating liquor throughout the Union. The text of clause 104 forms Appendix 5 to this report. It will be seen that the effect of the proposed legislation would have been to prohibit the employment of Indians on any licensed premises,—hotels, clubs, breweries, etc.,—and so virtually to close to the Indian the callings of cook or waiter, in the latter of which he has established almost a monopoly in some parts of South Africa. The prohibition was to take effect by instalments and to be completely enforced within one year in all the provinces except Natal: in Natal there was nominal exemption for waiters already in continuous employment throughout 1927, but the profession was to be closed at once to future recruits from the Indian community and even as regards the waiters already in employment, the conditions governing their continued employment were very stringent. No compensation was offered to those who lost their posts or their prospects through this legislation.

66. The Bill was first introduced in 1925 and referred to a Select Committee. The present clause 104 figured in the original draft Bill as clause 107. It had been anticipated that as a result of the Cape Town Agreement this clause would have been deleted from the Bill, but when the Bill was re-published in the Government Gazette of the 24th September 1927, it was found that the clause had been retained,—as clause 104.

67. It has been calculated that had the clause as drafted become law, some 3,000 Indians throughout the Union would have been prejudicially effected,—apart from prospective entrants against whom these callings would have been barred. It has not been suggested that the Indian was inefficient as waiter: on the contrary it is universally admitted that the Indian waiter is capable, polite and sober. The Indian community were not alone in regarding this clause as dictated solely in the supposed interests of "white labour," and there were many—(among them most hotel proprietors)—who considered that quite apart from the expense involved in replacing Indian by white labour the clause would prove unworkable for lack of suitable white labour to replace the 3,000 Indians whose posts were threatened. The most important objection, however, and one which affected the Indian community as a whole, was the feeling that legislation on the lines contemplated in section 104 was contrary at least to the spirit of the "upliftment" portion of the Cape Town Agreement.

68. Up to the close of the year under review there had been no indication of the attitude of Government with regard to this clause. It only remains to add that, while not admitting that the clause conflicts with the letter or the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement, the Minister in charge of the Bill allowed it to be known on the 11th February 1928 that he proposed to

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withdraw the clause, and this promise was implemented when the clause was reached in the House of Assembly on the 7th March, 1928.

XI.—LICENSING GRIEVANCES.

69. In one respect the period under review has brought disappointment. In spite of the hearty welcome accorded to the Agent in every place which he has visited in Natal and in the Transvaal and in spite of the fact, constantly affirmed, that the feeling against the Indian has decreased since the Agent's arrival it must be admitted that, in Natal especially and to some extent in the Transvaal also, it is becoming harder rather than easier for an Indian to obtain a trading licence. Not only are no new trading licenses anywhere given to Indians in Natal, but in two recent cases in Northern Natal, where transfers of licences between Indians were sought for, advantage was taken of the procedure under which the transferee must make application for a licence, to treat this application as a new matter,—as an application for a new licence,—and to refuse it.

XII.—ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

70. On his first arrival in the Union the Agent enjoyed the advantage of frequent discussion with Mr. C. F. Andrews who delayed his departure for India in order to meet the Agent and report to him the course of events since the Government of India Delegation left in February. Mr. Andrews' services to the Indian cause in South Africa at the time of the Paddison Deputation and before it, have frequently been acknowledged by the Government of India. The Indian community owe him a further debt of gratitude for his unceasing labours on their behalf during the period when the Bill (now Act 37 of 1927) was before Parliament.

71. The reception accorded to the Agent in the Union has been the subject of comment elsewhere in this report. The Agent wishes however to take this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude the help and courtesy which he and his staff have invariably experienced throughout the period under review from all officers and departments of the Union Government and of the Provincial Administrations with whom they have been brought into contact. If the departments of the Interior (especially Immigration and Asiatic Affairs), Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, and the Education Department in Natal are specially noticed, it is because it is with these Departments that the Agent has had most to do.

APPENDIX (a).

In the Provincial Council of Natal, First Session, Sixth Council, 1927, as an amendment to a motion couched in somewhat similar terms and proposed on the 4th May by Mr. Acutt (M.P.C.), and seconded by Mr. Fleming (M.P.C.), Mr. C. F. Clarkson, O.B.E., (Member of the Provincial Executive Committee) moved on the 10th May a motion in the following terms:

(1) That this Council views with misgivings the general conditions of the agreement entered into between the Government of South Africa and the Government of India in respect of the Indian question.

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(2) Th's Council, further deplores the fact that this Province (which is more seriously affected than any other part of the Union) has not been consulted through its Provincial Council on those points of the agreement which contemplate (a) a relaxation of existing licensing legislation, and (b) the provision of increased education facilities for the Indian community. This Council respectfully represents to Parliament that these two matters involve not only questions of definite Provincial policy, but in the latter instance considerable financial obligations. Under these circumstances this Council urges that any contemplated action in these two directions should be deferred until the fullest opportunity has been afforded to this Council to represent its views thereon.

(3) That, in the opinion of this Council, the agreement does not solve the Indian problem nor does it give protection to the European population against Asiatic encroachment.

(4) That Mr. Chairman be requested:—

- (a) to convey these resolutions by respectful Address to the Honourable the Administrator for presentation to Parliament.
- (b) Also to transmit them to the Natal Members of the Senate and House of Assembly.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Taylor (M.P.C.), and was accepted on a division by 17 votes to 3.

APPENDIX (b).

Terms of Reference to the Natal Commission on Indian Education.

A Committee has been appointed by the Administrator to enquire into and report upon the question of education of Indian children of both sexes, both generally and with particular reference to the undermentioned aspects, so far as the subject lies within the scope of the Natal Provincial Administration:—

The existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas;
The conditions of service of Indian teachers in Government and Government-aided schools, including salary, promotion, discipline and pension.

The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid and any changes which may be considered to be necessary;

The financial basis of Indian education, having regard to the resources of the Province, and the various demands upon them, and the adequacy or otherwise of the existing Union Government subsidies in-so-far-as they effect Indian Education.

The Committee will sit in the Provincial Buildings, Pietermaritzburg, on Monday, the second day of April, at 10 a.m.

Persons and Associations interested in the subject matter of the Enquiry and desirous of giving evidence in connection therewith are requested to communicate forthwith, and in any case not later than Wednesday, the 28th instant with the undersigned, when a date will be fixed for their attendance.

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It is suggested that any Association or Society desirous of submitting evidence should be represented by two of its members, and further, that written statements (eight copies) of the views of individuals or Associations should, if possible, be sent to the undersigned in advance.

The meetings will be open to the public, but anyone desiring to give evidence in private may do so.

C. A. B. PECK,
Secretary.

Provincial Council,
Pietermaritzburg,
7th March, 1928.

APPENDIX (c).

Indians returned to India during 1925, 1926 and 1927, under Relief Act, No. 22 of 1914, and under Assisted Emigration Scheme, from 1st August, 1927.

	1925.	1926.	1927.
	Souls.	Souls.	Souls.
January	326	4	121
February	1	186	399
March	19	3	2
April	290	374	194
May	17	3	10
June	3	200	411
July	7	11	183
August	232	511	251
September	12	12	425
October	17	2	226
November	429	460	305
December	3	334	448
Total	1,358	2,100	2,975

APPENDIX (d).

Table of occupations of emigrants leaving the Union under the provisions of the Assisted Emigration Scheme during the period August—December, 1927.

Labourers {	Mines	57
	Railways	92
	Agricultural	344
Laundryman		1
Sanitary		34
Clerk		1
Pointsman (Railway)		3
Motor Driver		5
Road Maker		2
Hawker		12
Waiter		8
Cook		7
Messenger		2

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Sirdar	7
Cart Driver	3
Gardener	3
Confectioner	3
Store Assistant	2
Dhobi	3
Dairyman	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Deckhand	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Tinsmith	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Fireman	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Engine Driver	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Stoker	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Policeman	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Sugar mill	...	...	...	...	...	...	55
Boilerman	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Porter	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Factory hand	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Fitter	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Hospital Attendant	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Tailor	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Farmer	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Driver	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Newsboy	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Lascar	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lamplighter	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

673

NOTE 1.—The figures given above refer only to those adult male emigrants who, prior to sailing from South Africa applied for work to be provided for them upon their arrival in India. For the period under review no information is available as to the occupations of those emigrants who did not avail themselves before sailing of the facilities offered for obtaining work in India.

NOTE 2.—The figures given above are compiled from lists supplied by the Protector of Immigrants, Durban, in respect of the following vessels which left Durban for Madras on the dates given:—

S.S. "Umvolosi" 20th August 1927.
 S.S. "Umzumbi" 17th September 1927.
 S.S. "Umsinga" 22nd October 1927.
 S.S. "Umvolosi" 26th November 1927.
 S.S. "Umzumbi" 24th December 1927.

APPENDIX (c).

BILL,

To consolidate and amend the laws for the control of the supply of intoxicating liquor.

(Introduced by the Minister of Justice).

CHAPTER X.

Conduct of Licensed Businesses.

(A) Prohibited Employment.

104. Employment of natives or Asiatics in liquor trade.—
 (1) No distiller, brewer or holder of a licence shall employ any

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native or Asiatic in connection with the manufacture, bottling, sale or delivery of liquor, and subject to the provisions of sub-sections (2) (3) and (4), no holder of a licence, shall employ any native or Asiatic in any capacity whatever on any licensed premises.

(2) Where on the premises of any distiller or brewer, or on any licensed premises there were regularly employed during the year 1926 natives or Asiatics to the average monthly number of four or more, then there may be employed on such premises or on any portion of such licensed premises other than a restricted portion—

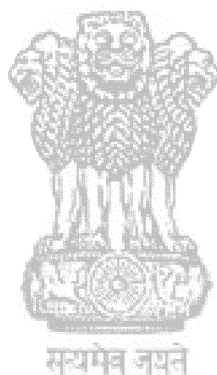
- (a) for a period of four months after the commencement of this Act natives or Asiatics not exceeding seventy-five per cent., as near as may be, of such number;
- (b) for the period from four to eight months after the commencement of this Act natives or Asiatics not exceeding fifty per cent., as near as may be, of such number; and
- (c) for the period from eight to twelve months after the commencement of this Act natives or Asiatics not exceeding twenty-five per cent., as near as may be, of such number.

(3) A licensing board in the Province of Natal, in authorising the renewal of any licence, may authorise the continual employment by the licensee, on any part of his licensed premises other than a restricted portion of any Asiatics who were continuously employed on such premises throughout the year 1927.

In the event of the grant of any such authority, the amount ordinarily payable for the renewal of the licence in terms of sub-section (3) of section *twelve* and the Third Schedule of this Act shall be doubled.

(4) Nothing in this section contained shall be deemed to prohibit the employment of any native in the cleansing of any premises or any part thereof or of anything contained therein.

*The Agent's
Report, 1928*



**Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in
South Africa for the year ending 31st December, 1928.**

1.—INTRODUCTORY.

1. The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., held office as Agent of the Government of India in South Africa throughout the year 1928. Arriving in the Union as Agent in June 1927, he had originally intended to relinquish the post at the end of the twelve months' period for which he had agreed to serve. To the relief of the Indian community in South Africa, it was announced in March 1928 that Mr. Sastri had agreed to continue in the post till the end of the calendar year. The announcement was welcomed by the Union Govern-

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ment also in a *communiqué* which stated that "Government has learned with great pleasure from the Government of India that the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri has consented to prolong his stay as the Indian Government's representative in the Union."

2. Efforts made by the South African Indians to induce Mr. Sastri to agree to a further period of office were unsuccessful and on the 20th November the announcement was made simultaneously in India and South Africa that Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi had been appointed to succeed Mr. Sastri as Agent and that Sir Kurma would arrive in South Africa to take over charge early in 1929.

3. There were no changes in the personnel of the Agent's Office in the year 1928, Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., and Mr. C. S. Ricketts, M.B.E., continuing to hold the posts of Secretary to the Agent and Office Superintendent, respectively. Owing to the frequent changes of station necessitated by the political situation in South Africa, the sanctioned post of typist in the Agent's office was not permanently filled. Temporary help was obtained locally as required. For the same reason no permanent office accommodation was rented and the Agent's office records and baggage were of necessity taken round with the Agent when he travelled.

4. The year opened with the Annual Conference of the South African Indian Congress, held at Kimberley. This Conference accomplished much useful work and the unity achieved there was of assistance to the Agent in his subsequent discussions with the Union Government regarding Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill and the Government's Condonation Scheme. The first of these exercised the Agent's anxious attention throughout January and the earlier part of February, when the matter was settled by the Minister's withdrawal of the clause: the Condonation Scheme remained a source of constant anxiety throughout the first nine months of the year. In March and April the Agent was at Pietermaritzburg (Natal) in connection with the Natal Indian Education Inquiry, and, after short visits to the Transvaal and the Cape in connection with the Condonation Scheme, he spent July and part of August in Durban where the foundation stone of the Indian Teachers' Training College was laid by the Administrator of Natal on the 24th August. September and part of October were devoted to tours in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, and the latter part of October and part of November to a tour in the Cape Province during which the Agent gave a successful series of lectures in Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Grahamstown. The closing weeks of the year were clouded with anxiety as regards the working of the Liquor Act which threatened to deprive of their occupation many Indian waiters and wine-stewards in the Transvaal. During the year the Agent spent one hundred and ninety-two days in Natal, eighty-six in the Cape Province, fifty in the Transvaal, and nine in Rhodesia; twenty-nine days were entirely spent in travelling by train or boat.

II.—THE KIMBERLEY CONFERENCE.

5. The Annual Conference of the South African Indian Congress was held at Kimberley on the 2nd January 1928 and three succeeding days. The Conference was remarkable for the

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business-like method in which its proceedings were conducted, for the value and importance of the work accomplished, and for the fact that it marked the re-establishment of a measure of unity among the Indians of South Africa which had been lacking since the secession of the Transvaal British Indian Association from the ranks of the Congress organization in May 1927. The steps by which this unity was achieved have been traced in Section VIII of the Agent's Report for the year 1927. The newly-formed Transvaal Indian Congress was duly recognised and admitted to the Conference which then consisted of thirty delegates from each of the three provincial branches,—the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Cape British Indian Council. Some "fraternal delegates" from Rhodesia also attended to watch the proceedings but took no active part. The Conference was opened by the Mayor of Kimberley and was attended by representatives of several departments of the Union Government,—an excellent idea which seemed to commend itself both to the delegates and to the officers concerned as affording an opportunity for a useful interchange of views. His Excellency the Governor General of South Africa and the Minister of Interior telegraphed their good wishes, and the proceedings of the Conference were fully reported in, and in general favourably commented on by, the South African Press. Though occupying no definite position with regard to the Conference organization, the Agent attended all the meetings and on occasion intervened in the discussions when explanation or guidance seemed to be required.

6. Of the many topics discussed at the Conference, the impending Liquor Bill (and the view taken by the Conference thereon) will be mentioned later in the appropriate section of this Report. For the rest reference need be made here to only two topics. The first of these is the problem of the illicit entry of Indians into the Union. With regard to this the Conference unanimously passed a resolution in the form desired by the Minister for the Interior assuring him of the determination of the South African Indian Congress whole-heartedly to carry out the Cape Town Agreement and to repudiate and discountenance illegal entry into the Union. On the Agent's suggestion a committee of moderate men drawn from each province was appointed to meet the Minister and to settle with him outstanding points in connection with his scheme for condoning the illegal entry of Indians already within the Union.

