

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
- IN 1903 -

No 14.—Vol. XXXV.

Friday, April 2nd, 1937.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
Price Fourpence.

NOTES AND NEWS

Death Of Mrs. J. M. H. Gool

It is with profound regret that we have to record the sad death, which took place on Friday, March 26, after a prolonged illness at the age of nearly 70, of Mrs. J. H. M. Gool, wife of Mr. J. M. H. Gool and mother of Dr. A. H. Gool, well known of Capetown. It will be a shock to all those who have had the pleasure of enjoying the hospitality of Mrs. Gool to learn that she is no more. The late Mrs. Gool was a hostess to many a distinguished personality. Her home at 7, Buitensingel was the headquarters of Mr. M. K. Gandhi when he was in Capetown on various occasions during the final stages of the Passive Resistance struggle, and the famous Smuts-Gandhi Settlement was arrived at under her roof. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi took their farewell from South Africa from Mrs. Gool's residence. The late Mrs. Gool was also a hostess to the late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, the various delegations from India and most of the Agents-General for India in South Africa. Whenever the Rev. C. F. Andrews visited South Africa and was in Capetown he was always the guest of Mrs. Gool. Even in her old age the late Mrs. Gool was always active and full of vigour. Her motherly love will long be remembered by all those who have been acquainted with her. The late Mrs. Gool leaves behind her husband who is nearly 80 years of age, two sons, Dr. A. H. and Dr. G. H. Gool, and six daughters and a large family to mourn their sad loss. We share their sorrow and offer them our deepest sympathy.

Dr. Malan On Nationalism

Dr. D. F. Malan, Dr. N. J. van der Merwe and Mr. J. G. Strydom were the speakers at a large Nationalist Party picnic held at Paarl (Capetown) last week. About 2,000 people were present. Dr. Malan was introduced as "the president of the Republic of South Africa." Dr. Malan said that Nationalism in South Africa could not die. It could neither be fought nor fused out of existence. The Nationalist Party had never made quicker progress than now. They had been described as a fraction within a fraction, and a coterie, but they had not despaired, and now they

were triumphing. Their opponents were showing signs of breaking up. They would get into power, but never again would they do so along the road which involved the sacrifice of ideals...Dr. Malan said there were certain lessons to be learnt from their history of strife. They must never be afraid to fight for a good cause, or to be a 100 per cent. Afrikaner, or to be called race-haters. There must be perfect political honesty towards their opponents and win them over.

Strange Ethics

Last week we reproduced Dr. Malan's utterances on the colour question. We must confess we are not quite able to follow his ethics. If he believes that the set purpose of God in creating a world of diversity in nature as in mankind was that that diversity should always remain and that there should be no unity in diversity then Dr. Malan's ancestors had made a mistake in coming to South Africa and in usurping the land that God had meant to be for the Natives. According to our reading God has established the law of love for His creation to exist and that the law of hate must and will surely lead to destruction. While one may have one's national pride and may retain one's racial identity there is certainly no justification in race discrimination and race hatred as exists in South Africa.

No Place Anywhere For Coloureds

Newclare and Langlaagte are coloured reserves and a recommendation is being made that the Johannesburg City Council should lay out a coloured sub-economic housing scheme on the border of these two places. We are of course not in sympathy with the recommendation on the ground that it establishes the principle of segregation. But the debate in the City Council goes to show that even the City Council is not agreed but for reasons other than ours. The City Council is not agreed because it was claimed that "in 20 years' time, with the growth of the city the township would be in the centre of Johannesburg." At this rate will there ever be any place under the sun of South Africa for the Coloureds to stay? Quite obviously not.

Justice Krause's Impressions

On India

In the course of a comprehensive tour of India, which he has just completed, states a Reuter's message from Bloemfontein, Mr. Justice F. E. T. Krause, Judge-President of the Free State, took the opportunity to obtain first hand information about the country. In a letter to friends in Bloemfontein he tells how he visited the courts, inspected prisons and attended schools and visited villages, met the Governors of the various Provinces and dined with the Viceroy at New Delhi. The Judge-President found India a country with a very serious problem to tackle, a problem more social and economic than political. "The contrasts in this country are bewildering," he writes. "Poverty and wealth, illiteracy and education, religious intolerance and liberalism." Politically, he finds the people just emerging from the creeping to the walking stage. Analysing the position of the Indian in South Africa for an Indian paper, *The Hindu*, the Judge-President explained that the first Indians introduced into Natal had been of the coolie type. No distinction was made with regard to educated Indians, and once the barrier was imposed on the immigration of coolies all Indians were brought under the prohibition. Fortunately a great change of feeling was now taking place. The South African goodwill delegation which had visited India, headed by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, had produced very favourable results and would yet bear more good fruit. The question of intermarriage is essentially a social one, he says. Interference by the community is not only mischievous but might lead to undesirable results. The present attempt in South Africa by private politicians—not by the Government—to legislate in this respect is due either to gross ignorance of social customs or to a desire to catch votes. Commenting on the stir caused in the country by the Union's Indian Bill, the Judge-President remarks that there is no doubt that were the Indian people united under a central or stable government, reprisals would certainly follow.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, APRIL 2ND, 1937

