

# Indian Opinion

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## MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO EUROPE

**M**R. Mahadev Desai writes in *Young India* of 14th January :—"I had to leave out from my last letter quite a large number of questions and answers at various meetings in France and Switzerland. I take them up this week. I begin with the important meeting in the Victoria Hall in Geneva, the hall which is considered to be one of the best in the world and is the gift of an Englishman to Switzerland. Over two thousand men and women had gathered together to listen to Gandhiji at the usual lunch hour. Train times made any other inconvenient, and though it was feared that the attendance would be smaller because of the unsuitable hour, people seemed to have decided once in a way to miss their luncheons and every seat in the hall as well as in the three or four galleries was occupied. The questions were naturally suggested by the Venke the seat of the League of Nations and International Labour Office and numerous other international organisations. Gandhiji in his preliminary remarks made a brief reference to the League and then proceeded to answer some of the questions. "You have," he said, "in this city of yours the central office of the League of Nations. That League is expected to perform wonders. It is expected to replace war, and by its own power, to arbitrate between nations who might have differences amongst themselves. But it has always seemed to me that the League lacks the necessary sanctions. It depends, as it has to, largely if not exclusively, for its decisions to be effective, on the goodwill of the nations concerned. I venture to suggest to you that the means we have adopted in India supply the necessary sanction, not only to a body like the League of Nations, but to any voluntary body or association that would take up this great cause of the peace of the world."

**Q.**—"How can workers obtain justice without violence? If capitalists use force to suppress their efforts, why should the workers not try to destroy their oppressors?"

**A.**—"This of course is the old law, the law of the jungle—blow against blow; I am endeavouring to make the non-violent experiment, which I consider essential viz. that of getting rid of the law of the jungle which is ill-suited to man."

You may not know that I am supposed to be the Chief adviser of a Labour Union in a place called Ahmedabad which has commanded the unsolicited testimony of many labour experts who have visited the place. Through this Labour union we have been endeavouring to enforce this method of non-violence in connection with questions arising between capital and labour for the past fifteen years. There-

fore, what I am now about to tell you is based upon actual experience, in the very line about which the question has been asked. In my humble opinion Labour can always vindicate itself if Labour is sufficiently united and self-sacrificing. No matter how oppressive the capitalists may be, I am convinced that those who are connected with Labour and guide the Labour movement have themselves no idea of the resources that Labour can command and which Capital can never command. If Labour would only understand and recognise that Capital is perfectly helpless without Labour, Labour will immediately come to its own.

We have unfortunately come under the hypnotic suggestion and the hypnotic influence of Capital, so that we have come to believe that Capital is all in all on this earth. But a moment's thought would show that Labour has at its disposal capital which the Capitalists will never possess. Ruskin taught in his age that Labour had unrivalled opportunities. But he spoke above our heads. At the present moment there is an Englishman, Sir Daniel Hamilton who is really making that very experiment. He is an economist. He is a capitalist also, but through his economic research and experiments he has come to the same conclusions as Ruskin had arrived at intuitively, and he has brought to Labour a vital message. He says it is wrong to think that a piece of metal constitutes capital. He says it is wrong even to think that so much produce is capital, but heads that if we go to the very source, it is Labour that is capital, and that living capital is inexhaustible. It is upon that law that we have been working in the Labour Union at Ahmedabad. It has been that law under which we have been working in our fight against the Government. It is that law, the recognition of which delivered 1,700,000 people in Champaran inside six months from a century long tyranny. I must not tarry to tell you what the tyranny was but those who are interested in that problem will be able to study everyone of the facts that I have put before them. Now I will tell you what we have done. There is in English a very potent word, and you have it in French also, all the languages of the world have it—it is "No," and the secret that we have hit upon is that when capital wants Labour to say "Yes," Labour roars out "No," if it means "No." And immediately labour comes