7. The second point of importance to which reference must be made here was the discussion of an invitation to the Congress to take a formal and deliberative part in the proceedings of a body called "The Non-European Conference,"—a body believed to be representative chiefly of South African "native" interests. No final decision was taken with regard to the attitude to be adopted towards this body, but the Conference empowered its Executive Committee to attend with a watching brief only. This was undoubtedly wise. The aims, objects and methods of the Non-European Conference are not yet fully defined, and it is open to grave question whether the Indian has anything to gain by throwing in his lot with the "native" against the "white." The tendency in the Union at present appears to be towards the gradual absorption of the South African "coloured" community into the "white community,"—at all events for political and economic purposes. The reaching

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after "western standards," to which reference is made in the Cape Town Agreement, postulates some such tendency as regards the Indian community also, though the process may be slower. It was however left to the Agent, who was appealed to for advice, to give what appears to be a conclusive objection to any immediate identification of Indian with "native" political activities, namely, that such an identification would render it impossible for the Government of India any longer to champion the cause of Indians in South Africa.

III.—THE LIQUOR ACT.

8. For South African Indians the new year opened under a cloud of anxiety and apprehension regarding the fate of a large section of their community. The earlier history of Clause 104 of the Union Government's Liquor Bill, together with the objections which the Indian community raised to that clause, was dealt with in Part X of the Agent's Report for the year 1927: the text of the clause formed Appendix (5) to that Report. It will suffice to recall here that the effect of the clause, if it had passed into law, would have been to prohibit the employment of Indians and natives in any capacity on licensed premises throughout the Union. Not only was this prohibition to have the immediate effect of debarring new applicants from entering such employment, but Indians already employed were to be without compensation eliminated within one year by prescribed instalments in three provinces of the Union, while in the fourth, Natal, their continued employment was hedged about with such restrictions as virtually to render the concession nugatory. Indians have established themselves in every province of the Union as cooks and waiters and in both capacities have given satisfaction to their employers and, it is believed, to the public generally. It was estimated that some three thousand Indians already in employment on licensed premises would have been prejudicially affected by the proposal.

9. The Draft Bill was published in September 1927 and up to the close of that year Government had given no indication of their attitude with regard to this clause which had originally been inserted in the Bill before the Cape Town Conference. At the Annual Conference of the South African Indian Congress, held at Kimberley in January, 1928, expression was freely given to the opinion that the passing of the clause as drafted would constitute a violation of the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement and would justify a repudiation of the Agreement by South African Indians. Early in the year the English Press in the Union and the Afrikaans church paper "*Kerkbode*" took up the question, and throughout the month of January the injustice of the proposed legislation and the impossibility of reconciling it with the spirit and even with the actual provisions of the Agreement formed the subject of leading articles. A single example must suffice, taken from the "*Natal Mercury*," a newspaper not ordinarily conspicuous for sympathy with the South African Indian. In a leading article this influential Durban paper described the clause as being "almost as unjust to the employer as it is to the employee" and argued that the mere convenience of the community "should make it undesirable that Parliament should virtually ban the employment of Indians in an occupation for which apparently they are particularly adapted." The article

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went on to point out that the effect of passing such a provision would be to give colour to the complaint that "assisted emigration" was not the voluntary emigration envisaged in the Agreement but virtually compulsory as being induced by the operation of an economic pressure artificially produced by Act of Parliament. "The Natal Mercury" saw in the proposed prohibition "the first step towards the virtual abrogation of the compact" and concluded that if the Government were to force this legislation through the House, it would have the effect of "wrecking the one diplomatic success it has achieved during its term of office."

10. In moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly on the 25th January Mr. Tielman Roos, the Minister in charge of the Bill, hinted that the solution to be adopted might be to pass the clause with the addition of a guarantee preserving their posts to Indians already employed in the callings affected and added, during the course of the debate, that he did not consider that the clause as drafted conflicted with the Cape Town Agreement. He proposed however to leave the matter to a free vote of the House. It is a fact worth recording that in the discussions in the House it was the South African Party who voiced the greater part of the opposition to the clause, and they did so on the ground that it conflicted with the Cape Town Agreement which the Union was now in honour bound to observe.

11. The Agent had already in November 1927 circulated to Ministers, to the Labour Party, and to other influential bodies a memorandum calling attention to the objectionable nature of the clause. In February he went down to Cape Town to interview the Ministers while the Bill was before the House. To the immense relief of the Indian community the decision to withdraw the clause was announced by the Minister for Justice on the 11th February, and, on the Minister's motion the clause was negatived without a division in Committee on the 7th March, the only protest coming from a Labour member who admitted that it was at the instance of that Party and in the interests of "white labour" that the clause had originally been inserted in the Bill. The Minister's action in withdrawing the clause was hailed by the English Press in South Africa as an act of statesmanship and justice. The grounds upon which the Government's decision was based are of importance. The report of the interview at which Mr. Roos announced the decision to the representative of the "Cape Times" is given in Appendix 1 to this Report. While it is disquieting that the Minister should regard a proposal of this kind as not violating the spirit of the Agreement, it is of hopeful significance that he recognised that public opinion was against him on this point.

12. The Liquor Act took effect on the 1st October 1928. It had been hoped that with the withdrawal of Clause 104 the danger of "discrimination on the grounds of race or colour" as against Indians employed in the liquor trade had been eliminated so far as the Liquor Act was concerned. The discovery, however, that, by the interaction of two sections of the Act in its final form, two classes of Indian employees in the Transvaal were prejudicially affected came as an unpleasant surprise to the Indian community. Section 95 of the Act, which merely re-enacts what was already the law in the Transvaal, provides that "in the Province of the Transvaal . . . no person shall sell

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or supply or deliver any liquor to any Asiatic or coloured person, and no Asiatic or coloured person shall obtain or be in possession of liquor." Section 102 enacts that "no licensee shall employ in or in connection with the sale of liquor, or during the hours when liquor may be sold or supplied by him in any bar or other portion of his premises from which liquor is supplied . . . any person to whom individually, or as a member of a class, the sale of liquor is totally prohibited whether such prohibition is general or imposed only in respect of the licence pertaining to the premises at which the employment takes place." The principle that a man who is debarred from buying or possessing liquor shall be debarred also from handling it and from working in a place where it is being handled is new in the law of the Transvaal and of the Union. Read with Section 95, the new prohibition operates directly to prevent the employment of Indians in the Transvaal as barmen and wine-stewards (in which capacities a few Indians earn their living) and indirectly to threaten the position of Indian waiters also, by diminishing their utility in their calling: for if the Indian waiter is not allowed to serve liquor as well as food to guests in clubs and restaurants, he will quickly be eliminated as a waiter from all establishments which cannot afford to employ a white man solely to discharge the duties of a wine-steward. At the outset the harsh effects of Section 102 seemed likely to be confined to the Transvaal and to a few isolated cases in the Orange Free State to which Province also Section 95 applies. It is possible however that the mischief may to some degree extend to Natal also, in the event of the licensing boards in that Province giving (as they have power to do under the Act) a legal effect to the discrimination which already in practice exists (though without any consequential legal effects) between "European" and "Indian" bars.

13. The Act specifically provides for the grant of letters of exemption "from any discrimination" thereby imposed, on Asiatics, and it was hoped that the situation disclosed in October might be met by this means, until remedied by amending legislation. Some letters of exemption were in fact issued: but in November the holders were informed that these would not be extended beyond the last day of the year, and representations made by the Licensed Victuallers Association, by the Indo-European Council of Johannesburg, and by the Agent elicited from the Department of Justice the reply that the principle that "totally prohibited persons should not be employed in or in connection with the sale of liquor" was definitely embodied in the Act and adopted by the Legislature with full knowledge of all the circumstances and results, and that the Minister therefore felt that it would be impossible and indeed legally incompetent for him to take any action to defeat the intention of the Legislature.

14. This was the position at the close of the year under review. It was estimated that some eighty Indians in the Transvaal were already affected prejudicially by the application of Section 102,—either to the extent of losing their employment entirely or to the extent of being put to do other and less remunerative work. The year thus closed, as it had begun, in a feeling of depression as regards the future of a very deserving community, the Indian liquor trade employees in the Transvaal. It should however be added that, in March 1929, as a result

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of further representations by the new Agent and after the Acting Minister for Justice Mr. Havenga had received a deputation of the South African Indian Congress, it was announced that the Acting Minister had come to the conclusion that a good case had been made out for not enforcing literally the provisions of Section 102, sub-section 2 (a) of the Act in regard to Indians who were, at the commencement of the Act, employed as wine-stewards. He intended therefore to convey to Magistrates of the Transvaal and Orange Free State that it was not the Government's policy to prevent the employment of Asiatics who were actually employed as waiters or wine-stewards at the time when the Act came into force.

IV.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE AGREEMENT.

15. The announcement of the Government's decision to abandon Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill cleared the way for the celebration of the anniversary of the publication of the Cape Town Agreement. To mark the occasion the Agent gave a dinner at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town, on the 21st February, and though only a week's notice could be given, twenty-seven Members of the Union Parliament out of thirty-four to whom invitations were sent were able to accept. Five Ministers attended, and Mr. Patrick Duncan, C.M.G., K.C., Minister of the Interior in the last South African Party Cabinet, represented the Opposition "Front Bench."

16. There was no formal toast list, but speeches were made by the Agent, the Prime Minister (General Hertzog), the Minister of the Interior (Dr. D. F. Malan) and Mr. Patrick Duncan. Mr. Sastri acknowledged the courage and statesmanship of the Union Government in concluding the Agreement and the public spirit of the opposition in giving it a fair chance: he appreciated the action of the Natal Administration in setting up an Education Enquiry Commission as provided for in the Agreement; and he expressed the hope that the Agreement would pass altogether from the field of party politics and be accepted, in principle at all events, as a method of settling inter-dominion affairs. He read a message from Sir Mahomed Habibullah, the leader of the Indian Government Delegation to the Round-Table Conference. The Prime Minister welcomed the Agreement as bringing the two countries closer and teaching them to appreciate each other's difficulties: the presence of the Agent, he said, provided the personal contact which was the real solvent of their difficulties. He welcomed the public support which Government had received from all sections towards the carrying out of the Agreement. The Minister of the Interior, after graceful tribute to the Agent, said it was early yet to announce generally whether the Agreement had proved a success: he could only ask for it a fair trial. It had at all events fulfilled expectations as regards emigration, and he welcomed the proof which he had received that the majority of the Indian population of the Union had agreed to abide loyally by the Agreement and to set their face against infringement of the Immigration laws. Mr. Duncan took the opportunity of acknowledging the warmth of the reception which the South African Delegation to India had experienced at the hands of the Government and people of India. The mere fact that an Agreement had been

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concluded at Cape Town was welcome: in approaching questions by friendly discussion instead of leaving them to coercion, South Africa and India had set an example to the World. A new atmosphere had been created: there could be no going back: future difficulties were bound to be made by friendly consultation and the effort to reach a compromise. He hoped that Mr. Sastri would stay long among them.

V.—ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

17. Taking the figures for the whole year the Assisted Emigration Scheme may be said to have borne out in 1928 the promise of the first six months of its trial. The total figures of those who availed themselves of the scheme during 1928,—both to Madras and Calcutta by the “King” Line and to Bombay by the British India mail line are as follows:—

	Adults.		Children. (Under 16 years)		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Indian—born ...	1,237	410	8	14	1,669
Colonial—born ...	199	285	664	660	1,808
Total ...	1,436	695	672	674	3,477

The monthly average is a fraction under 290, as against an average of 249 for 1927 (during five months of which the Assisted Emigration Scheme was in full operation), 175 for 1926, and 113 for 1925. While it is inevitable that most of the children emigrating under the scheme should have been South African-born, it is surprising that out of 2,131 adult emigrants as many as 484 (nearly 23 per cent.) should be “colonial-born”. Among these 484 adults the excess of females over males,—285 to 199,—may perhaps be taken as affording an indication of the extent to which Indian-born men are returning to India with “colonial-born” wives.

18. In spite of the arrangements made under the Cape Town Agreement whereby emigrants even for Provinces other than Bombay could elect to travel by the regular mail boat service to that port and to be conveyed by train to their destination in India at the expense of the Union Government, the main stream of emigration has continued to flow by the “King” line, and one ship of this line sailed from Durban for Madras every month except August. The figures of assisted emigrants who sailed by mail boat for Bombay were as follows:—

Adult males, 148: adult females, 25: boys, 20: girls, 25,—Total—218. These figures are included in the total figure of 3,477 given above. Almost all of these 218 emigrants were returning to places in the Bombay Presidency.

19. Though the total figure for the year is satisfactory, emigration figures, particularly in the main stream of emigration, via Madras fluctuated greatly from month to month. The table given below refers only to emigrants sailing by “King” boats to Madras: the smaller stream of emigration via Bombay remain fairly steady throughout the year. For purposes of

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comparison the corresponding figures for 1927 are also shown. It must however be remembered that the first five ships of that year (carrying 1,330 persons) sailed under the old "voluntary repatriation" scheme.

	1927.	1928.
First quarter	(2 ships) 515	(3 ships) 956
Second quarter	(2 ships) 575	(3 ships) 777
Third quarter	(3 ships) 843	(2 ships) 480
Fourth quarter	(3 ships) 917	(3 ships) 1,046
	2,850	3,259

The table reflects the improvement in emigration which resulted from the introduction of the "Assisted Emigration Scheme" in July 1927. This improvement continued throughout the first quarter of 1928. About April it came to the Agent's notice that applications for "free passages" under the scheme had almost ceased, though there were still enough applicants already registered to justify the chartering of ships up till the end of July. From the end of the third quarter there was a rapid recovery, and a situation which had caused some uneasiness, in view of the importance attaching to the success of the Assisted Emigration scheme in the eyes of the Union Government and of the European population of Natal, was to a great extent relieved. It is difficult to ascribe any reason either for the falling-away in emigration in the hot weather or for the revival in the last quarter of the year. The former may to some extent be due to the beginning of the sugar-cane season and the unpopularity of sea voyages during the monsoon: similarly the cessation of the monsoon and the slackening of work in the sugar-cane fields may account in part for the revival of emigration towards the close of the year: in this, however, an equally patent factor appears to have been a rumour,—started no one knows how or by whom—that the increased rates of bonus introduced after the conclusion of the Cape Town Agreement were to be withdrawn when Mr. Sastri returned to India!

20. One of the ways by which it was sought, in the Cape Town Agreement, to improve the system of emigration and to make it more attractive to Indians who were not likely to "make good" in South Africa was the provision whereby an assisted emigrant wishing to return to the Union after emigration might do so on refunding the bonus drawn by him for himself and his family and all other expenses incurred by the Union Government in connection with their journey to their destination in India, provided he exercised the option not earlier than one year nor later than three years from the date on which he sailed from South Africa. Arrangements are in course of elaboration for the effectual working of this provision. It is, however, gratifying to have to record that, up to the end of December 1928, the number of applications received from emigrants entitled under this provision to return to South Africa was only five.