Refused To Be April Fooled

FOR the last quarter of a century Britain has been treating India like a naughty child and has tried to quieten her with toys such as the Morley-Minto and Montague-Chelmsford reform schemes. But India began to fast grow out her childhood and to realise that Britain was only deceiving her and that she was not at all concerned about India's welfare but was just robbing her of all her possessions leaving her in a half-starved and half-naked condition. India bravely fought and resisted Britain's cruel blows in an exemplary non-violent spirit. This weakened the hands of Britain in putting an end to her. She had to yield and to come to reason. Britain invited conferences but was not prepared to concede to what was asked by India, for if she did the control would go away in India's hands and Britain would be disturbed in her work of filching away India's possessions. Britain could not bare this and now for some years she has been trying to appear to be engaged in forming some workable scheme that could satisfy India. Montague-Chelmsford and the like schemes will no longer avail. India wants something substantial. She wants the freedom to decide for herself what is good and what is bad for her. She is no longer going to put up with the carressing and cudgelling of a father and mother who has proved to be unfraternal and unmaternal and insincere. The scheme that is now devised in the shape of the new constitution, which gives India provincial autonomy as a first step

to Independence as from April 1, is, in view of the bitter experiences of the past, looked at with grave suspicion. India can quite plainly see through the insincerity that marks this measure and although she is much inclined to wreck it she has persuaded herself to take Britain on her own word and to give it a trial. In doing so the first shock India has given Britain is by her victory in the elections. Now the question of accepting office in the Provincial Legislature has arisen, and after much deliberation it was decided to accept office in the Provinces where the Congress has gained a clear majority, provided that the Governor gives an assurance that he will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of his Ministers regarding their constitutional activities. Past experience has proved to the hilt what a farce the acceptance of office has been owing precisely to these special powers having been used at almost every turn. It was owing to this that the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, the late C. R. Das, the late Vithal-bhai Patel and many others had washed their hands of the Legislature in disgust. The news comes from India this week that in all the Provinces, where the Congress Party has gained a clear majority, the leaders have refused to form ministries and the Governors have invited in each instance to other elected representatives to form Governments. It is significant that while the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., has declined to form a ministry in Madras Sir Kurma Reddi has ac-

cepted an invitation to do so. And Sir Dhanjishah Bomanjee, Revenue and Finance Member of the Bombay Government, and Mahomed Yunus, Leader of the Moslem Independents, have accepted similar invitation in Bombay and Bihar. This crisis was not unexpected. It was not unexpected even to the constituencies that were responsible for having returned Congress candidates. They wanted to put to the test the sincerity of the Government and they have done so. It is not the Congress that has failed, it is the Government.

What will now happen is that the Government will, as it has already done, marshall all its puppets and have the show run through them but if they fail to gain the confidence of the House, the Governor may dissolve the Assembly or use his special powers. We are not at all sorry that this crisis has come. It was bound to come some day and sooner the better for India. We are also glad to note that India has saved herself from being "April Fooled," as she would surely have been had she allowed herself to fall blindfold in the net prepared by the British Government. We will conclude this article with the following significant words of Mahatma Gandhi: "The British Government has ended the autonomy which, it is claimed, the new Constitution gave to the provinces. Government in India will now be, not by pen or the majority of the population but by the sword. I claim that Congress has asked nothing more than the British Government claimed the Act gave. No doubt the Government can and will impose its will till Indians develop enough strength to resist it."

THE MARKETING BILL ANALYSED

NO SOLUTION OF AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

THE idea seems prevalent among protagonists of the Marketing Bill that opposition to that measure is based solely on what the Americans would call "pure cussedness" or out of antipathy to the interests of the farmer. Nothing could be more mistaken. The opposition to the Bill on economic grounds is based, certainly in my own case, on a conviction that it is not the best method of tackling the problem; that the results, from the farmers' point of view, will be disappointing; that the country will be saddled with a huge organisation involving heavy costs to the taxpayer and, despite this, we shall have made little or no progress towards the permanent solution of what is, admittedly, a difficult problem.

Fallacious Assumptions

In my examination of the Bill in the December number of *The South African Journal of Economics*, I stated that there were three fallacious assumptions underlying the Bill, namely:

- (1) That the difficulties of farming in this country were wholly unconnected with productive factors, that is, high costs of production;
- (2) that the main difficulties of the farmer were due principally to faults in the system of private enterprise which markets the products, and that marketing costs were excessive;
- (3) that the establishment of regulatory and marketing boards administered by farmers themselves would reduce marketing costs, that is, be more efficient than existing private enterprise, lower prices to consumers and raise prices to farmers.

There is no need to point out that there is really no evidence to support any of these contentions. It is admitted by all agricultural authorities in this country that costs of production are extremely high. Innumerable official reports issued by the Department of Agriculture itself stress this very point.

Again, there is no evidence that costs of distribution, on the whole, are excessive. The Cost of Living Report of the Board of Trade and Industries (Report No. 125), which thoroughly investigated the matter in 1931, shows this conclusively. Moreover, Professor Grosskopf, Chief of the Division of Economics and Markets, in the latest annual report of the Department of Agriculture, gives the results of a detailed investigation into the wholesale costs of maize distribution. Detailed tables are given and Professor Grosskopf states that "the tables speak for themselves and indicate clearly on what a small profit basis the middleman, other than the retail dealers concerned in the

By

PROFESSOR C. S. RICHARDS,

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In the "Rand Daily Mail"

maize trade, conducts his business"—the wholesalers making an average profit of 1.64 pence per bag on 6½ million bags, rural storekeepers 0.86 pence on 1.3 million bags, etc.

There is no point in producing anything if the final price offered by consumers will not cover all the directly productive costs plus all the costs involved in processing, transporting and selling it. "Intermediate services are, therefore, part of the total cost of production"—to endeavour to distinguish between a farmer and a middleman and to label the former a producer and the latter a non-producer or parasite is absurd, and shows a profound ignorance of the real nature of production. Much of the world's tariff policy, not excluding South Africa's, is largely influenced by this fallacy. And while many speak of "eliminating the middleman, it is impossible to dispense with the services he performs"—they are a vital link in the mechanism of production. But it is quite legitimate to ask whether these services are being conducted at the least cost and in the most efficient manner, or whether improvements cannot be made. The system of private enterprise must stand the test of efficiency, and if that test is challenged, it must be fairly met. But the test must be based on accurate knowledge of the conditions and costs of marketing and "not on mere suspicion of the ravages of middlemen, as much of it is.