21. An analysis of the occupations in South Africa (so far as known) of adult males who availed themselves of the scheme during the year 1928 forms Appendix (2) to this Report. While this list, like its predecessor in the Report for 1927, affords no support to the suggestion that the improvement in emigration figures since the conclusion of the Cape Town

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Agreement is due to a great extent to the adverse effects of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wages Act. (Vide Part III, paragraph (3) of the Summary of Conclusions reached at the Round Table Conference), it is no doubt true that most of the emigrants who give any intelligible reason for applying for free passages under the Scheme impute their decision to lack of employment here. The Agent sees no ground for any belief that unemployment among the Indians of South Africa has increased since the conclusion of the Agreement. The factors which tend to cause unemployment were mostly present before the Cape Town Conference was held and some at least have been modified by the operation of the better feeling in which that Agreement was conceived and has been carried out. A case in point is supplied by the dropping of the notorious: "Clause 104" of the Liquor Bill in February 1928,—a clause which threatened the means of livelihood of some three thousand Indian waiters throughout the Union. It must unfortunately be admitted that one powerful factor making for unemployment among Indians,—a factor which is reflected in the table of "occupations" (Appendix 2),—is the "white labour" policy of the present Government of the Union. This policy, which was pursued before the Cape Town Conference and which has the support of the Labour wing of the Government, has been responsible for the reduction of Indian labourers employed by the South African Railways and Harbours Department from over 2,000 in 1923 to 1,034 at the end of 1928: for the gradual replacement of Indians in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs; and for pressure brought to bear on municipal bodies to employ "poor whites" on work hitherto performed by Indians, "coloured persons" and natives.

2. But while lack of employment has undoubtedly played a part in the stimulation of emigration, it is worthy of comment that more than half of the adult emigrants (nearly 800 out of 1,402 whose occupations are classified in Appendix (2) to this Report) are drawn from occupations in which a heavy demand for labour and greatly improved terms obtain: such, for example, as the 595 Agricultural Labourers, those employed in sugar mills, the cane-cutters, wattle cutters, and at least a proportion of those shown as firemen, pointsmen, and perhaps also as engine-drivers, who are employed in the sugar-cane industry. The Protector of Indian Immigrants also reports that even when work in the cane-fields is slack he finds it difficult to obtain Indian labourers for work in the wattle plantations where there is a demand for their labour.

23. Early in the year Mr. H. N. Venn, the Union Government Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, visited India in order to study at first hand and to discuss with the Government of India and local officers the problems and difficulties arising out of the Assisted Emigration Scheme. Landing in Bombay on the 4th February, Mr. Venn spent two months in India, visiting Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. His time in Delhi was spent in discussions with the Department and in meeting members of both the Houses of the Legislature, then in session, and attending their debates. At Ahmedabad he had an interview with Mr. Gandhi. He sailed from Bombay on the 11th April.

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VI.—THE CONDONATION SCHEME.

24. Undoubtedly the most difficult problem with which the Agent was called upon to deal during the year under review was the settlement, with the Union Government and with the Indian community, of the method by which those Indians,—an indeterminate number in each province,—who were present in the Union in defiance of the Immigration laws might be given an opportunity to regularise their position and to have their illegal entry condoned. Not only did the question itself bristle with difficulties of a technical kind—the results of a history of alternate enforcement and neglect of laws regarding immigration, registration and domicile which varied in each province—but the details of the scheme put forward by the Department of the Interior, and indeed its very principle, gave rise to acute dissensions in the Indian community itself, a fact which rendered it all the more difficult for the Agent or for the Congress to present their case effectively to the Minister. The extent to which feeling became exacerbated with regard to this subject may be gauged from the fact that it was on this very subject of the treatment of illicit entrants, and on account of the alleged failure of the Congress officials to press upon the Minister the necessity for a statutory amnesty in preference to an administrative scheme of individual condonation, that the Transvaal British Indian Association broke away from the South African Indian Congress in May 1927. The Agent on his arrival in the Union perceived at once that so long as there was no organisation empowered to speak for the entire Indian community of the Union, there was no hope of averting the danger of a widespread series of deportations under the Immigration laws. Failing to secure the adhesion of the Transvaal British Indian Association to the Congress, he was compelled to countenance the setting up of a separate organisation in the Transvaal, to be affiliated with the South African Indian Congress, and the jurisdiction of this body was again extended over the three provinces concerned. With this degree of unity achieved, the Agent made it his policy to bring the representatives of the Congress as closely as possible into touch with the Department and with the Minister and to keep himself as far as possible in the background, only openly intervening when necessary either to support the Congress representations to the Minister and his officials or to advise the Congress and the community to accept with a good grace what was offered. It may be said without fear of contradiction that had the Congress officials not worked indefatigably at a somewhat thankless task—discussing points with the Department and enlightening and persuading a doubtful and suspicious community—neither the Government nor the Agent could have secured a satisfactory solution of the problem of illicit entry. Of the solution actually achieved, it may be said that, though not ideal from the point of view of either party, it represents probably a fair compromise between the wishes of the Government and the fears of the community: the terms were the best that the Agent and the community could secure in the difficult circumstances, and it is certain that but for the better atmosphere created by the Cape Town Agreement they would not have secured so much.

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25. Although reference was made to the matter in the Agent's Annual Report for 1927, it will be well, in the interests of completeness, to recapitulate here the points at issue in the "condonation" question. It must first be emphasized that the question of condoning the illicit entry of Indians already resident in the Union arose not from any discussion at the Cape Town Conference but from the fact that the Union Government when introducing an Amending Bill (now Act 37 of 1927) to implement their undertakings under the Agreement, took the opportunity to include a provision (Section 5) designed to strengthen their hands in dealing with illegal entrants. Section 5 of this Amending Act gives power to Principal Immigration Officers and to the Boards to whom appeals from such officers' decisions lie, to cancel the registration certificate or other document of "domicile" of any person whose document is proved to have been obtained by fraudulent representations made either by him or on his behalf. This amendment of the Immigrants' Regulation Act (22 of 1913) was introduced to meet the situation created by the judgment of the Transvaal Supreme Court in *Salajee's* case (1924) the effect of which was to rule that where a person obtains a registration certificate by means of fraud knowingly, he cannot rely on his own fraud, and a Court will cancel a certificate so obtained; but where a person (*e.g.*, a minor), though in possession of a certificate obtained by fraud, is himself innocent of any fraud, his certificate would not be cancelled by the Courts. The new section does two things: it obliterates the distinction set up by the judgment in *Salajee's* case between the innocent and the guilty holder of a fraudulently-obtained certificate, and it gives the power of cancellation in both cases, not to the Courts, but to the Principal Immigration Officer (subject to the Minister's approval) or, in the event of an appeal, to the immigration board.

26. This legislation, like the judgment which it was designed to supersede, affected chiefly the Indian community in the Transvaal where compulsory registration obtains: comparatively few Indians in Natal and still fewer in the Cape have documents of "domicile". It is important to note that neither the judgment of 1924 nor the legislation of 1927 affected the power already conferred on Immigration Officers by the Act of 1913 to treat as "prohibited immigrants" illicit entrants into any province who have no document of registration or of "domicile"—the case of most of the illicit entrants in the provinces of Natal and the Cape. But when the Minister agreed not to give retrospective effect to the provisions of Section 5, he decided also to extend the benefits of this immunity to those illicit entrants also who had no document whatsoever—to all illicit entrants, in fact, throughout the Union, whether in possession of documents or not. The Minister therefore offered immunity to a circle of persons much wider than those protected by the judgment in *Salajee's* case or affected by the legislation (Section 5) designed to meet that judgment.

27. The position at the close of the year 1927 was that the Minister had refused to embody in Act 37 of 1927 any proviso debarring the Department from utilising its powers under Section 5 against Indians already in the country; but that he had, on the other hand, signified his willingness, "as an act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri, P.C., as the first Agent of the Government of

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India in the Union," to refrain from putting into effect the Immigration Laws as amended by Section 5 against any illicit entrant whether in possession of a document or not, and whether in the Transvaal, the Cape or Natal, who proved to his satisfaction that he had entered such Province prior to the 5th July 1924. The Minister's offer was conditional on his receiving on behalf of the Indian community an assurance that that community generally would stand by the Cape Town Agreement and would discountenance illicit entry for the future. This offer was made in May 1927 and still held good at the end of the year. Owing, however, to the secession of the Transvaal British Indian Association from the South African Indian-Congress there was, up to the close of the year, no association or body empowered to speak for the South African Indian community as a whole, and the assurance required by the Minister could not accordingly be given. As has been narrated in paragraph 51 of the Agent's Report for 1927, a new body, the Transvaal Indian Congress, was set up in December 1927. This body was affiliated with the South African Indian Congress at the latter's annual Conference at Kimberley, in January 1928, and the South African Indian Congress was therefore able, at its Conference, to give on behalf of all three Provinces, the assurance which the Minister required. The Conference also, on the Agent's advice, appointed a special committee representative of all three Provinces to arrange the details of the "condonation scheme" with the Department and with the Minister. The Minister accepted the assurance of the South African Indian Congress and met the Congress committee at Cape Town on the 21st February when the main outlines of the scheme were settled.

28. The scheme provided that any Indian who satisfied the Department that his illegal entry into South Africa took place before the 5th July 1924,—that is to say any Indian who, had he entered legally, would have acquired a South African domicile by the 5th July 1927, the date on which the new Act took effect,—would be given a protection certificate in legal form, conserving to him all the rights which he enjoyed on the 5th July 1927, permitting him to retain all his documents (if any) of registration or domicile, and bearing on it a guarantee that the protection certificate itself would not be liable to cancellation unless the holder of it was convicted of an offence for which an immigrant of any other country of origin can be deported from the Union. Subject to one important limitation, to which reference will presently be made, "condonees" were to be treated in every way as though they had entered legally, and their children, if already in the Union, were to be entitled to all the rights of a domiciled Indian. The limitation was in regard to the further introduction by "condonees" of wives and minor children. Against their admission it was argued that when the Union Government was providing £50,000 a year to finance scheme for encouraging emigration of Indians who have legally entered the Union, and when Government had taken power from the Legislature to deport all illicit entrants, Government would not be justified in allowing those who have come into the Union illegally in the past not only to remain there themselves but also to be the means of introducing wives and children,—the latter potential parents and potential traders. The Agent and the Congress committee pressed strongly the

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case for granting to all who are allowed to stay in South Africa facilities for leading a happy family life: the Minister however was unable to go further than to promise to reconsider the restriction after all the applications for condonation had been received, when, in fact, the dimensions of the concession asked for could be appreciated.

29. In other respects the Agent and the committee were successful in securing concessions and improvements in the scheme. For example, no Indian who was the rightful holder of a document attesting the fact that he had obtained condonation in one of the previous condonation schemes was obliged to apply for a protection certificate under the new scheme,—with its restriction regarding wives and minor children. The Minister also agreed that the restriction should only apply to wives and minor children not already introduced into South Africa; wives and children already in the country were not to be disturbed, and the minor sons of “condonees” in the Transvaal, if they were already in that Province, were to be granted registration certificates in the ordinary way. The Minister further undertook that if the protection certificate should be found in practice to fail in safeguarding the rights of the holder, he would legislate to make it efficacious. Finally, though applications for condonation were to be received by the Department by the 30th September 1928, the cases of applicants then in India would be held over for decision till their return to South Africa (subject to a maximum delay of six months).

30. These negotiations were protracted over several months and it was not till the 29th July, 1928, that the scheme was gazetted and the way made clear for applications. Hopes entertained both by the Agent and by the Department that after so many months of discussion and negotiation there would from the outset be a steady flow of applicants content to take the opportunity of cleaning up their records were doomed to disappointment. Though the Department recognised the necessity of encouraging applications by a courteous and considerate treatment of the first-comers and to that end issued instructions to local officers not to harass would-be “condonees” with unnecessary questions, it was perhaps inevitable, considering the extremely involved nature of the whole problem, that a fresh crop of difficulties should spring up the moment the scheme was put into operation and concrete cases were brought before the authorities. Throughout July and August and even into September,—the last month allotted for the receipt of applications,—difficult questions of law, of the Department's policy and of procedure arising out of cases brought to the notice of the Congress or of the Agent, or unearthed by the ingenuity of opponents of the scheme, afforded ground for negotiation with the Department. In the meantime the number of applicants remained insignificant. The chief opposition to the scheme came from the leaders of the South African Indian Federation. (The origin of this body was described in paragraph 52 of the Agent's Report for 1927). The Federation leaders held a conference in Cape Town in September, at which the scheme, the Congress and the Agent were all roundly denounced. They succeeded in the Cape Province at all events in preventing until practically the last moment any move to take advantage of the scheme. Elsewhere, with the gradual solution of the problems to which reference has been made, and with the approach of

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the time-limit fixed by the Minister, the numbers of applicants began to rise. During the latter part of August (in Durban) and in September (in the Transvaal) the Agent addressed meetings urging illicit entrants in their own interests and for the good name of the community to wipe out the past and make their position safe. The Press also advised the community to take advantage of the Minister's offer since no one had yet suggested any alternative mode (which the Government would accept) of obtaining relief. By the 20th September only thirty-six applications from the Cape and some six hundred in all had been received: but during the last days of the month there occurred something in the nature of a stampede, and even in the Cape applicants came forward in large numbers as soon as the Federation Conference had broken up and the leaders had left for "a final rally against the scheme" at Durban. The final figures of applications in the three provinces were as follows:—

Transvaal (including about 85 Chinese)	627
Natal	614
Cape Province	375
Total	1,616

31. With two-thirds of the applications coming in within the last ten days of the period laid down, it was not found possible to dispose of them as they were received. In some cases also it has been found necessary to make reference to India for confirmation of applicant's statements. Up to the close of the year 1,333 protection certificates had been issued under the scheme, 110 had been refused or not claimed (this figure includes 85 Chinese cases), and the balance (173) were still awaiting disposal. It is impossible to say what proportion of those whose cases were covered by the scheme have taken advantage of it. It must be borne in mind that persons who have entered illegally since the 5th July 1924 were not covered by the scheme, while those who had papers evidencing condonation under some previous scheme were exempt from making application under this scheme. In the Transvaal, again, a concession was secured with regard to the holders of Peace Preservation Ordinance Certificates the effect of which undoubtedly was to exempt from the necessity of making application a large number of persons whose registration certificates were technically at all events open to attack. So far as it is possible to hazard an opinion, it would probably be correct to say that the figures of applications in the Transvaal represent the vast majority of those whose position was still one of jeopardy in spite of the concessions mentioned. This is at all events the opinion of the Transvaal Congress leaders. As regards Natal and the Cape it is impossible to form any estimate. It only remains to add that, with 173 applications still outstanding, final figures in connection with the scheme were not available at the end of the year, and the question of the restriction of the wives and minor children of "condonees" (where these are not already in the country) had accordingly not been taken up with the Minister.

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VII.—INDIAN TRADE MISSION.

32.—The Indian Trade Mission, appointed to visit the Near East and Africa for the purpose of surveying the possibilities of extending the export trade of India and of reporting on the desirability of appointing Trade Commissioners in the countries visited, reached Durban on the 16th May. The Union Government arranged for the members of the Mission an extensive tour of the chief trading centres of the Union and deputed an officer of the Board of Trade to accompany them. The leader of the Mission, Dr. D. B. Meek, O.B.E., had an interview with His Excellency the Governor-General and the Mission were able to get into touch with the chief merchants and traders wherever they went. The Agent was present when the Mission were in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Whether or not the visit of the Mission leads to the appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner in the Union (and it may be remarked in passing that Great Britain and Canada have Trade Commissioners in South Africa) a substantial development of trade between the two countries would be a result heartily to be welcomed. The bond of friendship created by the Cape Town Agreement could only be strengthened by the multiplication of economic ties between the two countries.