The third assumption that regularity boards composed of farmers themselves will be able to perform the difficult functions of marketing distribution, etc., more efficiently than the present system is, on the face of it, difficult to believe. In any case regulatory boards already established have certainly not proved their efficiency and have involved the country in enormous excess costs.

It is pretty clear, therefore, that the Bill will not produce the results which certain agriculturists hope for; indeed warnings to this effect have been made both in and out of Parliament. What is likely, therefore, to be the effect of the Bill?

Costs And Prices

The object of the Bill is to increase and/or make more stable the prices the farmer receives for his products, and the assumption is that this will be done by reducing the margin between prices

that the farmer receives and prices that the consumer pays; that is, capturing some of the income that goes to the middleman. I have already stated that, while the costs of distribution on the whole may be excessive, there is no direct evidence that they are. It would appear, therefore, that increased prices to the agriculturists can be obtained only at the expense of the consumer; in other words, it seems certain that the general effect will be to raise prices and therefore raise the cost of living. This raising of prices is bad from two points of view. Firstly, it tends to increase production when many of the farmers' difficulties in wheat, maize, sugar and so forth arise from this very fact of excess production, which consumers in this country have to pay for by higher prices but the higher prices also restrict demand. A great deal of the undernourishment and malnutrition in this country, to which attention has recently been directed, is due to the fact that the prices of many products put them out of the reach of large numbers of the lower-paid members of the community.

Its tendency must be towards raising costs of production, both directly and indirectly; directly through the rise in the cost of living, indirectly through the increased risks, the cost of running the enormous bureaucratic organisation which will be involved, and through the cost of preventing evasions of the system of control. This question of costs is of special importance to Johannesburg and the Reef, for anything which tends to raise costs unduly will tend to put out of payability large bodies of low-grade ore. The report of the Customs Tariff Commission indicated quite clearly the dangerously high level of costs in this country and the paramount duty it was for us, as a country, to reduce those costs. Moreover, anything which tends to increase the costs of products to consumers must naturally restrict that market, and, as the Reef is undoubtedly the farmers' best market, such action may rebound to the detriment of the farmer.

Position In Other Countries

Attention has been drawn by many protagonists of the Bill to the fact that they are attempting to do only what other countries, particularly Germany, have already done to improve the lot of the farming community. "It is true that under the German Marketing Bill there has been a great increase in production of agricultural products in Germany, that the prices of agricultural products have been stabilised and that large numbers of farmers have returned to the land, but the question really is: do we as a country, and do farmers in

this country as a body, want the regimentation which the German system involves? It postulates a philosophy of economic organisation entirely alien to that which we enjoy at the present moment. Moreover, Germany, for many reasons, desires greatly to increase its agricultural production; we are faced, and have been for many years, with agricultural surpluses which are a burden not only to the country, which has to export them at a loss, but also to the farmer. These surpluses have arisen to a very great extent directly to the higher prices obtained through Government control and regulatory boards (for example, in the case of wheat, where 22s. 6d. has been fixed as the minimum import price, since control has been established). The greatly increased production of sugar during the last decade in this country, while there has been very little increase in internal consumption, is another example of the same thing, namely, fixing a price which is so high that it greatly stimulates production and at the same time decreases demand.

It is frequently argued by agriculturists that they must have some such system as the Marketing Bill foreshadows as a means of stabilising prices according to the formula "cost of production plus a profit." This argument again is entirely fallacious. There are as many costs of production as there are producers, and both supply and demand are flexible quantities dependent on and determining the price of the product at any time. Consequently the idea of fixing a price on the principle of "cost of production plus a profit" is entirely fallacious. Is it to be the farmer with the lowest costs of production, the most efficient farmer—in which case farmers with

higher costs will find that that section of their farming will not pay; or is it to be the cost of production of the least efficient farmer and the least efficient area—in which case all the efficient farmers will be making much larger profits than under normal conditions they would do, and this will lead them to increase production producing again the surplus of which farmers complain.

Reorganisation Of Agriculture

There seems to me to be one conclusive argument against the present Marketing Bill: the difficulties of farming in this country are well known—there is no need to stress them—but is clear from the recent report of the Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry that the Department of Agriculture realises that a mistake has been made in forcing, in the past, the development of agricultural as opposed to pastoral production and he foreshadows in his report that a gradual change over will in future be attempted. Changes in the character and the volume of crops produced according to changes in demand, together with changes in agricultural methods, are inevitable in any case; but when, combined with these changes, there is foreshadowed a complete re-adaptation and re-organisation of agriculture in this country, is it likely that farmers, endowed with the powers which this Bill will enable them to exercise, will facilitate change, will facilitate progress towards sounder methods and sounder organisation. This is most unlikely, and the weapon of monopolistic and strategic control which the Bill will place in the hands of these regulatory boards is likely to be wielded in the interest of maintaining the *status*

quo, of conservatism and no change. The ultimate position of agriculture is likely to be much worse even than the present one.

The criticism which is levelled against the middleman may or may not be true, though there is no evidence at present that it is. By all means investigate thoroughly the costs of distribution. This will yield information on which correct action can be taken. If these costs are shown to be excessive and ways can be devised of reducing them, then will be the time to suggest a change in the present organisation, but the vast body of evidence is that the difficulties of farming lie in productive factors and not in distributive factors. Before a patient is treated it is usual to ascertain his disease. Most ordinary people would agree that it is not much use treating a patient for tonsils if all the evidence is that she is suffering from housemaid's knee, yet virtually that is what the Marketing Bill aims at.