VIII.—THE AGENT'S LECTURES.

33. Throughout the year the Agent took every opportunity of addressing schools, colleges and meetings of societies and of the general public on topics connected with India. A course of lectures on Hindu Philosophy and Sanskrit Literature which he delivered to the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), to the Transvaal University College (Pretoria), to the Cape Town University and to the Library Group in Durban, evoked crowded audiences and made a remarkable impression. By the courtesy of the Dean, he spoke twice in the Cathedral in Johannesburg on "Christianity as it impresses an Indian," and on the same topic he addressed a vast audience composed largely of ministers of the Dutch reformed Church in Cape Town. He was frequently invited to address Rotary Clubs in different towns in the Union, and he spoke to the University audiences at Pietermaritzburg, Grahamstown and Stellenbosch. Though most of the Agent's time was inevitably taken up with matters of detail and in the solution of problems (like the Condonation question) of considerable but transient importance, there can be little doubt that the most important and probably the most enduring part of his work has been the interpretation of India to South Africa. To generations of South Africans India has perhaps inevitably, been represented only by the cane-cutter, the waiter, the dhobi and the petty trader. That South Africa is willing to accord a tolerant and even an enthusiastic hearing to one who is in a position to correct a false perspective and to open up a vista of the riches of Indian culture and civilisation has been abundantly demonstrated in the reception everywhere accorded to the Agent when he spoke on topics connected with the life and thought of India.

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IX.—INDO-EUROPEAN COUNCILS.

34. In August steps were taken, at the instance of some Europeans in Durban and with the Agent's co-operation, to found an Indo-European Joint Council on the lines of the European-Bantu Joint Councils which have been doing good work in different parts of the Union. A similar body was organised in Johannesburg in September. These Joint Councils are composed of a small number of members drawn from both sexes and as nearly as possible equally from both races. Election is by co-option and every effort is made to bring into the movement persons really representative of the two races in different walks of life. The objects of these associations are, broadly, to afford an opportunity for a free interchange of views between persons of good-will in the two communities, meeting as equals. It is hoped that, by a joint investigation of common problems and by securing publicity, when desirable, for the results of such investigation, the councils may be able to create and stimulate a healthy and instructed public opinion which will be taught to regard such problems from the point of view of the common good. It may be possible also by means of memorials and publicity to bring to bear upon the local, the provincial and even the central administrations the pressure of a considered and agreed opinion in matters affecting the two communities. Indeed the Johannesburg Indo-European Council has already interested itself in the case of the Transvaal Indians whose employment was endangered by the operation of Section 102 of the Liquor Act and it is probable that the present relief from anxiety on that score is largely due to the representations made by this body to the Minister for Justice and subsequently to the Prime Minister.

X.—THE AGENT'S TOUR IN RHODESIA.

35. The Agent visited Rhodesia for ten days at the end of September. Though travelling, so far as Rhodesia was concerned, in a private capacity the Agent was accorded public receptions in Bulawayo and Salisbury and at the latter place, the capital of Southern Rhodesia, he laid the foundation stone of an Indian School. At Livingstone the Agent was entertained by Sir James Maxwell, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, and at Salisbury by Sir Murray Bisset, the acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia. In both places he was warmly received by Indians and Europeans, and there can be no doubt that his visit afforded satisfaction not only to the local Indians but also to the Administration of Southern Rhodesia who took the opportunity of discussing with him informally matters affecting the well-being of the Indian community in the colony.

XI.—NATAL.

(a) *Natal Indian Education Inquiry.*

36. During the year under review two important inquiries in connection with subjects in which Indians are vitally concerned were held in Natal, the Provincial Administration's Indian Education Inquiry and the Union Government's inquiry into the housing and sanitation of Indians in and around Dur-

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ban. The announcement that the Natal Administration had agreed to set up the Indian Education Commission provided for in the Cape Town Agreement was made on the 22nd September 1927. The Gazette notification appeared on the 17th November and the two experts sent by the Government of India, Mr. K. P. Kichlu, I.E.S., and Miss C. Gordon arrived in the Union a few days later. It had originally been the intention that the Committee should begin its work before Christmas 1927, but changes in the personnel of the Provincial Administration and of the Committee rendered this impracticable and the Committee did not begin to take evidence till the 2nd April. The delay however was turned to good account by the Government of India experts. Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon were able in the interval to obtain a thorough mastery of the system of education in Natal and to study the actual conditions and gauge local needs. The results of this preparation were embodied in a printed Memorandum which Mr. Kichlu presented to the Committee during its sittings; and with the local knowledge which he had acquired Mr. Kichlu was able to elicit from the witnesses information which might not otherwise have come to light.

37. In personnel the Commission was simply a committee of the Provincial Legislative Council. It consisted of the four elected members of the Provincial Executive Committee (of whom one, Mr. Dyson, presided) and three other members of the Provincial Council. The decision of the Administration to appoint a purely "Parliamentary" Commission came as a disappointment to the Indian community who had hoped for the constitution of an independent body able to investigate a technical matter with technical knowledge and able also to approach the problem on its merits,—a body untrammelled by past history or future financial responsibility. It must be said that the report ultimately presented by the Committee reflects in its contents, its omissions and its general tone the defects inherent in the Committee's constitution. It is a matter of opinion whether these defects are outweighed by the advantage that such recommendations as the Committee have made to the Provincial Council have been accepted by that body without challenge.

38. The Committee took evidence on seven days between the 2nd and the 19th April. The proceedings were open to the public and were well reported in the provincial Press. Mr. Kichlu was afforded every opportunity to question the witnesses, and the attitude of the Chairman and members of the Committee towards the witnesses was fair and in most cases sympathetic. Indian witnesses came forward readily, in their private capacity and as representing localities and associations. The reasonable character of most of their evidence and the moderation of their immediate demands created a favourable impression. The case for improved facilities for Indian education was strengthened also by the evidence of some of the "grantees" (for "aided" schools) and of other European interests in the subject.

39. The Committee's Report was published on the 24th May and was laid on the Table of the House in the Provincial Council. A copy forms Appendix (3) to this Report. Disappointing as the Report is in many ways from an Indian point of view, it is not without its good points. Principal among these may be cited the unanimous recognition of the inadequacy

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of existing facilities and the recommendation for their expansion and improvement: the proposal that for the future the entire subsidy accruing to the Provincial exchequer from the Union Government on account of attendance of Indian pupils shall be spent on Indian education and that to this should be added any additional sum received by reason of the proposed change in the method of calculating attendance for the purposes of subsidy: the finding that the system of grant-in-aid, which affects the vast majority of Indian schools, needs re-organization: and the recommendation that the projected Teachers' Training School in Durban should be taken over and maintained by the Department. Apart also from the actual recommendations of the Committee, the Inquiry has fully justified itself if only for the discovery and publication of the true facts about the state of Indian education and the incidence of the burden of taxation on the provincial finances. Contrary to the accepted belief, which is that the Indian pays no provincial taxes but draws heavily upon the provincial revenues for his education it was abundantly proved before the Committee that the Indian does contribute towards the provincial taxation and that, far from the cost of his education being a burden on provincial revenues, the Province has not spent on this account the whole of the subsidy received from the Union Treasury but has diverted annually to the general revenues of the Province about thirty per cent. of the money so received. The disclosure of this misuse of the Union Government's subsidy brought down upon the Natal Administration the strictures of the "Cape Times", the "Natal Witness" and the "Natal Advertiser": even the "Natal Mercury" (which had described the whole inquiry as "unnecessary") made no attempt to defend the attitude of the Administration on this point but admitted that here the Indian had a "distinct grievance." The evidence given before the Committee clearly shows,—though there is no acknowledgment of it in the Report,—that the Indian in Natal has been by no means so uninterested in education or so unwilling to help himself, by the provision of schools and the payment of fees, as the common report of the Province would have it. It must also in fairness be stated that a better atmosphere seems to have come into existence since the inquiry and that the Provincial Administration immediately after the publication of the Report, placed an item of £9,000 on the estimates under the head "Expansion of Indian Education." This extra vote, representing the sum necessary to bring the estimates up to the level of the subsidy calculated on the attendance figures for 1927, was passed by the Provincial Council without a division, and the effect had already made itself patent by the end of the year in extensions of both the "Government School" and the "Aided School" systems in the Province.

(b) Durban Sanitation and Housing Inquiry.

40. It will be recalled that in the "upliftment" portion of the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government undertook to take steps under the Public Health Act to institute an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban and to include in the terms of reference two specific questions,—the appointment of advisory committees of representative Indians to assist local bodies, and the limitation

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of the sale of municipal land subject to restrictive conditions (in other words, subject to what is known as the "anti-Asiatic clause"). The Minister's first proposal was to set up, for the purposes of this inquiry, a Commission composed of the Members of the Executive Committee of the Union Government's Central Housing Board together with provincial and municipal representatives, while the Indian community were to be represented by two assessors to be chosen by themselves: the terms of reference were to be as proposed in the Agreement. This proposal to associate Indians, for the first time in South Africa, with a body set up to inquire into matters affecting the community was welcomed by the Agent and the community. Unfortunately the proposal did not commend itself, on other grounds, to the local bodies and was abandoned. Thereafter in October, the Minister appointed the Executive Committee of the Central Housing Board alone to visit Durban and hold the inquiry. Though disappointed at the abandonment of the proposal for Indian assessors, the Indian community found no cause for complaint in the very full and sympathetic hearing which was accorded to them by the Board. Oral evidence was received on the 23rd and 24th October and the two following days were spent in local inspections. The proceedings were formal but open to the public, and every facility was afforded to local authorities and to the Indian community to place their views before the Board. The report submitted by the Board will be found in Appendix (4) of this Report. Briefly, while the Board have found no short cut to the solution of a problem rendered difficult by poverty and race prejudice, they have to a great extent accepted the recommendations of the Indian witnesses, and (to be more specific) have advocated the sale, free of "anti-Asiatic" restrictions, of municipal land in certain areas—this, more as a recognition of a deeply-felt Indian grievance than as a serious contribution towards the solution of the urban housing problem—and the erection within the Borough boundary by the Durban Corporation of small cottages for sale or lease to Indians. For the peri-Durban area, where conditions are at their worst, the Board presses for an early extension of the Borough boundaries as the main solution but accepts the Congress suggestion that in the meantime something could be done to improve Indian housing if local bodies would make use of the provisions of the Housing Act whereby they can obtain money from the Central Housing Board, and lend it on easy terms to small free-holders, on the security of their free-hold, for the erection of houses of approved plan. A sum of £50,000 had already been earmarked by the Union Government for Indian housing in Natal, and the Board advise that half of this sum should be utilised for the erection by the Durban Corporation of cottages for Indians on the Eastern Vlei within the Borough boundaries, and that the remaining half should be set aside for utilisation as loans through local authorities to Indian free-holders. As regards the Health Board areas outside the Borough boundary, the Board have supported the Indian demand for the statutory recognition of the Indian advisory boards, for less drastic provisions regarding the recovery of interest on arrears of rates than the present compulsory levy of 10 per cent. *per mensem*, and for the substitution of a proper valuation for the present "flat rate" system as the basis of assessment. The Report of the Board was presented

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to the Minister only on the 8th December and no action is known to have been taken on it up to the end of the year.

(c) Trade Union Affairs.

41. The close of November was marked by an interesting development in Indian labour organisation. Though the movement to which reference will presently be made originated in Natal and under the auspices of the Natal branch of the South African Indian Congress, there is no reason to doubt that the good work begun in Natal will shortly extend to the other provinces.

42. The Industrial Conciliation Act envisages the formation in each industry of an "Industrial Council" representative of that industry and composed of employers and employees in equal numbers. The employees' representatives are elected by the Trade Unions. An agreement reached between the two sets of representatives in an Industrial Council may be ratified by the Minister and applied by him with all the force of law to the whole industry in question. In such a case even those employers and employees who were not represented on the Industrial Council and were no parties to the agreement would be bound by its terms and criminally liable for infractions. Indians in South Africa generally find themselves unable to secure admission to the existing Trade Unions, and as the policy of the Department of Labour has hitherto been not to recognise more than one union for each occupation, Indian workers have so far gone practically unrepresented. They are liable therefore to find themselves bound by agreements which they have had no hand in shaping,—a position which carries especial dangers in a country where Labour is imbued with ideals which do not generally rise above the level of the "white labour" policy of the politicians.

43. Matters were brought to a head when the registration of a separate union for Europeans employed in the liquor and catering trades in Durban was refused by the Department of Labour on the ground that there already existed there a registered union formed by Indians but with an open constitution and willing to admit Europeans. As a means of settling the difficulty the Registrar of Trade Unions suggested the acceptance of the principle that, while the formation in each industry of single unions embracing all races affected remained the ideal at which the Department aimed, it might be advisable, where owing to race prejudice this was not at present possible, to encourage the formation, and allow the registration, of separate and parallel but mutually-exclusive unions. In the case in point this would have involved the introduction of a colour bar (against Europeans) into the constitution of the already-existing union, a course which on principle the members of that union (all Indians) refused to adopt. At this stage the Natal Indian Congress stepped in and organised a conference at Durban, on the 24th November, which was attended by some three thousand Indians and was opened by the Agent. The Department of Labour was represented by its Chief Inspector and the Registrar who both then and throughout the subsequent negotiations have proved themselves patient, conciliatory and extremely helpful. At the Conference a South African Indian Trade Union Con-

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gress was formed and steps have since been taken to organise the Indian workers in several industries—tobacco-workers, tin-smiths and metal workers, and laundry-men—into unions which will in due course apply for registration as separate unions, or for affiliation with existing unions when the general policy of the Congress regarding the Registrar's proposals has been settled. On this point the Conference after some discussion wisely deferred a decision and appointed a committee to meet the Departmental officers and, if possible, the representatives of the "white" Trade Union Congress with a view to securing, preferably, full membership for Indians in the existing unions on equal terms with European members, or, failing that, the recognition of Indian organizations as separate branches of the existing unions, meeting at first separately but sending representatives to a common Executive. Where neither of these courses is practicable, there remains the formation of parallel and mutually-exclusive unions on a race basis, but this proposal has so far found favour neither with the Indian trade unionists nor with the Europeans, and there are welcome indications that the aims of the South African Indian Trade Union Congress will generally be met without recourse to parallel unions constituted on race lines.

(d) Teachers' Training College.