Finally, I would say this: the difficulties of farming have been very well ventilated. I have tried to indicate that a solution along the lines indicated in the Bill is no solution. One section of the community, however, has had practically no consideration whatsoever, and that is the general body of consumers; and the legal power which, if the Bill becomes law, farmers will exercise in their own interests offers a poor look-out for the rights of consumers in the future. Despotism of any kind is alien to our philosophy and our traditions. The despotism of dictatorship has usually been exercised in the interest of a nation as a whole: bureaucratic and sectional despotism, which this Bill embodies, cannot even make that excuse.

MR. SASTRI ON INDIANS IN MALAYA

DURING Mr. Sastri's recent visit to Delhi a representative of the *Hindustan Times* took the opportunity to put a few questions to him on the position of Indians in Malaya and their prospects. Naturally enough Mr. Sastri refused to be drawn into any reference to the particular issues which he had been commissioned to study during his recent visit. He said that he had ample opportunities to view the issues at first hand during his tour through Malaya in the course of which he visited nearly 200 estates, half a dozen almost every day, and that the Report which he had just submitted to the Government, contained everything he wanted to say on the subject. The public should await the publication of the report in due course and he would not be guilty of divulging its contents.

Mr. Sastri was enthusiastic about the beauty and the natural wealth of Malaya

and its many attractions. He wished organised efforts backed by substantial people, should be put forward to turn the vast resources of the peninsula into material that would provide health and happiness to thousands. "Just at present," he added, "there is little or no endeavour of the sort. A few enthusiasts are no doubt there but they lack what is badly wanted, capital.

Asked about the progress of co-operative efforts on the part of the Indian labourers on the estates, the foundations for which were laid so early as the 2nd decade of this century, Mr. Sastri pointed out that there was a kind of co-operative activity noticeable on a number of estates but, he added: "What can we expect from uneducated labourers on the estates? Even where such institutions are being run by educated people in many centres in India, the move-

ment is not making the headway it ought to."

Asked about the prevalent disparity of the sexes in the Peninsula, Mr. Sastri said that the problem was not so very serious as it was years ago. "On the estates, there does not seem to be any great disparity to speak of. It is in the towns and cities that the problem can be said to exist. The worst offenders in this respect are the men who go out there for their money-lending business. These men, as a rule, do not take their women-folk with them. So also, people from the West coast. Clerks, artisans and skilled workers, earning satisfactory salaries, still refuse to take their women with them with results far from happy."

"Is the drink habit on the increase among the Indians in the Peninsula?" asked the interviewer.

"On the other hand," said Mr. Sastri, "I should think that the limitation imposed by the law, of 2 pints per head per day has been an excellent check on any increase in the drink habit. What I was able to notice was the fact that the Indian women on the estates religiously abjure drink. In our own country, we can find women having their potations at toddy shops and what

is worse they take their children, there and offer toddy to them. Indian women in Malaya not only do not drink, but serve as a wholesome influence against excessive drinking on the part of their men-folk."

"Are the wages that our men are able to command on the estates reasonable? was the next question. But Mr. Sastri was wide-awake. "You can't get round

me that way. Await my report and you will find everything I know about it."

It is understood that a copy of the report will be sent to the Government of Malaya for their information and views thereon and that it may be published simultaneously at an early date.—*Indian Social Reformer.*

STATUS OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The *Searchlight* (Patna), editorially writes as follows in its issue of February 27:—

DURING the last few weeks three Bills have been introduced in the Union Parliament of South Africa, which affect the position of Indians in the Union. All these Bills have emanated from private individuals. The first of these introduced by one, Gen. Pienaar, seeks to prohibit marriages between Europeans and Asiatics or Natives. The second, also introduced by Gen. Pienaar, seeks to empower the provincial Councils to prohibit the employment of Europeans by non Europeans in the Union; and the third, introduced by Mr. Grobler, prohibits the acquisition of fixed property in the Transvaal by European, coloured or Malay women married to Asiatics and by children of such marriages. An interesting debate took place on these Bills and, on Premier Gen. Hertzog's motion, the first of these, namely, the Mixed Marriages Bill was postponed. The other two Bills have, however, been referred to a Select Committee before the second reading. In a statement to the Union Parliament, Gen. Hertzog explained that this reference of the Bills to a Select Committee did not mean the acceptance of the Bills by Government, but an investigation in connection with them was desirable and Government, therefore, were agreeable to their reference to a Select Committee before the second reading. The Premier, however, added that if after a thorough investigation the Select Committee brought forward revised Bills, which satisfactorily met the objections—which, in his opinion, should not be difficult—the Government would be willing to grant time for dealing with them in the course of the session. From the above statement of the Premier it is clear that the two Bills, unlike the Mixed Marriages Bill, are likely to come up again during the session and in a form in which they would be accepted by the Government and passed into law. Indian opinion, therefore, should not wait till the report of the Select Committee, but should express itself immediately. Short notice questions were put on the subject of these South African Bills in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and the Government of India were asked as to what steps they were taking to safe-

guard the political and social status and rights of the Indians in South Africa, which are undoubtedly affected by the Bills in question. But the reply received from the Government seems to indicate that they are disposed to await the presentation of the Indian case before the Select Committee. Of course, the Assembly members were assured that the Government of India were in close and constant touch with the situation and that they would do everything possible that the developments may require for the protection of Indian interests.

While we do hope that the Government of India would do their best to safeguard the political and social status and rights of Indians in South Africa which have been assailed by the present Bills, the Indian public should not allow the matter to be relegated to the background of oblivion and obscurity. The Bills, in themselves, may not be very great things, but they are the expression of an obnoxious feeling which has been actuating the South African Europeans in their dealings with the Indians and they are aimed at carrying the principle of Indian segregation in the Union a stage further. Gen. Pienaar frankly declared in his speech, while moving the second reading of the Mixed Marriages Bill, which was postponed, that although several attempts had been made to secure segregation and although a clear colour line had been drawn, there was, in his opinion, still much to be desired. So even the Mixed Marriages Bill, which was ostensibly directed to put a stop to mixed racial unions, which are everywhere recognised as undesirable things and on the evils of which admirable sentiments were expressed by the mover, was really designed only to bring about a complete segregation of the Indians and to close up any loopholes that there still might be in the various legislations and rules already in force through which Indians might succeed in evading that segregation to howsoever insignificant an extent. As Mr. Hofmeyr, who led the recent South African Goodwill Delegation to India, showed in his admirable speech—both in tone and sentiment—the average number of mixed marriages every year between Indians and Europeans during recent years had been only

four and this small number certainly did not justify a resort to legislation. It is obvious, therefore, that the real object of the Bill was not to prohibit mixed marriages, which had in no sense assumed menacing and undesirable proportions, but to complete the process of, segregation of the Indians. In the other two Bills, this real objective is much more patent. There is no camouflage about them. The Indians must not be allowed to associate with the Europeans in any way. And the policy of segregation must be carried forward even to the extent of prohibiting Europeans from seeking employment under Indians, however necessary it may be financially for them. This is anti Indianism with a vengeance. It may appear unbelievable, but it is true. In their desire to pulverise Indians and their interests South African Europeans will stop at nothing. This is the real significance of the Bills now pending before the Union Parliament. The Union Government have no doubt helped to kill the Mixed Marriages Bill, at any rate for the time being. But they would not adopt the same attitude towards the other two Bills. It is because these two will have direct and immediate effects on the economic position and political status of the Indians whereas the Mixed Marriages Bill could affect only indirectly and remotely? Possibly, this is the reason. Of course, the farce of the interposition of a Select Committee before the second reading has been enacted, but that is probably not because the Government do not sympathise with the principle or even the provisions of the Bills but they want to achieve the object aimed at with a show of apparent grace and impartiality. The danger is, therefore, there and it will not do simply to wait and watch. A strong opposition must be offered and every possible pressure must be brought on the Union Government to desist from further prosecuting the Indian nationals and segregating them racially and politically.

INDIA REFUSES TO BE APRIL FOOLED

CONGRESS LEADERS WILL NOT FORM MINISTRIES

GANDHIJI SAYS: AUTONOMY ENDED. RULE BY THE SWORD
WILL BE ORDER OF THE DAY

THE correspondent of the *London Times* at Delhi says political thought throughout the country has been thrown into a state of bewilderment by the refusal of the Congress leaders of Behar, the United Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Orisa and the Central Provinces to form ministries and the Governors' invitations in each instance to other elected representatives to form Governments.

As the Government of India Act only requires the Governor to summon the legislature within seven months of the inauguration of the new constitution, it is hoped that the political situation will be clarified when the legislatures assemble. If the ministries fail to gain the confidence of the House the Governor may dissolve the Assembly or use his special powers.

Mahatma Gandhi's Prophecy

"The British Government has ended the autonomy which, it is claimed, the new Constitution gave to the Provinces," Gandhiji told the correspondent of the *London Daily Herald* at Madras. "Government of India will now be, not by pen or the majority of the population but by the sword. I claim that Congress has asked nothing more than the British Government claimed the Act gave. No doubt the Government can and will impose its will till Indians develop enough strength to resist it."

Mahatma Gandhi said to Ruter: "My formula, the acceptance of which might have prevented the crisis, would have resulted in the orderly, peaceful transference of power from bureaucracy to the largest democracy in the world."

Government Puppets Marshalled

A Renter's cable states that the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., India's first Agent-General to the Union, has declined to form a government in the Central Provinces.

His successor in South Africa, Sir Kurma Reddi, a former Acting Governor of Madras, has accepted an invitation to form a ministry in Madras, and Sir Dhanjishah Romanjee, Revenue and Finance Member of the Bombay Government, and Mohamed Yunus, Leader of the Moslem Independents, have accepted similar tasks in Bombay and Bihar.

What Pandit Nehru Says

Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declares that he is perfectly satisfied with the turn events are taking in Congress, and says it is proposed to go ahead and end the Constitution before long.

Moslem League And Bombay Ministry

The Moslem League members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly have informed the Government that they are unable to form a Ministry owing to their doubtfulness as to the League's ability to command a working majority.

Mr. Sastri Speaks

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, in attacking Whitehall and Delhi, asserted that since the final round-table conference the British Government has blundered disastrously in India. He alluded to what he termed the "perverseness of the British Government's Indian policy" which, he declared, could only be measured when the outbreak of the next world war showed the extent to which the loyalty of the people had been alienated.

Civil Disobedience May Revive

The correspondent of the *Daily Herald* at Allahabad says that Gandhiji is stiffening his attitude, and is now reported to be considering a revival of civil disobedience and the boycott of British goods if the deadlock continues. It is believed that the Congress will now aim at obstructing the introduction of federation.

Local Press Opinion

The "Rand Daily Mail"

The *Rand Daily Mail* while admitting that the Congress Party was extraordinarily successful at the poll, where it had expected to succeed the result exceeded even its own anticipation, and in many areas in which its chances were thought to be poor its representatives emerged with large majorities, criticises the present crisis and states that if the Constitution is now wrecked, the probability is not that India will advance yet further on the path to independence. It is far more likely that her progress will be indefinitely retarded.