44. The inception of the Agent's project for building and equipping a combined Teachers' Training College and High School for Indians in Durban, to be handed over for maintenance by the Provincial Council, was described in paragraphs 37-41 of the Agent's Report for 1927. The position at the close of that year was that a sum of about £18,000 in cash and bills maturing from month to month had been deposited in the Bank and that a grant had been obtained from the Durban Corporation of the lease of a plot of land two acres in extent in a suitable site near three existing Indian schools. During the earlier part of the year under review the question of increasing the area granted,—so as to permit of the inclusion of a playground in the layout of the institution,—was on several occasions brought before the Borough Council but was on each occasion negatived by a small margin. The Agent had therefore to be content with the area allotted and to proceed with his plans on that basis. It is gratifying to be able to record that the Natal Indian Education Inquiry Commission, in paragraph 8 of their report, agreed that "it is absolutely essential to establish an Indian Training College in order to supply the necessary qualified teachers to provide for the extension (i.e., of educational facilities) which has been referred to, and that in this connection the Administration should accept the gift of the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. S. Sastri of a fully equipped Training College and assume responsibility for its conduct and maintenance, and, further, as it is quite impossible to find professors in this country capable of starting the Training College, the first opportunity should be taken to import them from overseas." On the 24th August, in the presence of the Mayor of Durban, the Superintendent of Education (Natal) and a large gathering of Europeans and Indians, the Administrator of Natal, His Honour Mr. H. Gordon Watson, I.S.O., laid the foundation

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stone and at the instance of the subscribers announced that the institution would be called the "Sastri College." Plans and estimates were completed and tenders called for before the end of the year and building operations were begun in January 1929.

(e) Durban Foreshore Ordinance.

45. The introduction in the Natal Provincial Council in March of a draft Ordinance "to confer additional powers upon the Town Council of the Borough of Durban in regard to the beach and foreshore of the Indian Ocean" was the cause of some apprehension among Durban Indians. The Ordinance was introduced professedly to give the Borough authorities powers to control bathing in the interests of safety. It was feared however that the original draft Ordinance was so worded as to permit of the introduction of bye-laws enforcing a "colour-bar" not only in respect of the existing bathing facilities but also in respect of the Beach Road,—a public road which, by the wording of the definition, was included in the "foreshore." The Natal Indian Congress appeared before the Select Committee to whom this draft Ordinance was referred and the Ordinance as finally passed by the Provincial Council is free from the objections raised against it by the Indian Community.

XII.—TRANSVAAL.

(a) Johannesburg Tramway Bye-law and Hawkers and Pedlars Ordinance.

46. In November 1927 the confirmation of a Johannesburg municipal bye-law relegating Indians to certain seats on the municipal tramways was much resented by the Indian community of Johannesburg. Till that date there had been no legal restriction with regard to the occupation of seats on trams by Indians, though in practice the Indians had generally refrained from occupying seats inside the trams. The new bye-law went further than existing practice and sought to confine Indians to the outside platforms only, excluding them from seats even on top of the tram. The Agent took the matter up with the Administrator and with the municipal authorities, and later a deputation of Indians, "Coloureds" and natives was received by the municipal tramway committee. The obnoxious bye-law has since been withdrawn.

47. At the end of 1927 the Transvaal Administration introduced in the Provincial Legislative Council a draft Ordinance the effect of which was to restrict hawkers and pedlars from carrying on business at any place—being outside a municipality—within one mile of the place of business of any holder of a general dealer's licence. The matter was only brought to the Agent's notice when the Ordinance had already passed the second reading and "Committee" stages: Though he at once visited Pretoria, it was then too late to secure any changes other than those already introduced in committee, one of which, however, excluded from the purview of the restriction hawkers and pedlars who sell fresh fruit and vegetables only. It should in fairness be mentioned that the Ordinance does not discriminate against Indian hawkers and pedlars but applies to all

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and is framed in the interest of the general dealers, many of whom are Indians. In effect however it was feared that the Ordinance would bear more heavily on the Indian community from whose ranks most of the hawkers and pedlars are drawn. The amendment to exclude hawkers and pedlars who sell fresh vegetables and fruit is a mitigation of the hardship which would otherwise have been inflicted by this legislation. The Ordinance itself however has not yet taken effect. In this connection it is worthy of comment that out of seventy-two adult males who sailed under the assisted emigration scheme for Bombay during the first six months of 1928, fifteen were hawkers or pedlars: the figures for the last six months of the year were twenty-three hawkers and pedlars out of seventy-six adult males. (Vide Appendix 2). Many of those who return via Bombay are Transvaal Indians, but in the absence of more detailed statistics it is impossible to say how far apprehension at the threatened legislation is responsible for this exodus of hawkers or indeed whether the figures for this year exceed those of previous years under this category.

(b) General Dealers Ordinance.

48. An even more serious proposal and one more obviously aimed at the Indian trader was the draft Ordinance introduced in the Transvaal Provincial Council in April to amend the Transvaal General Dealers (Control) Ordinance of 1926. General dealers' licences in the Transvaal are issued by Union Government Receivers of Revenue on the strength of certificates granted by a "local authority" (i.e., a town or village council) or by a rural licensing board. Section 6 of the Ordinance specifies the grounds upon which a local authority or board can refuse a certificate,—briefly the unsuitability of the premises or of the locality or of the applicant. Section 10 provides that the decision of a local authority or board in respect of an application for a certificate authorising the issue of a new licence shall be final and shall not be liable to review by the courts: but Section 11 allows an appeal to the Supreme Court where a board or local authority refuses an application for the renewal of a licence. In the draft Ordinance introduced in April it was proposed to delete the existing Section 6, which specifies the grounds upon which a certificate can be refused, and to substitute for it the following as Section 6 of the principal Ordinance,—

"6. Every local authority or board shall within its area of jurisdiction have a discretion to refuse a certificate."

The effect of this proposal would have been virtually to nullify the right of appeal in cases where a certificate for renewal of a licence is refused. Where the grounds upon which a certificate can be refused are not specified and where discretion is unfettered, there can be no valid grounds for appeal.

49. The Ordinance was introduced by a private member but there was a danger that, if it were pressed to a division, few members would venture to oppose it, and Indians would thus be deprived of one of the few existing safeguards against race discrimination in licensing matters. The amendment moreover clearly ran contrary to the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement under which the Union Government has undertaken to consider,

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if circumstances warranted, the enlargement of the jurisdiction of the courts in licensing matters. The passing of a provincial Ordinance of the kind contemplated would obviously render future Union legislation in the direction desired by the Indian community more difficult. Fortunately the draft Ordinance was withdrawn and the danger passed for the moment, but the episode is symptomatic of the tendency of feeling in the Transvaal.

(c) The "Norwood" Judgment.

50. A judgment of considerable importance to Indians occupying land in private townships in the Transvaal was given by Mr. Justice Greenberg in the Transvaal Supreme Court in March, and subsequently upheld in the Appellate Division, in the case *North-Eastern Districts Association vs. Norwood Land and Investment Company*. The latter company, which was owned and managed by Indians, carried on business as general dealers, grocers and drapers on a "lot" in the private township of Norwood, Johannesburg. An Indian who was the largest shareholder and the managing director lived on the premises with his wife, child and "sales manager,"—all Indians. One of the conditions of title under which each "lot" in that township is held is as follows:—

"That the said lot is subject to the following special conditions and stipulations, to wit, (1) that no coloured people other than servants will be allowed to occupy the property transferred hereunder"

The Association, which exists to protect the interests of lot-owners and to compel them to comply with the conditions of title, applied for an order requiring the Norwood Company to cease from occupying the "lot" through "coloured" directors or shareholders and from trading on the "lot" with any "coloured" person in actual control of the business. For the defendant Company it was argued that the Indians mentioned were not "occupying" the "lot" and that in any case they were in fact "servants",—the servants of the Company. The Court held that they were "occupying" the "lot" and they were not "servants" in the sense in which the word was used in the lease, which intended to refer to "domestic servants" only. The Court passed the order sought by the plaintiff Association. It is feared that the position of many Indians in the Transvaal will be affected by this decision.

(d) The Agent's Work in the Transvaal.

51. In August and September the Agent went on tour in the Transvaal, addressing public meetings in Johannesburg and in many of the smaller 'country' towns. In these and other political addresses in the Transvaal the Agent, in the main, confined himself to the explanation of the "upliftment" portion of the Agreement and to a plea that, as the Agreement by implication recognises the fundamental Transvaal policy that there shall be no threat to the Political supremacy of the dominant race, the white population in return should, short of granting political equality, concede to the Indian community such

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facilities and advantages (e.g., in the way of education and of trading and property rights) as will enable that community to improve its standards and cease to be—what at present it is accused of being—a menace to the “white” standards of the Province. In particular he pleaded for a more liberal attitude with regard to trading licences and facilities for approach to the Courts of Justice in cases where the applicant is aggrieved by the decision of the licensing body.

52. Considering the bitterness of feeling which existed, and to a great extent still exists, in the Transvaal on the subject of Indian trading, the Agent's reception was excellent. In Johannesburg itself and at Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Heidelberg, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Ventersdorp and Springs, the local mayors presided at the Agent's meetings and Europeans in large numbers attended both the meetings and the entertainments organised in the Agent's honour. Even at Klerksdorp, where an attempt was made (unsuccessfully) to break up the Agent's meeting, active opposition was the work of a very small minority and their conduct was at once repudiated by the Mayor and most of those present and subsequently denounced by the local Chamber of Commerce. From the attitude of the authorities, of the Press, and of responsible leaders of opinion throughout the Union, it is abundantly clear that the treatment accorded to the Agent by a handful of young men at Klerksdorp, though indicative of the feeling which still exists in the Transvaal against the Indian trader, was condemned and deplored by the great mass of public opinion throughout the Union.

53. At the conclusion of their work in Natal, Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon visited the Transvaal and spent some time studying the conditions of Indian education there. They were able, before leaving for India on the 1st July, to make suggestions on this subject to the Agent and to the Transvaal education authorities.

XIII.—CAPE PROVINCE.

54.—The Indian community in the Cape Province is small, scattered, and on the whole less afflicted with grievances than the communities in Natal and the Transvaal. This is due no doubt partly to the more liberal traditions of the Cape Province, partly also to the fact that the Indians there are few, and partly again to the fact that in the Cape the Indian enjoys the Parliamentary franchise. The Cape Indians, along with their brothers in Natal and the Transvaal, were affected by the general questions raised in the Liquor Bill and the Condonation Scheme; indeed the Condonation Scheme met with a surprising degree of opposition from some sections of the Indian community in Cape Town by whom it was represented as an attempt to introduce the Transvaal system of “compulsory registration” into the Cape Province. It was not denied that there were illicit entrants in the Cape; there seems however to have been a feeling that the Cape community would rather be left out of the scheme, and that illicit entrants there should be left to “take their chance.” This did not meet with the approval of the authorities who desired by a generous measure of condonation to clear up the position once and for all throughout the Union. As has been mentioned already in the appropriate section of this Report, opinion in the Cape became in the end more re-

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conciled towards the scheme and more than three hundred Indians in that province took advantage of it during the last three days of the period allowed for applications.

55. Apart from these general questions and from difficulties, common a'l over the Union, in connection with the obtaining of trading licences, the Cape Indians seem to have had no special troubles, and the Agent's visits to Cape Town were mostly for the purpose of consulting Ministers, meeting the Members of Parliament, and delivering lectures and addresses.

XIV.—ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

56.—The Agent welcomes this opportunity of acknowledging again the help and courtesy which he and his Staff have invariably received at the hands of the officers and departments of the Union Government and the Provincial administrations, as also of the representatives of municipal and other local authorities throughout the Union.

APPENDIX (a).

Extracts from the "Cape Times,"—issue of the 11th February, 1928.

Mr. Roos to withdraw Clause 104 of Liquor Bill.

We understand that the Minister of Justice, Mr. Tielman Roos, has decided on consideration to withdraw Clause 104 of the Liquor Bill. This is the clause placing restrictions on the employment of natives or Asiatics in liquor trade, on which a great portion of the criticism of the Liquor Bill during the Second Reading debate centred, and Mr. Roos' decision will undoubtedly clear the way to the smoother passage of the Bill.

A representative of the "Cape Times" who made inquiries yesterday as to the fate of the clause from the Minister was informed that Mr. Roos has reached his decision in view of the fact that he considers that the whole question of employment in the liquor trade may be adequately met under the Wages Act, without the necessity of any legislation specially discriminating on the grounds of race or colour.

Weighty Representations.

At the same time Mr. Roos has been strongly influenced by the many weighty representations which have been made to him, from the most responsible quarters, urging that the section in question is in conflict with the Indian Agreement reached at the Round-Table Conference at Cape Town last year. Mr. Roos himself does not believe, as indeed he said in the course of the Second Reading debate, that the section is in fact a breach of that Agreement. None the less, he recognises that in such a case almost as much harm might be done by the mere suspicion of a breach of good faith as by an actual breach, and he has therefore on this ground also decided to withdraw the clause.

The decision will be widely welcomed in South Africa as well as overseas, and incidentally it will no doubt have an important effect in expediting the progress of the Liquor Bill.

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APPENDIX (b).

Consolidated Statement of the occupations in South Africa of male adult Indians returning to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme during the year ended 31st December, 1928.

To Madras and Calcutta:—

The following figures are referred to specifically in the body of the Report:—

Labourers	{ Agriculture	...	...	...	...	592
	{ Mines	...	...	...	...	82
	{ Railways	...	...	...	...	41
Railway Porters	...	...	...	...	...	11
Firemen	...	...	...	...	...	25
Pointsmen	...	...	...	...	...	10
Railway Maintenance	...	...	...	...	...	1
Engine-driver	...	...	...	...	...	8
Plate-layer	...	...	...	...	...	5
Railway Carriage Cleaner	...	...	...	...	...	4
Sugar Mill	...	...	...	...	...	151
Cane-cutter	...	...	...	...	...	6
Wattle cutter	...	...	...	...	...	23

There were also the following,—scavengers 31; gardeners 28; hawkers 35; sirdars 22; waiters and cooks 19 each; dhobis and messengers 14 each; laundrymen and cartdrivers 8 each; painters 7; policemen and factory hands 6 each; bricklayers, brickmakers, blacksmiths, stokers and stable-workers, 5 each; motor-drivers, hide-dealers, Sanitary, Store-assistants, cigar-makers and dairymen 4 each; carpenters, boilermen, fitters, dockhands, greengrocers, biscuit-makers 3 each; fruiterers, flower-gardeners, farmers, scholars, hospital attendants, roadmakers, storekeepers and bottle-collectors 2 each; bottle-sellers, salesman, beveller, weaver, clerk, tinsmith, cabinet-maker, barber, tea-factory, tobacco-dealer, contractor, tanning-work, fisherman, potter, evangelist, pursewakum, sawhand, weighingbridge-asst., goldsmith, machinist, quarryman, teacher, produce-dealer, handyman, rope-factory, tally-clerk 1 each; not classified 13. Total 1,288

To Bombay:—

Fruit-hawkers 28; hawkers 9; pedlar 1; labourers and goldsmiths 10 each; salesmen 8; shop assistants 7; barbers and cooks 6 each; store-keeper 5; bottle-dealers, carpenters, dhobis 4 each; butchers, laundrymen, shoemakers 3 each; book-keepers, fishmongers, gardeners 2

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each; beveler, care-taker, clerk, commercial traveller, cremater, farmer, priest, policeman, motor-driver, tailor 1 each; not classified 21.

Total	...	...	...	...	...	148
						1,436

APPENDIX (c).

***No. 174, 1928.]**

[23rd May, 1928.

THE subjoined Report of the Committee appointed, in terms of Provincial Notice No. 82, 1928, to enquire into and report upon the question of the education of Indian children is published for general information.

A. E. CHARTER,
Provincial Secretary.

Office of the Administrator,
Pietermaritzburg, 23rd May, 1928.

TO THE HONOURABLE HERBERT GORDON WATSON,
COMPANION OF THE IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER,
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE PROVINCE OF NATAL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR:

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

J. Dyson, Esq., M.E.C. (Chairman),
F. H. Acutt, Esq., M.P.C.,
C. F. Clarkson, Esq., M.E.C.,
F. W. Fell, Esq., M.E.C.,
F. C. Hollander, Esq., M.E.C.,
J. A. Lidgett, Esq., M.P.C.,
A. L. Pretorius, Esq., M.P.C.,

and Mr. C. A. B. Peck as Secretary,

with the following terms of reference:—

- (a) The existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas;
- (b) The conditions of service of Indian teachers in Government and Government-Aided Schools, including salary, promotions, discipline and pension;
- (c) The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid and any change which may be considered to be necessary;
- (d) The financial basis of Indian education, having regard to the resources of the Province, the various demands upon them, and the adequacy or otherwise of existing Union Government subsidies in so far as they affect Indian education.

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2. The investigation was conducted at the special request of the Union Government arising from the Indian Agreement. This Agreement was entered into by the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India without any reference to or consultation with the Governments of the Provinces, and your Committee desires to record that as soon as the text of that Agreement (as contained in the White Paper presented to Parliament) was known, the Provincial Council of Natal passed a resolution in the following terms, which was adopted on the 10th May, 1927:—

- (1) That this Council views with misgivings the general conditions of the Agreement entered into between the Government of India in respect to the Indian question.
- (2) This Council further deplores the fact that this Province (which is more seriously affected than any other part of the Union) has not been consulted through its Provincial Council on those points of the Agreement which contemplate—
 - (a) A relaxation of existing licensing legislation; and
 - (b) The provision of increased education facilities for the Indian Community.

This Council respectfully represents to Parliament that these two matters involve not only questions of definite Provincial policy, but in the latter instance considerable financial obligations. Under these circumstances this Council urges that any contemplated action in these two directions should be deferred until the fullest opportunity has been afforded to this Council to represent its views thereon.

- (3) That, in the opinion of this Council, the Agreement does not solve the Indian problem nor does it give protection to the European population against Asiatic encroachment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) That as it is necessary to extend the existing facilities for the education of Indian children, the most speedy alleviation of the present conditions can be found by an extension of the Grant-Aided schools throughout the Province together with the provision of Government schools in large centres of Indian population as and when funds permit, and that there should be no alteration in the present system of voluntary attendance;
- (b) and (c) That the present system of Grants-in-Aid which are now paid purely and simply on a capitation basis should be changed. The Aided schools should be graded by average attendance and the financial aid should be in the direction of a Provincial responsibility for the total cost of the teachers' salaries. A proper scheme of salary scales and conditions of service should be introduced on a more liberal basis than is at present in existence, and it should be made applicable to the whole of the Province. It is absolutely essential to establish an Indian Training College in order to supply the necessary qualified teachers to provide for the extension which has been referred to, and in this connection the Administration should accept the gift of the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri of a fully-equipped Training College and assume responsibility for its conduct and maintenance, and, further, as it is

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quite impossible to find professors in this country capable of starting the Training College, the first opportunity should be taken to import them from overseas.

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

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

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

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urging that the necessary action, legislative or otherwise, be taken to give immediate effect to this proposal.

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX (d).

The Honourable the Minister of Public Health.

Enquiry into Sanitary and Housing Conditions of Indians in and around Durban.

1. In accordance with your instructions as conveyed by the Secretary of Public Health in his minute dated 19th September 1928, the Central Housing Board through its three members constituting the Executive Committee of the Board, has carried out an inspection and investigation of the housing and sanitary conditions of Indians in and around Durban.

2. The enquiry was the outcome of one of the conclusions reached at the Round Table Conference on the Indian Question in South Africa, held at Cape Town in 1926, under which the Union Government expressed its willingness---

“to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which will include the question of (i) the appointment of advisory committees of representative Indians and (ii) the limitation of the sale of municipal land subject to restrictive conditions.”

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3. The enquiry opened on Tuesday the 23rd October 1928, and concluded on the Friday following. The Durban Corporation kindly placed a committee room in the Town Hall at the Board's disposal where evidence was heard on the Tuesday and Wednesday. The Thursday and Friday were devoted to making a tour of inspection of various localities in the Borough and peri-Durban area.

4. Evidence was given by representatives of each of the local authorities concerned, namely: the Durban Corporation and the seven local Administration and Health Boards established in the peri-Durban area at Greenwood Park, Sydenham, Mayville, South Coast Junction, Umhlatuzana, Malvern, and Pinetown.

5. The Indian community was afforded full opportunity of expressing its views through representatives who attended on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Branch of the South African Indian Federation. Each local authority also extended an invitation to representative Indians or designated members of the Indian Advisory Committee in its area to attend the enquiry at the same time as the local authority's representatives. It is to be mentioned that the Indian Advisory Committees in question were primarily established for the purpose of watching the interests of Indians as affected by local Government measures enforced by the Health Boards functioning in the peri-Durban area. The somewhat hostile attitude of some of these Committees should, it is thought, disappear once it is recognised that the Health Boards are trying, as your Committee believes, they are, to bring about an improvement in existing conditions and are prepared to consult the Committees and refer to them for opinion proposals affecting the Indian population. The fact that the Indian community is in no way represented on the Health Boards and that even the Indian Advisory Committees have no official recognition remains, however, a very real grievance.

6. Dealing first with the position as it obtains in the Durban Borough area it is necessary to refer to the correspondence which passed between the Government and the Corporation in 1922 as an outcome of representations made by the Natal Indian Congress regarding the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance passed by the Provincial Council which empowered the Council to restrict ownership or occupation of municipal land and which it was contended would operate against the interests of the Indian community. In a letter dated 3rd July, 1922, the Town Clerk pointed out that it was the Council's policy "to separate the population of European descent, so far as possible, from Asiatics and Natives in residential areas—not to segregate any section or class entirely in parts of the Borough—or from areas where at the present time any section has property or interests;" further, that "all sales of immovable property belonging to this Borough are subject to the consent of the Administrator, and should the Council impose any condition in any land sale that would seriously affect the interests of the Europeans, Asiatics or Natives, the persons affected could petition the Administrator to refuse consent until such interests were safeguarded." In intimating to the Indian Congress that the Government had advised assent to the Ordinance the Secretary for the Interior in letter dated 19th July, 1922, added that "the Government considers it reasonable that the Administrator,

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in giving his approval to racial restrictions introduced into land sales, should see as far as possible that Asiatics are given reasonable opportunity of acquiring adequate residential sites."

7. It was represented, *inter alia*, on the Council's side that the available land in the Borough is very small and, apart from low-lying ground which it was contended is unsuitable for residential sites, that there is no land in Durban to-day which can be utilised for housing the poorer class of Indians as an economic proposition; that the Corporation had bought at a reasonable price land outside the Borough Area at Wentworth, Springfield and Cato Manor, suitable for the housing of Natives and Indians, which land will be made available for these purposes in fulfilment of the Council's undertaking to the Administrator upon the passage of Ordinance No. 14 of 1922 which gave the Council power to introduce a restrictive clause into its conditions of sale; that the leaders of the Indian community are not, however, inclined to co-operate with the Council in the proposed establishment of an Indian Village at Cato Manor; and that consequently the claim of the poorer class of Indian, whom the Council is anxious to assist as being in greatest need of better housing conditions, remains unmet up to the present.

8. On the other hand it was stated, *inter alia*, by the Indian representatives that the Council undertook to provide land for Indians within the Borough; that out of 14 municipal land sales all the land was earmarked for Europeans and none for Indians which was held to be a breach of the undertaking by the Council to the Government, particularly as some of the land sold might clearly be regarded as situated in Indianized quarters of the town; and that as Cato Manor, where it was proposed to establish an Indian Village, was outside the Durban Borough and the Council would accordingly not be able to exercise any rights over it as local authority, there was the consideration that, apart from the opposition to the scheme on the score of segregation, the Village would likely be neglected in the matter of the provision of roads and other essential services which would thus tend to the creation of slum conditions.

9. In 1927 the Durban Corporation endeavoured unsuccessfully to promote the passage through the Provincial Council of an Ordinance providing for the extension of the Borough boundaries by including therein all areas already acquired or to be acquired by the Council outside the existing Borough, for the housing of its employees or others. Differences had arisen between the Council and certain Health Boards in the peri-Durban area regarding the use of the land owned by the Corporation in their jurisdiction and the Council's object was to secure municipal control over such land. Thus, to mention one point of difference, the Corporation wished to dispose of the land in building plots of one-eighth acre each whereas the by-laws of the Local Board concerned required that building plots should not be less than one-quarter of an acre each.

10. Whereas the Corporation has done a great deal for the better housing of Europeans in its area, little or nothing in this respect has been done for the Indian population other than for those actually in municipal employment. The new dwellings erected at the Tramway Barracks as also those under erection at the Magazine Barracks are of the double-storey type and a feature calling for criticism is the upstairs portion of the build-

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ings which is designed for single quarters but in certain cases has been allowed to be occupied by families. Your Committee fears that it will be difficult to ensure adequate sanitary supervision over these quarters.

11. An inspection of the Barracks near the Power Station was also made; these Barracks had been condemned as unfit for human habitation and had apparently been evacuated, but were re-occupied temporarily by Indians employed by the Council's Waterworks Department pending accommodation being made available for them in the new dwellings under erection at the Magazine Barracks.

12. Although there is very little land available for building purposes which is owned by the Council, several vacant pieces of ground contiguous to Indian-owned properties in Wards 4 and 6 of the Borough were inspected, certain of which appeared could suitably be utilised for housing. If the latter were put up for sale as residential sites without the restrictive condition, it would not alleviate to any great extent the overcrowding problem, but it would tend to remove the sense of injustice caused by previous land sales to which reference is made in paragraph 8.

13. Amongst other land inspected was the Eastern Vlei near the Umgeni River. Your Committee considers that the higher portion of this land would be suitable for building purposes and that if the Council is really desirous of doing its duty towards the Indian population it might fairly consider the question of erecting houses here which could either be sold or let to Indians. It is considered that these houses could be erected in such a manner as not to spoil the amenities of the entrance to the Borough from Durban North.

14. In the peri-Durban area the real difficulty lies in the Indians not having title to the ground. A considerable proportion of the area is leasehold and let out in small allotments by big landowners. The plots in many cases are very small and often contain more than one dwelling. Bad housing and insanitary conditions were unquestionably seen at their worst on leasehold land, whereas the conditions on freehold land were very much better. The explanation lies in the fact that leases are usually only annual ones and as there is no security of tenure there is no incentive to improve conditions. Freehold land at any rate carries with it security of tenure and improvements effected are not subject to abandonment at the whim of the landlord. The barrack system of housing is very prevalent in some parts of the area and undoubtedly is one of the greatest evils the local authority has to cope with. The barracks generally consist of rows of rooms badly planned and constructed and often having no light or ventilation. Each room is usually occupied by a separate family and the sanitary conditions surrounding many of the barracks are very bad and a menace to health.

15. In none of the peri-Durban areas has a valuation of properties been carried out on account of the expense involved, and the local authority's main source of revenue is a flat rate levied on each dwelling. The system of imposing a flat rate was criticised by Indian representatives as being unfair on the poor man who occupied a small dwelling, and their contention can hardly be controverted.

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16. On the whole the peri-Durban local authorities have done a good deal in effecting improvements in their areas, but it is clear that they are not strong enough financially to inaugurate any large measures of reform in the matter of housing and sanitation. There was one direction in which it was suggested that the local authorities in the outside areas could assist and that was by utilizing funds placed at their disposal under the Housing Act for the purpose of granting loans to Indians who owned ground and wished to erect thereon small cottages for personal occupation.

17. There is unquestionably an overwhelming case for the enlargement of the Borough boundaries but there are vested interests in the way and opposition from such quarters is to be expected from both within and without the Borough. Generally, however, public opinion in Durban appears to be ripe for an extension of the city boundaries, but owing to likely opposition from the quarters mentioned it is very doubtful whether the proposal for extension can be expected to come from the people themselves.

18. Although the question of the need for extension hardly falls within the terms of reference of your Committee, it is quite apparent to any impartial observer that from a public health point of view the Borough boundaries should be extended to include at least the whole of the areas falling under the jurisdiction of the Health Boards of Sydenham and South Coast Junction and possibly also a portion of Greenwood Park. In this connection also the question of including Durban North should be considered.

19. In fact the principle of the need for extending the Borough boundaries should be accepted by the Provincial Administration which should in your Committee's opinion appoint a Commission to decide definitely what should be the extended boundaries and to prepare a draft Ordinance for criticism by the local authorities concerned prior to its introduction to the Provincial Council.

20. While your Committee is convinced that the main solution of the problem lies in the extension of the Borough boundaries, it recognises that some considerable time may elapse before such extension becomes an accomplished fact and that it is necessary to consider in what other directions useful action can be taken meanwhile with a view to easing the acute position which obtains in regard to the housing of Indians.

21. To this end and as a first step it is suggested that of the sum of £50,000, which is earmarked under the Housing Act for Indian Housing, an amount of £25,000 be made available to the Durban Council for erecting, under a scheme to be carried out on a suitable site at the Eastern Vlei, two and three roomed cottages for letting or sale on easy terms to Indians.

22. Subject to adequate steps being taken by the local authority for safeguarding itself from possible loss, it is recommended that the balance of £25,000 out of the £50,000 referred to in the preceding paragraph be placed at the disposal of the Durban Council and of the Health Boards in the areas immediately adjoining Durban for the purpose of granting loans in terms of Section 6 of the Housing Act to select Indians who own small plots of ground in freehold and desire to erect thereon small cottages for personal occupation. It is to be pointed out, however, that the power which the Housing Act confers

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on local authorities to grant loans to individuals is purely permissive and not compulsory and that in any case the sanction of the Administrator must first be obtained before such loans can be granted.

23. During the hearing of evidence a matter that was specially stressed by Indian representatives was the Indian Advisory Committee system to which reference is made in paragraph 5. These Committees are not expressly provided for by law and as organised it seems doubtful whether they are the useful bodies they might be in procuring the co-operation of the Indian community in matters of sanitation and housing. The Local Urban Areas Administration Ordinance No. 4 of 1926 lays down the procedure for the constitution and periodical re-election of Health Boards, and if provision on similar lines could be made by law for the constitution and re-election of Indian Advisory Committees the status of the latter bodies would be considerably raised which would be for the general good. It was also asked whether in the event of the Health Board rejecting advice formally tendered by the Indian Advisory Committee, the Administrator could be empowered on appeal to remit the matter to the Board for reconsideration or after due enquiry to overrule the Board. Such a procedure it was contended would ensure that the advice tendered by the Advisory Committee would not be lightly set aside.

24. There were several other matters brought to the notice of your Committee which are, strictly speaking, not cognate to the enquiry, but which it is considered might fairly be reviewed by the Provincial Administration. Among such was the hardship created on the very poor through the operation of Section 42 of the Local Urban Areas Administration Ordinance No. 4 of 1926 which lays down that "all rates remaining unpaid for one month after such rates become due and payable shall become charged with interest at the rate of ten per centum per mensem, provided such interest shall not exceed the amount of the rate unpaid."

25. Another matter was the unanimous request on the part of the Indian community that in place of the flat rate at present levied the rating by the Health Boards in the peri-Durban area be based on the valuation of property.