The "Natal Advertiser"

The *Natal Advertiser* describes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a communist. Dealing with the crisis the paper says: "Gandhi and his followers will extract what satisfaction they can from such a barren victory but the plain man, in England as in India, will be slow to appreciate any essential difference between accepting a Constitution and inserting a patently unacceptable proviso in it, or just boldly refusing to have anything to do with the issue at all." In conclusion it says: "The responsible British officials in India, and the large non-political classes, must go on displaying that marathon patience which is the chief demand that East makes upon West."

[Note.—We would venture to ask our contemporary if the Union Parliament would ever tolerate the Governor-General exercising his special powers and flouting public opinion at every turn as has been the case in India. If not, why this fatherly advice to India?—Ed. I.O.]

The "Natal Mercury"

The *Natal Mercury* considers the crisis in India to be "not so alarming." It goes on to say: "The Congress is in fact following a policy which it may one day soon only be too anxious to abandon." The paper concludes by saying that, "Congress at not infrequent intervals in the past, has thrown, or threatened to throw, a spanner into the machinery of Government; it seems to have developed a skilled technique so successfully in this respect that the spanner always appears to fall where it will not do much damage."

—:O:—

Fountain of Wisdom

Economics is not the whole of life. The soul is higher than the body, and life is more than housekeeping. Liberty is higher than riches, and the welfare of the community more important than its economic and material progress.—SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN.

—o—

It is not poverty so much as pretence that harasses a ruined mind—the struggle between a proud mind and an empty purse—the keeping up a hollow show that must soon come to an end.—WASHINGTON IRVING.

SO-CALLED INCONSISTENCIES

I HAVE some very persistent correspondents who put posers before me. Here is a specimen letter from one such correspondent :

"Whenever economic troubles arise and whenever questions have been put to you on the economic relations of capital and labour, you have put forth the theory of trusteeship which has always puzzled me. You want the rich to hold all their property in trust for the poor and expend it for their benefit. If I ask you whether this is possible, you will tell me that my question arises from a belief in the essential selfishness of human nature and that your theory is based on the essential goodness of human nature. However, in the political sphere, you do not hold such views without, at the same time, losing your faith in the fundamental goodness of human nature. The British claim the same trusteeship for their domination of India. But you have lost faith in the British Empire long ago, and today there is no greater enemy to it than you. Is it consistent to have one law for the political world and another for the economic world? Or do you mean to say that you have not lost faith in capitalism and capitalists just as you have lost faith in British Imperialism and the British? For, your trusteeship theory sounds very much like the Divine Right theory of kings which has been exploded long ago. When one man, who was allowed to hold political power in trust for all the others and who derived it from them, misused it people revolted against it and democracy was born. Similarly now when a few ought to hold the economic power in trust for the others from whom they derive it, use it for their own self-aggrandisement and to the detriment of the rest, the inevitable result is the deprivation of the few of the means of economic power by the many, i.e. the birth of socialism.

Hitherto violence was the only recognised means to attain anything good or bad. When violence is employed even with a view to achieve good, it brings evil in its train and compromises the good achieved. Now I take it that your definite contribution to the world lies in your having successfully demonstrated the efficacy of another means, namely non-violence which is superior to violence and does not poison human relations. Therefore my fondest hope is that you should fight and end the present economic order non-violently and help to create a new one.

Secondly, you may answer another question agitating my mind. In 1930 when you launched your Satyagraha

By
MAHATMA GANDHI In "Harijan"

campaign, you declared that the fight was a fight to the finish and you would either return victorious or your dead body would float on the waters of the sea. Even in your subsequent statements you emphasised this and called upon all Indians to fight determinedly. Now, though you have reserved the right to civil disobedience to yourself, you have abandoned the fight against the Government. At the present moment you are devoting yourself heart and soul to the infusing of life into and raising the standard of the Indian village. I do not know whether you consider this phase of your activity as a fight against the Government. The A.I.V.I.A. is divorced from all politics, and therefore your activity in the promotion of the objects of the A.I.V.I.A. cannot be called a part of the political fight to win political freedom for our country. Or do you think there can be gaps, intervening periods of lull in a fight called a fight to the finish? If so, why did you differentiate the fight of 1930 from that of 1920 and call the former a fight to the finish?"

To take the first part, I see no inconsistency in my treatment of capitalism or imperialism. My correspondent has been led into a confusion of thought. I have not talked or thought of what Kings, Imperialists or Capitalists claim and have claimed. I have talked and written of how capital may be treated. And then it is one thing to make a claim and another to live up to it. Not everyone like me (say) who claims to be a servant of the people becomes that by the mere assertion. And yet all would appreciate persons like me, if we were found to be living up to our claim. Similarly would all rejoice if a capitalist were to divest himself of exclusive ownership and declare himself to be in possession as a trustee for the people. It is highly probable that my advice will not be accepted and my dream will not be realised. But who can guarantee that the socialists' dream will be realised? Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. As I have contended, socialism, even communism, is explicit in the first verse of Ishopanishad. What is true is that when some reformers lost faith in the method of conversion, the technique of what is known as scientific socialism was born. I am engaged in

solving the same problem that faces scientific socialists. It is true, however, that my approach is always and only through unadulterated non-violence. It may fail. If it does, it will be because of my ignorance of the technique of non-violence. I may be a bad exponent of the doctrine in which my faith is daily increasing. The A.I.S.A and the A.V.I.A. are organisations through which the technique of non-violence is being tested on an all-India scale. They are special autonomous bodies created by the Congress for the purpose of enabling me to conduct my experiment without being fettered by the vicissitudes of policy to which a wholly democratic body like the Congress is always liable. Trusteeship, as I conceive it, has yet to prove its worth. It is an attempt to secure the best use of property for the people by competent hands.