26. In conducting its enquiry your Committee is indebted for the assistance received from His Worship the Mayor of Durban, as also from the Town Clerk who accompanied the Committee on its inspections and was present throughout at the taking of evidence. The thanks of the Committee are also due to Mr. J. D. Tyson, representing the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, who did much to assist the labours of the Committee, particularly in ensuring that it received evidence from individuals who were really representative of the Indian community. Your Committee also cordially acknowledges the help and assistance it received from the Chairman and others representing the Natal Indian Congress.

E. N. THORNTON, *Chairman.*

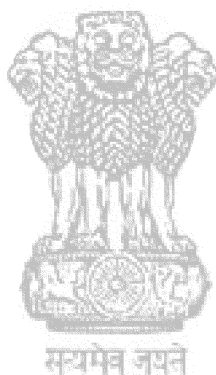
J. LOCKWOOD HALL, *Member.*

R. S. GORDON, *Member and Secretary.*

Pretoria,
8th December, 1928.

Farewell

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THE NATAL MERCURY.

Except among those few who have deliberately shut their ears to the measured eloquence of the retiring Agent of the Government of India, or those to whom the "Gentleman's Agreement" entered into between the Governments of the Union and of India has always been anathema, there is very genuine regret that we are no longer to have the privilege of Mr. Sastri's acquaintance nor the touch of his statesmanship, which has ensured the smooth working of that Agreement from its inception to the present day. It is undeniable that alone through Mr. Sastri's enthusiasm for the cause which he pleads—the uplift of the Indian in the Union to a higher plane of morality, education and living—there is a vastly better understanding of the two civilisations, East and West, in South

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Africa than seemed possible some years ago. The Agreement is working where it might easily have broken down. Mr. Sastri has introduced a consciousness of Indian culture to a country that formerly had no idea that India possessed any form of culture. South Africa's vision of India stopped short at the dhoby with the wash and the Sammy peddling vegetables at the door. That we see India with a broader vision to-day, that our relations with her are more happily established is due to the great gifts which Mr. Sastri has brought to bear on the delicate position he has occupied and now hands over to Sir Kurma V. Reddi.

The new Agent of the Indian Government takes office at a time of great difficulty, at a period when changes are impending in the Government of the Union: a Government with which he must necessarily be in close touch and sympathy. That he will be successful—if not so spectacularly so as his predecessor—we have no doubt. Sir Kurma's first public utterance in this country and his past record reveal him as a man of no small accomplishments, eager not only to work for the welfare of his compatriots but to find understanding of our own problems and our own viewpoint. If he bears that always in mind and works for the unity of his own people in this country—a task in which even Mr. Sastri has not been wholly successful—he will take South Africa and India a long way on the path of complete understanding.

But the difficulty is, as it always has been, that the European who seeks to meet the Indian on his own ground in this country finds him divided in his opinions and allegiances. Mr. Sastri has tried with only partial success to make the South African Indian Congress the mouthpiece of Indian opinion in the Union. He had to confess in his valedictory speech to the Natal Indian Congress in the Town Hall yesterday:

There are still too many divisions that cannot be good for a small community living in a distant land. . . . When I left Bombay I had occasion to tell my fellow-countrymen there of the split that had occurred in our primary endeavour here to establish the authority and jurisdiction of the South African Indian Congress. . . . It is now possible to say that the Congress extends its benefits over the Transvaal. Nevertheless, I see even now some signs that all is not well in our political organisation.

As Mr. Sastri stated then, the Union Government is willing to recognise and to negotiate with the South African Indian Congress. As he stated to the Congress itself yesterday, its work has an intimate relation to the welfare of the Indian community and to the delicate balancing of that community between the Governments of India and the Union. But so long as the Congress does not interpret the views of the South African Indian community as a whole the hands of the Union Government are tied in its negotiations. Good as is the work that he has done in this country, Mr. Sastri must take back with him to his own much divided country the realisation that he has failed to establish absolute unity among South African Indians.

Perhaps Mr. Sastri has, to a small extent, the shortcomings of his own strong convictions in that he sees India so enthusi-

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astically and returns to her so gratefully, that he allows the rosy glow of his belief in her ultimate destiny to obscure the reality of her schisms, the wide gulfs that separate millions of her people from our conceptions of justice and humanity. "Upon all sides," he says, "and even in South Africa, there is ample evidence that a recognition of equality and justice is growing wider and more firmly established." Mr. Sastri says "even in South Africa." Surely the eloquence of his splendid oratory has led him a little wide of the mark? We have yet to learn that India's many millions of "untouchable" outcasts are more aware of "equality and justice" than we are in the Union—"even" though we have turned 14 per cent. of our total white population into citizens below the level of the more advanced Natives.

Mr. Sastri, however, leaves us the foundation of agreement between East and West that he has built and the memory of a cultured gentleman. Sir Kurma Reddi has no easy task in continuing the work that his successor has begun so ambitiously. We can but wish him success and, in bidding farewell to Mr. Sastri, assure him that he will not soon be forgotten and that those who have been privileged to know him in South Africa will watch his further career of service in India with lively interest. India needs his gifts of eloquence and statesmanship, his passionate pleading for justice and equality between man and man, before she can hope to be ready for and deserving of the autonomy that she craves.

THE NATAL ADVERTISER.

To-day the new Agent-General for India in the Union arrives in Durban and a succession of welcomes to him will mingle with a number of farewells to the man he succeeds. The two events are important ones in the life of this country, and the present is a fitting time to recall a little of the history of the past two or three years. That history, from the Natal Indian's point of view, falls into three periods. There were the preliminaries which led up to the signing of the Capetown Agreement; preliminaries which at one time seemed likely to widen rather than repair the breach between the Indian and the non-Indian elements in our midst. There was the brilliant reign—for one can justly call it a reign—of Mr. Sastri; and now there is the testing time when it remains to be seen if the progress of the past two years is to be maintained. And when we say that this depends very largely on Sir Kurma Reddi we are not employing hyperbole. In the Capetown Agreement there are possibilities for great good and for great mischief in regard to Indo-European relations in this country. It is the supreme toil of the Agent for India to keep these possibilities in a proper equilibrium while the good is being pursued and the evil is purged away. If he can do that he will deserve well of both races. If he fails, then the last stage of the controversy may easily be worse than the first.

The Days of Exile.—When we entered on these remarks it was with a feeling that any discussion of the Indian question to-day would ultimately find its focus in the personality of Mr. Sastri. Governments as a rule, and least of all British Governments, do not do inspired things. Yet the choice of Mr.

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Sastri as the first Agent in the Union was as nearly a stroke of genius as anything may be. He came to a European people distrustful of the Agreement, reluctant to see it put into operation and disinclined to give heed to those who pleaded that the matter was one calling for all the traditional politeness, courtesy and goodwill that government is supposed to show government in international affairs. Mr. Sastri came to Natal at a time when to be an Indian was to be in perpetual exile from any European sympathy or understanding whatsoever. He came at a time when all but a very few people were prepared to regard him merely as an Indian and therefore a man without standing of any sort whatsoever in a country where the Indian is still largely taboo.

And he did—what?

He showed us all and first of all that the graces of a scholar, a gentleman and what we are pleased to call a Christian, are not the exclusive prerogative of our own white race. He showed us that India can breed, train and attach to its service men who not only have nothing whatsoever to learn from the Western world, but, on the contrary, can teach the Western world a very great deal that it never expected. It would be easy to lapse into eulogy over Mr. Sastri, though it would be difficult to praise him above his worth. Yet this remains true that during his stay in the Union he is, without question, the greatest man in South Africa; the ablest orator, the shrewdest diplomat, and, withal, the most accomplished interpreter of one civilisation to another that we have ever had in our midst.

Compelled Homage.—We wonder if even he quite knows yet how far these personal qualities of head and heart have helped in the satisfactory, if slow, progress the Indian problem has made during the past two years. Mr. Sastri has compelled the homage of the Europeans of the Union. That homage is only withheld where men are so blinded by race antipathies that it is only enough to remind them that Christ was a Jew for them to break all the Commandments in order to show how their own complex is superior to the intimidation of a Hebrew teacher. But the Agent-General has not taken that homage to himself. He has insisted on it being shared, or at least passed on, to his depressed people in this country. "I am an Indian," he says in effect when the plaudits have died down so that he can speak. "I am an Indian and so are all these people around you Indians. If you want to honour me, try to show a keener compassion and understanding towards them. They are my people; just as Chawbacon Hodge is equally an Englishman with Baldwin and Birkenhead." To-day the road of the Indian problem in this country has been made easier mainly because Mr. Sastri has, by his personal genius, shattered the bulkheads that keep East and West in the Union separate compartments. There will, we fear, be attempts made, when his impelling personality has been withdrawn, to repair those bulkheads and to seal up their breaches where to-day some of the contact and understanding between the two races is allowed to operate. It is the great toil of Sir Kurma Reddi to see the breach is widened rather than repaired.

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Elijah's Mantle.—For, strange as it may sound, the Indian problem in Natal is mainly a social one. It is not social in that it demands the ultimate weakening of those inhibitions that keep East to East and West to West in the final intimacies of life. But it is social inasmuch as the main grounds of European antipathy to the Indian in his midst rest in the fact that the Indians—or at least a great many Indians—have the potential aptitudes of the European while embracing low standards of civilisation that are more reminiscent of black than of white. We pay no heed or at least little heed to those who howl about the Indian stealing the white youth's employment. While this country, with its abounding natural wealth, still plays the fool with immigration and development questions, just so long will it bewail a certain measure of misfortune among its young people, all of whom could be absorbed if the Union really got to grips with its problems instead of merely talking about them. To-day the Indian is less a menace even to employment than he was five years ago. Educate him, house him decently, and pay him a fair wage, and he will be less a menace than ever. But this can only come to pass slowly: can only come to pass by men like Mr. Sastri, with his wonderful compassion and understanding, weakening the wilful prejudices of those who believe in repression and who count the Indian as a man to be kept in perpetual servitude, employed because he is cheap and bullied because he cannot afford to be clean or at least live cleanly. The Capetown Agreement is merely a document that approves certain slowly-maturing reforms. The real reforming instrument must be the speech of the Agent who has to interpret the brown man to the white and the white man to the brown. May the mantle of the departing Elijah fall on the shoulders of the prophet who is to succeed him!

THE DAILY DISPATCH.

The departure of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Agent-General for India in the Union from this country will be widely regretted. By his personal charm, as well as by his brilliant gifts of statesmanship and oratory, he has won the esteem and affection of all classes in South Africa. When, in 1927, Mr. Sastri first came to South Africa, the position with regard to Indians in this country was decidedly unsatisfactory. There was an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion about the whole question and much bitterness on both sides. By his admirable tact, his exceptional capabilities, and his dignified behaviour, Mr. Sastri has raised the question to an altogether different level. A statesman of the first order, he has brought to the problem an atmosphere of friendliness and toleration which was totally absent when he first arrived. It is not only the official side of Mr. Sastri's character which has appealed to the people of this country. His unofficial appearances and the numerous addresses which he has delivered in the country have revealed him as a cultured scholar, with a wide knowledge of men and affairs, and a very delightful sense of humour. An unusually fine speaker, with a wonderful command of the English language—a command possessed by few Englishmen—

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he makes every utterance, however trivial, a model of oratory. His phraseology is faultless, and he is a master of metaphor.

The time has not yet arrived when the full value of Mr. Sastri's work in South Africa can be assessed. He made a great personal sacrifice when he accepted the office of Agent-General, and he has devoted himself whole-heartedly and untiringly to the work on which he has been engaged. Already the results of his efforts are becoming apparent, and as the reward of his labour he has the satisfaction of seeing his countrymen in this country treated in a more broad-minded and tolerant manner than ever before. His successor, Sir K. V. Reddi, will find it difficult to maintain the same high level as Mr. Sastri, but, thanks to the latter's fine work, Sir Kurma Reddi will find a very friendly South Africa to welcome him. South Africa will bid Mr. Sastri farewell with regret, and will wish him long life and prosperity in his own land; for which he has done so much, and of which he deserves so well.

THE CAPE TIMES.

Mr. Sastri will be terribly missed in South Africa, where his influence has been a triumph, principally, of personality. Long before he came to South Africa as the Agent of the Indian Government, his gifts had been recognised both in his own country and in Great Britain. He had risen to eminence in India as a thoughtful, supremely cultured, most eloquent and utterly disinterested man. In London, he had been one of the representatives of his country at two Imperial Conferences in 1921 and in 1923. At the moment when the Government of India was searching for a representative to come to South Africa and give shape to the Agreement made between the two Governments, India was on the threshold of great events. The Simon Commission was about to go to India to investigate the working of the Constitution that had been granted to India after the Great War. Yet Mr. Sastri accepted, after long hesitation, the invitation of the Government of India to go to South Africa as its Agent. It was an act of true self-sacrifice and his compatriots in the Union are in debt to Mr. Sastri, beyond a possibility of repayment, because he thus put his concern for their welfare above his own natural wishes.

It is not at all too much to say that the whole South African idea of India and her people has been greatly altered since Mr. Sastri has been at work in South Africa. The great tradition, the profound culture, the deep serenity and the un-self-conscious dignity of India have all been personified in him. Before he came to South Africa, the popular idea of the Indian political leader was of a glib, plausible, not too honest person, with slightly ludicrous ways and an inflated idea of his own importance. The mere sight of Mr. Sastri, dignified and imperturbable among a hustling crowd at some official function, has withered that idea in the minds of numberless South Africans. The strong impression of personal dignity that he makes is the result of no conscious effort on his part. Far from that, he is the most simple and the least pretentious of men. And the thought has come into the mind of many South

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Africans, when they have seen him for the first time, that, if he is typical of the best in India, their ideas about India and her people must be sadly wrong.

It need hardly be said that when Mr. Sastri has spoken in public the effect of his eloquence has been immense. He is among the greatest living speakers in the English tongue, a natural orator, with a most effective delivery. Slowly, with a sure choice of words, his speeches drop upon the ear, each sentence verbally perfect. The thought that he is expressing turns itself, without hesitation or fumbling, into graceful yet forcible language. Capetown will remember for many years how his addresses in the University Hall drew great audiences to listen to him and to come away lost in admiration of his speaking. These gifts have, of course, been the foundation of the immense popular impression that he has made in South Africa. They make it very difficult for his successor to live up to the memory that he will leave. Yet, in another way, he has prepared the ground so as to leave an easier task for Sir Kurma Reddi. South Africans in authority have learnt to have confidence in Mr. Sastri. They know that his word is trustworthy. They admire his intellectual gifts. They have come to appreciate his simplicity and charm as a man. They have shared the glamour of his sense and humour; simple in essence, strangely complex and subtle in grain. To have known Mr. Sastri in this way is to look forward with confidence and pleasure to the coming of his successor. And that perhaps is the greatest of Mr. Sastri's works in South Africa.

THE RAND DAILY MAIL.