Now for the second part of the letter. I do not divide life into water tight compartments. The life of a nation like that of individuals is an indivisible whole. My retirement from the Congress or political life so-called does not mean the slightest diminution in my yearning for India's complete independence; nor is civil disobedience any distinct process of non-violence. It is one of the many non-violent processes which are in no way inconsistent with one another. What I have to do is to give a clear demonstration of non-violence in all my actions. I claim to be conducting my experiment in a scientific spirit. In the garden of non violence are many plants. They are all from the same parent. They may not all be used simultaneously. Some are less powerful than others. All are harmless. But they have to be handled skilfully. I am applying such skill to their use as God has given me. But because I use one plant rather than another at any time, it does not follow that I give up the fight. It is a fight to the finish. Defeat has no place in the dictionary of non-violence.

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India Letter

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Zanzibar Indians Nervous

In a message to the *Associated Press* the Zanzibar Indian Association says: "INDIANS are nervous and apprehensive of the unwarranted Dowson enquiry. India should press for immediate adoption of the Indebtedness Commission's unanimous recommendations. If the enquiry is inevitable, the Government of India's deputy should be associated with the enquiry to safeguard the Indian interests." The Zanzibar Indians are not at all afraid of a fresh enquiry says the *Tribune*, (Lahore). Their case is based on justice and reason. But they suspect that there is something sinister in this new move of the Colonial Office. As Mr. B. N. Anantani, Secretary of the Association, explained in the course of a statement recently, the effect of the Wood-Winterton agreement was nullified by a subsequent enquiry; and "the Hilton-Young report, partly conceding the Indian demands in East Africa with regard to East Africa and other minor matters, was shelved by a similar enquiry under the presidency of Sir Samuel Wilson." The Zanzibar Indians now feel that the Dowson enquiry may result in the withdrawal of the few concessions recommended for them by the Indebtedness Commission. We do not know if the Government of India have asked the Colonial Office to abandon this fresh enquiry which is absolutely redundant. We hope that if the Colonial Office does not agree to the abandonment of the enquiry, the Government of India will accept the suggestion of the Association and send their representative to Zanzibar to safeguard the Indian interests there.

Zanzibar Government Condemned

Several speakers including Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mayor of Bombay, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Gordhandas Morarjee, Mr. Hosseinbhoj Laljee, Mr. B. N. Anantani, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. Tayb Ali, the Zanzibar Indian merchant, condemned the high-handed policy of Zanzibar Protectorate in depriving Indian traders of the clove trade and extending the moratorium indefinitely, at a public meeting held recently in Bombay under the auspices of the Indian Imperial Citizenship Association at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall. with Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in the chair. Mr. Tyab Ali made a long statement at the meeting demonstrating how Indians had built their trade in the Protectorate and how they were being deprived of it now. All the speakers emphasised the need for the Government of India to take immediate action to

protect Indian interests. Resolutions condemning the Zanzibar Government's policy and assuring Indians in Zanzibar of sympathy and support were passed.

Fight For Swaraj Will Continue

The Congress election campaign reached its apex when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a meeting recently at Poona attended by 50,000 persons. Pandit Nehru, speaking in Hindi for an hour and a half painted in colourful language a vivid contest between the greatness of the ancient Indian civilisation and the appalling poverty and misery of to-day. Referring to the Imperialist domination of the last 150 years he said that the Congress was an organisation fighting Imperialism on many fronts. He asked them to remember that elections might be over but not the fight for Swaraj. The great task of Swaraj was not yet finished. Elections served only as a test of their strength and determination.

Chief Object Of Benares Hindu University

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, speaking at the 21st Foundation Day celebration of the University in the presence of a large gathering of students and staff of the University, reminded them that the chief object for which the University was established was to impart religious education. It was the only University in the world, he said, where religious education was imparted, and those who wanted education in arts and sciences only and did not want religious education should go to other Universities. He wanted every student and Professor of the University to understand that it was compulsory to attend religious discourses regularly.

Empire Parliamentary Association

The following is the complete list of the delegates representing the Indian Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association who are proceeding to England by the middle of April to attend the Coronation:—Sir Maneckji Dadabhoj, Sir Abdur Rahim, Presidents of the Council of State and the Assembly respectively, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das, Sir Leslie Hudson and Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan. Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan will also represent India at the Imperial Conference.

Calcutta University Convocation

Presiding over the Calcutta University Convocation as Chancellor, the Governor of Bengal, addressing the University for the last time, said that for over a century and a half it had been a constant feature of life in this province that its development had been conditioned by reaction to outside influences and always, or nearly always, reaction to or against external influence had been the stimulus and focus of interest. That stimulus was going to be withdrawn. Things that mattered would no longer be had from the third party as a boon to be sought or a concession to be wrested; they were to be devised and constructed by those among the people who aspired to leadership. The days of leadership against something were passing and the call would be for leadership for something. "I venture to say that if the Universities do not produce men to answer that call, they would fail to fulfill their function in national life."

"Tribune's" Comment On Office Acceptance

Commenting on the office acceptance question, the *Tribune* (Lahore) says: "One of our chief reasons for opposing office acceptance by the Congress is that the Congress will be no more able to face a crisis after three or six months than it would immediately. If they accept office, the Congress will have to do what the Liberals would have done if they had been returned by a majority... In order that the Congress may retain their majority in the legislature, the constituencies and the country will have to go through the much needed course of political education, and this they can do only if the Congress will remain out of office and not force the issue prematurely."

Trade Union Unity

It is understood that arrangements are being made to invite all the labour members elected to the Provincial Legislatures in India to meet at a conference in Delhi at the time of the National Convention to be held there. This move has been undertaken on behalf of the All-India Trade Union Congress and it is further learnt that a fresh endeavour will be made at the conference to achieve trade union unity between the All-India Trade Union Congress and the National Federation of Trade Unions.