Mr. Sastri's speech at Tuesday night's banquet in Johannesburg is possibly the last important public utterance of the distinguished Agent-General for India before he departs for his homeland on January 28 after handing over the duties of his important office to his successor, Sir Venkata Reddi. It was a characteristic utterance, noble and lofty in thought and faultless in delivery. Mr. Sastri is one of the greatest orators of our time, and for the most part holds his audiences spellbound. But actually he is much more than that, for he is also a great idealist and a great statesman who has done, and will continue to do, work for the British Empire, the importance of which it would be impossible to overestimate. His achievements in South Africa alone have been very great. In the first place, he was largely responsible for the Capetown Agreement, which represented a change of heart in South Africa, so far as the Indian section of the population is concerned, which was little short of miraculous. That in itself was a wonderful tribute to the persuasive and pacificatory powers of Mr. Sastri. Having achieved so much, he might well have been content to rest upon his laurels, but, in spite of indifferent health and pressing demands upon his services in India, he decided to return to South Africa in the capacity of Agent-General to consolidate the work of the Capetown Agreement by ensuring, so far as might be possible, its smooth working and scrupulous observance on the part of his own people.

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Mr. Sastri is now preparing to leave the country after a residence of nearly two years in our midst. It would be idle to pretend that all his hopes have been realised or that there have not been on both sides moments of friction and periods of disappointment. It was inevitable that this should have been so in the case of a question which has so long been the plaything of prejudice. But on the whole the Agreement has worked surprisingly well, and credit for this achievement is very largely due to Mr. Sastri's statesmanlike handling not only of each new difficulty as it has arisen but also of the situation as a whole. There are, however, difficulties still to be overcome, and it was to these that Mr. Sastri referred on Tuesday night when he ventured to express the hope that during the coming general election in South Africa no front-rank politician would seek to obtain votes in his constituency by playing upon the anti-Indian feelings of the electors. That is a hope which all right-thinking and patriotic men will support. In no circumstances must injustice be done to any section of the population, and it is particularly desirable from every point of view that the better relationship which has been established between South Africa and India during the past two years shall be fostered, maintained and developed to the lasting benefit of both countries and the greater glory of that Empire in which they are associated.

In this connection the hope may fittingly be expressed that there should be in future a closer communion between the two countries—a communion which might best be established by an interchange of visits on the part of distinguished representatives of both nations. Mr. Sastri himself provides the best possible justification of this idea. India has never had so fine an interpreter. He has created in this country an entirely new atmosphere towards his own land and its peoples, and he has made conditions incomparably better for the Indians resident in the Union. Not only this, but he has also placed the whole South African community under a heavy debt of gratitude to him by his interpretation of Eastern philosophy and his personal demonstration of the serenity and loftiness of mind which comes from the constant contemplation of the things of the spirit. Mr. Sastri's stay amongst us has been a great intellectual and moral stimulus to the South African community, and for that, as well as for his great personal charm and distinguished statesmanship, he will always be remembered with affection, not only by those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship but also by all who had the happy experience of hearing or reading those remarkable speeches of his which afforded so many vivid glimpses of a mind which is a veritable treasure-house of learning.

THE PRETORIA NEWS.

As the accredited representative of the Government of India the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri came to South Africa eighteen months ago a stranger, but with a high reputation won in his country's service at home and abroad. It is fitting to contrast his coming and his going. His reception was cool where indeed it was not hostile and suspicious. But these eighteen short months have been one continuous personal conquest. With his presence here, with all his gifts of character, diplomacy,

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speech, and culture, the barriers of préjudice which threatened to hamper his service melted rapidly away. He began, wisely, by understanding and accepting the South African point of view, which was the surest way of promoting understanding and acceptance of the Indian point of view. In this respect his service to India and South Africa has been equal. The public and official life of the country has been enriched by his presence, and South Africa will not soon forget him and the part he has played in composing one of the acutest of our domestic problems and placing it in a position which will keep it, we trust, out of the arena of party politics for many a long year to come.

One has only to glance back a few years in the history of the Indian question in the Union to recognise the transformation which has been wrought, in Indian opinion as well as in South African opinion. If this problem is far too complex and many-sided to allow of any completely logical solution being attained, there is good reason to hope that a "modus vivendi" has at least been reached which is practical and shows signs of permanency. The credit for this transformation, of course, does not belong entirely, or even mainly to Mr. Sastri. The Governments of India and South Africa have played their part; and the part which has been played by our own Nationalist ministers, in particular Dr. Malan, is one which is deserving of the highest acknowledgment. In face of the strong and unreasoning hostility of many of his own followers, Dr. Malan has not swerved one inch from the path of statesmanship rather than political advantage which he chose when he signed the Agreement. But it is doubtful whether, but for the presence of Mr. Sastri and the great prestige which he has won among the men of his own race here and in India, the practical operation of this Agreement would have been the success it has been up to the present moment.

Mr. Sastri, as he explained in his farewell speech at Pretoria last night, is now forsaking what unexpectedly he has found to be the primrose path of unaccustomed popularity in South Africa, and is deliberately launching himself on the sea of political troubles that is at this moment sweeping over his native land. The countless friends whom he has made during his short but memorable stay in our midst will wish him "bon voyage" and a long and happy continuance of his service for India and for the Commonwealth.

THE CAPE ARGUS.

To few men has it been granted to capture the regard of South Africa to the extent achieved by Mr. Sastri, who leaves our shores on Wednesday. A conspicuous and venerated figure in his own country, he was scarcely known even by name to most South Africans when the announcement was made early in 1927 that he had been appointed Agent-General for India. Yet it was early recognised as something of a compliment to South Africa, as well as a tribute to the delicacy of her Indian problem, that so distinguished an Indian—perhaps the most distinguished of his day—should have accepted a post from which much trouble and little glory could be expected. Mr. Sastri has

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more than fulfilled the hopes aroused. His knowledge and ability commanded immediate respect. His candour and capacity for seeing both sides broke down the barrier of prejudice. And finally his eloquence won over all but a few "die-hard" extremists. The Indian problem was lifted immediately to a plane on which it had not moved for many years. A spirit of sweet reasonableness began to invade quarters from which it had been conspicuously absent. Within a very short time agreement was reached—rather a vague agreement, it is true, and one which left much to the good faith of the Union Government, but still an agreement that promised a fairer future for South African Indians while restricting their numbers. But Mr. Sastri's work was not finished. It remained for him to reconcile Indians to clauses that they disliked, and by gentle pressure to keep the Union Government from back-sliding. This double task accomplished, he is able to leave his successor a position not, indeed, completely stabilised, but in process of settling down. We, as well as the people of India, owe him a deep debt for that achievement. The Indian question was an open sore in the body politic of the Empire; it has been converted, through Mr. Sastri, into a minor problem.

The true secret of his success lies in a fervent devotion to duty, containing no element of personal ambition. It may be that unselfish absorption of this kind comes easier to an Oriental mind than to the pushful, adventurous type of mind developed in Northern Europe, although every country can provide its quota of tireless, unseen workers. Yet there is something specially inspiring in Mr. Sastri's career apart from his works. With glittering prizes for the taking—with all India, so to speak, for his oyster—he preferred a life of poverty and self-expression as a member of that unique Society, the Servants of India, and gave up all that the world holds valuable at the call of patriotism. Service on those terms is understood in India. Unpractical as it may seem to the Western mind, the world would be a better place to-day if it were understood and more widely practised everywhere.

If health is spared—and unhappily Mr. Sastri's health is not very robust—we may confidently expect to find him playing a high part in the task of construction, leading, counselling and inspiring his countrymen with the same passionate fervour, combined with common sense, that brought him success in our midst. South Africa parts from him with very real regret. It will watch with quickened interest and sympathy his share in the revival of that wonderful land to which he has devoted his high gifts.

THE STAR.

It will be a matter of sincere regret in South Africa and far beyond that the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Agent-General in the Union for the Government of India, is terminating his period of official work in this country, and will be leaving for India not later than January next. During his stay here Mr. Sastri has done even more than was expected from a statesman of his outstanding mark to promote the smooth operation of the Agreement concluded between the Governments of India and of South Africa as to the future position of the Indians resident

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in the Union and to direct in the paths of reason and justice public opinion amongst Europeans and Indians alike. In doing this he has borne the brunt of difficulties and opposition, the existence of which is all too well known. This has not discouraged him in his unremitting labours for the welfare of his people, and for the direction of thought and action along these lines of fairness and toleration which alone can make for progress and unity, whether in South Africa or in India.

..... In parts of the country where Indian competition is severe the argument that the treatment now in force accords with Christian and humanitarian principles is not readily appreciated by the Europeans—South Africans have their prejudices, and the most liberally minded amongst us must confess that in a country like this "colour" prejudice is very strong indeed and has to be reckoned with in practical politics. In view of these facts, it is all the more remarkable that such different and improved relationship has come into being between the Union Government and the Indians since the advent of Mr. Sastri. That a changed aspect is due to his personality and learning cannot be denied. The political impression that this one man has made on officialdom in South Africa can hardly be exaggerated; he is a statesman of the first rank in the British Empire, whose unique training and natural gifts command respect wherever he may be. He embodies a phase of Indian life that is otherwise not represented here. It is true that we have had men of the stamp of Mr. Gandhi, but although a section of the Indians venerated him and some were even inclined to deify him, the fact remains that he was regarded by most of them in the light of a political agitator, though a sincere one. Others of even more importance like Mr. Gokhale and Sir Mahomed Habibullah have visited our shores, but they left little or no impression, and beyond the temporary interest created, they came and went very much as do distinguished persons from any other country, European or otherwise. Religious leaders, too, come and go, and we have even had one recognised Indian writer in the poetical Mrs. Naidu.

The effect of all these visits, however, has been of little or no consequence. This is not so when we come to consider Mr. Sastri's mission. The official Agreement concluded through him was a veritable triumph, but it is as nothing compared with subsequent manner in which he succeeded in introducing a spirit of goodwill in all his negotiations—a spirit almost unknown in the past. To Mr. Sastri must go the honour of first having attempted to define the legal condition of the Indian and his relationship to the European element. It is to his credit and to the credit of the Government that this Agreement is being honoured both in word and in spirit. But this appears to have been only the beginning of his work. Having accomplished this he is proceeding by means of public speeches, lectures and articles in the Press to attempt to alter European opinion or rather European prejudices, not by anything in the nature of Oriental methods, but in a friendly spirit and by logical argument. He tells us what is lacking in our practice of Christianity, and in well chosen and inoffensive language asks us to supply the want. What then will be the outcome of his sojourn here? That it will have the effect of materially modifying the general view in regard to Indians cannot for one moment be doubted, because in

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this respect his policy has already succeeded in official quarters, and it is only a matter of time for the public to become similarly swayed.

THE NATAL WITNESS.

The Union of South Africa, and Natal in particular, has reason to regret the impending departure of Mr. Sastri . . . Mr. Sastri was India's first ambassador, and he leaves us with an unchallenged claim to the title in both its senses. He has interpreted the duties of his office throughout in a spirit of compromise; but that has not meant for him the shirking of issues, or hesitation to express his views fearlessly to both Europeans and Indians. It is a tribute to his transparent sincerity and honesty that he has been allowed to say as much as he has done on our platforms. Yet there has been in him none of the hot-headed partisan; he has recognised the right of the European nations to political domination, and has refused to associate himself with franchise agitations on behalf of the Indians; he has supported the European claim to dictate what standard of life shall be established in the Union.

By thus appearing as a temperate advocate he has won the sympathy of all right-thinking Europeans in Natal, and so made easier for himself for which they will perhaps remember him above all else.

. . . . Of Mr. Sastri it has been well said that, while he is essentially an idealist, he has too ardent a nature to brook that chimerical idealism which has been the undoing of so many well-meaning but impractical enthusiasts. "I know," he has said, "more than ever I did, the difference between theory and practice, how in actual life a thing is rendered difficult of fulfilment, what a great difference lies between the intellectual acceptance of a principle and the practical fulfilment of that principle." It is, of course, precisely that knowledge which has enabled Mr. Sastri, the idealist, to meet hard-headed politicians on practical issues and beat them at their own game. He is one of the most powerful restraining influences and reconciling influences at work in India—indeed in the Empire, and the achievement of his life to date has been the demonstration of the mighty power and the beneficent influence which the man of liberal culture and wide sympathies may wield in the world of affairs today . . . India and the Empire could ill afford to lose Mr. Sastri, for he is one of the few public men of to-day who rise superior to race, colour or creed; it is not too much to say, in fact, that he is one of the world's few statesmen.

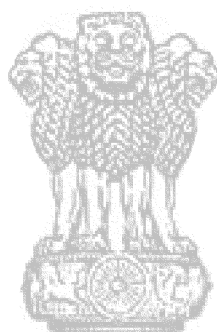
INDIAN OPINION.

In two or three days' time Mr. Sastri will have left us. The thought will sadden the heart of every Indian in South Africa to whom he has been more than an Agent of the Government of India. He came as an Ambassador of the people of India and well has he fulfilled his task. He has enlightened South Africa with the best of India. While he has done that with his great intellectual power and with the gifts that nature has so lavishly endowed him with, he has himself been truly,

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symbolical of the best of India. We respectfully differ from Mr. Sastri on some matters as there are in India too who differ from him in many of his views. His moderation and forbearance are at times, we think, far too stretched, but we know he is absolutely sincere. His heart is too soft to bear to see suffering on either side. He would wish to gain for us things without our having to suffer. We believe, however, that nothing can be achieved without suffering. Sufferance is the badge of the down-trodden Indian. He may not inflict suffering on others, but he will himself have to be prepared to suffer unto death for right and justice. Nevertheless Mr. Sastri is a great man. The European Press and the people of South Africa have almost unanimously hailed Mr. Sastri as being the greatest man in South Africa to-day.

Mr. Sastri also ranks among the greatest men of the British Empire. India has reason to be proud of him and hence every Indian is proud of him. Mr. Sastri's work in this country has been great. His mission was to prepare the ground for the Agent of the Government of India in this country. In working the Capetown Agreement he has had several hindrances and that has certainly arrested its progress to some extent. One hindrance was the condonation of illicit entrants which took a great deal of every and anxious thought on the part of Mr. Sastri to settle satisfactorily. The other hindrance was the Liquor Bill which was in complete violation of the spirit of the Capetown Agreement. This took up a great deal of time and labour and anxiety to settle. Much satisfaction was felt among Indians in this country as well as in India when Mr. Roos agreed to withdraw the objectionable clause 104 from the Bill. Everyone thought the matter had settled then and the energy of the Agent was directed to other activities. In so far as the uplift clause of the Agreement is concerned Mr. Sastri has accomplished much in the line of education, social service work, child welfare work and the housing question in and around Durban. In regard to education, social service and child welfare work there has been more self-help on the part of Indians inspired by Mr. Sastri than any exertion on the part of the authorities. The latter are rather amending the wrongs done in the past than taking any forward step. The housing question too, we venture to say, is on the high way to a settlement. The report of the Housing Board is satisfactory and it only remains for the Town Council of Durban to act up to it. These are all the things which Mr. Sastri will leave with a sense of satisfaction to his successor to see that they are finally settled. But it is regrettable that Mr. Sastri does not leave quite with an easy mind. Just on the eve of his departure, two vital issues have arisen, which, if not dealt with in a fair and just manner, will result in the destitution of several thousands of Indians born and settled in this country. We refer to clause 102 of the Liquor Act, which has thrown out of employment nearly a hundred Indians in the Transvaal, and to the position arising out of the Braamfontein judgment, which will deprive over a thousand Indians in the Transvaal of their present trading facilities. Mr. Sastri will thus be leaving these shores with a feeling that all is not quite well in South Africa. He has, however, done more than his duty, and for that the community is greatly indebted to him.



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