South African News In Brief

Marketing Bill Amendments

Suggested

MR. H. A. TOTHILL, M.P. for Bezenodenhout, has been in consultation with the Department of Agriculture on the points raised by the Johannesburg City Council on the Marketing Bill, writes the Capetown correspondent of the *Star*. The Minister of Agriculture, as already announced, could not accept the deputation's view on the composition of the Consumers' Advisory Committee, and the deputation did not make much headway with its large number of proposed amendments to other sections of the Bill. Mr. Tothill has since pressed for the favourable consideration of certain important amendments and will move these in Committee on the Marketing Bill with the exception that they will commend themselves to the Minister's favourable consideration. One of the most important of these is to the clause relating to the revocation or amendment of schemes and the conferring of powers on certain boards on the resolution of both Houses of Parliament. The amendment seeks to meet the case where such revocation or amendment is necessary when Parliament is not in session, and the amendment seeks to add a sub-clause to the effect that the Governor-General may at any time by proclamation in the Gazette suspend for a period not exceeding six months any provision of a scheme which is in force in terms of the Act if in his opinion such provision imposes an undue burden on any particular section of the public or is for any other reason undesirable. Another amendment provides that any scheme brought forward by the Producers' Committee should be referred also to the Consumers' Committee, and *vice versa*, and it is also sought to make provision for a joint meeting of the Producers' and Consumers' Committees for the consideration of any matter which the Minister may refer to such joint meeting.

Labour Meeting At Benoni

At a public meeting held under the joint auspices of the Benoni local branch of the Labour Party and the Labour League of Youth, among other things, the immediate re-organisation of the market was demanded in such a way as to ensure that the public will be able to purchase at competitive and economic prices, and that the danger of exploitation by middlemen and wholesalers be reduced.

Mr. Hofmeyr Opens Medical Building At Fort Hare

The Minister of Education, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, attended the graduation ceremony at the South African Native College at Fort Hare on March 24. Entertained at lunch at the Amatola Hotel, and replying to Professor Dingaman's toast,

Mr. Hofmeyr said that the Government had been a close friend of the Native College and he hoped their expectations of favours to come would materialise. Later Mr. F. Hugo, Superintendent of General Education in Natal, capped 10 graduates, who were presented by Professor Jabavu. In his absence the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on the Rev. John Dube, of Natal. Mr. Hofmeyr then opened the science and medical aid building recently completed, saying that the building had been erected because of the very great need of Natives for improved health services and the necessity for the medical training of those who man those services. In this matter the Union had lamentably lagged behind other African countries which did not possess resources such as did the Union. In some areas there was only one doctor to 40,000 inhabitants. On the barest material ground, he added, it was in the interests of South Africa as a whole to see that necessary health services were provided for Natives who did so much to keep going the industries which maintained the health of the country.

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Rhodes University College

A special Rhodes University College graduation ceremony took place in the Grahamstown City Hall on March 25, with all the customary colourful impressiveness, in the presence of a large congregation. The Vice-Chancellor to the University of South Africa, Mr. F. D. Hugo, B.A., Superintendent of Education in Natal, formally constituted the congregation and conferred the degrees amid enthusiastic applause.

Deaf Drivers

The Traffic Advisory Board of the Durban City Council has ruled that deafness should not be an obstacle to the issue of a driver's licence. At a meeting with the Board, the acting Chief Constable suggested that the Provincial Council should be asked to include a section in the amending motor legislation stating whether persons suffering from disabilities, such as the loss of an arm, leg or eye, or those suffering from deafness should be granted or refused a licence. The board agreed to make this recommendation, with the single observation that deafness should not be an obstacle,

Farewell To Lord And

Lady Clarendon

A farewell message was sent by the "Muslim Bhana" Samrodi, Durban, to the Earl and Countess of Clarendon, bidding them farewell and wishing them God-speed and congratulating them on receiving the Honorary Degree of "Doctor of Law" from the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg. The following reply was received from Government House, Capetown:—"In reply to your letter of March 12, I am desired by their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess of Clarendon, to convey to you their sincere thanks for the good wishes contained therein, which their Excellencies deeply appreciate."

Public Defenders For Natives

The *Sunday Express* understands that the Minister of Justice, General J. C. Smuts, is considering the appointment in each of the four provinces of the Union, of an official who will act as a Public Defender, or "Prisoners' Friend," in cases where natives, accused for serious crimes, are not able to provide for their defence. General Smuts, it is learned, has been persuaded to do this by a society known as the "Friends of Africa," which urges the adoption of this step in a report. Mr. G. W. Ballinger, who has been nominated for senatorship in terms of the Native Representations Act, is the secretary of this society. The report reveals a crying need for a public defender and urges that such an official should make it his business to investigate every suspicious case and in which a white man is the accuser. It is uncertain whether legislation, by means of an amendment to the Act, will be required for the fundamental of this system actually is in practice in Reef native courts. If the scheme were put into effect when only destitute native prisoners were concerned it would only want an extension of the existing procedure and legislation would not be necessary.

Popular Maritzburg Wedding

A popular wedding took place at the H.Y.M.A. Hall, on Sunday March 14, when Miss R. Krishnamah was married to Mr. S. Govindasamy. The bride is the eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Ramsamy Pillay, formerly of Johannesburg, where he was actively engaged in social activities. The bridegroom is a member of a well-known family, being the third son of Mrs. and the late Mr. Suvatharana Padayachee. The wedding was solemnised according to Hindu rites, and was conducted by Mr. C. V. Pillay. Included among the guests were relatives and friends who came from Durban and elsewhere. They were all entertained to lunch in the artistically decorated hall immediately after the ceremony. There were many telegrams of congratulations sent to the wedded couple. The married couple were the recipients of many valuable presents. The City Indian Musical Club rendered musical items.



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