to recognise that it has got the choice before it of saying "Yes" when it wants to say "Yes" and "No," when it wants to say "No," Labour is free of Capital and Capital has to woo Labour. And it would not matter in the slightest degree that Capital has guns and even poison gas at its disposal. Capital would still be perfectly helpless if Labour would assert its dignity by making good its "No." Then Labour does not need to retaliate but Labour stands defiant receiving the bullets and poison gas and still insists upon its "No." The whole reason why Labour so often fails is that instead of sterilising Capital as I have suggested, Labour, (I am speaking as a labourer myself) wants to seize that capital and become capitalist itself in the worst sense of the term. And the capitalist therefore, who is properly entrenched and organised, finding among the labourers also candidates for the same office makes use of a portion of these to suppress Labour. If we really were not under this hypnotic spell, everyone of us, men and women, would recognise this rock-bottom truth without the slightest difficulty. Having proved it for myself, through a series of experiments carried on in different departments of life, I am speaking to you with authority (you will pardon me for saying so) that when I put this scheme before you, it was not as something super-human but as something within the grasp of every labourer, man or woman. Again, you will see that what labour is called upon to do under this scheme of non-violence is nothing more than the Swiss soldier does under gun-fire, or the ordinary soldier who is armed from top to toe is called upon to do. While he undoubtedly seeks to inflict death and destruction upon his adversary he also carries his own life in his pocket. I want Labour, then, to copy the courage of the soldier without copying the brute in the soldier, namely the ability to inflict death, and I suggest to you that a labourer who courts death and has the courage to die without even carrying arms, with no weapon of self-defence, shows a courage of a much higher degree than a man who is armed from top to toe.

### Disarmament And Militarism

Q.—"Since disarmament depends chiefly on the Great Powers why recommend it to a small State like Switzerland which is neutral and non-aggressive?"

A.—In the first place, from this neutral ground I am speaking to all the Powers of Europe and not merely to Switzerland. If you do not want to carry this message to other parts of Europe I shall at least be absolved from all blame. Secondly, seeing that Switzerland is a neutral territory, and Switzerland really is not aggressive, it does not need an army. Seeing that through your hospitality and by reason of your occupying this vantage ground in Europe you attract people of all nations of the world, is it not better for you to give the whole world a lesson in disarmament and show the world that you are brave enough to do without arms?

Q.—"Why do you ignore the sacred traditions of military development? Without it most of the heroic virtues would be impossible. Don't you know that the mere presence of the Swiss army at the Frontier saved us from being overrun by foreign armies?"

A.—Forgive me, if I say that double ignorance underlies this question. The questioner errs in deploring the fact that if you renounce the military training you would be deprived of the education that you receive in service and sacrifice. For, a non-violent army requires all the hard training and discipline of an ordinary army. Non-violence is made of sterner stuff than soldiering. No one need run away with the idea that because you avoid or give up military conscription you are not in for

another conscription of nobler, and if you will, a severer type. When I spoke to you about Labour I told you that Labour had got to assimilate all the nobler qualities of soldiering, that is endurance and defiance of death, because it is not suggested that when you have disarmed yourselves and given up soldiering, you will have a merry time. It is not as if you are absolved from the duty of saving and protecting your homes when you give up soldiering, but on the contrary your women and children will also be taking part in defending their homes. Again I am talking to you with experience. In the little institution that I am conducting we are teaching our women and our children also how to save that institution. We are living in isolation and often have visitations of thieves. Everything becomes simple and easy immediately you learn the lesson of giving up your own life in order to save the lives of others. And lastly it is really forgotten that an individual ensures his own safety when he comes unafraid before the whole world and impresses it with his innocence. The second part of the question betrays the second error. I must respectfully deny the truth of the statement that the presence of the Swiss army prevented the war from affecting Switzerland. Although Belgium had its own Army it was not saved from the horrors of military occupation and if the rival powers had wanted a passage through Switzerland, believe me, they would have fought Switzerland also. You may say that in that case you would have fought and returned blow for blow. But if I had time I could show you that you could have fought much more successfully by non-violence, if the Powers had dared to cross your territory.

Q.—"Would it not be cowardly of a neutral country to let another country pass and stab a third country in the back? How can a neutral country that is disarmed prevent a passage of this sort?"

A.—At the risk of being considered a visionary or a fool, I shall answer this question in the way I know. It would be cowardly of a neutral country like this, and a brave one like this, to let that army pass through. But a moment ago I told you that there was one thing common between the soldiers of war and the soldiers of non-violence, and if I had been a citizen of Switzerland or President of the Federal State, what I would have done would be to invite every citizen to refuse passage to foreign armies by refusing all supplies. You would have presented a living wall of men, women and children to these armies who dared to cross your country and would invite them to walk over your corpses. You may say, if you wish to, that such a thing is beyond human experience or beyond human endurance. Then I can tell you that it was not beyond human experience last year. We showed that such things could be done. Women stood without retaliation and without fear, without displaying the slightest cowardice. In Peshawar thousands of men stood in front of a hail of bullets without any retaliation whatsoever. Imagine such men and women standing in front of an army which wants a safe passage. You may still say that then those armies would be so brutal and so hard-hearted as to walk over your corpses. I can then suggest to you that you would still have done your duty and recorded a glorious victory in the page of history. An army that dared to do so would not be able to repeat that experiment again. You may, if you wish, refuse to believe in the possibility of such courage on the part of such masses of women and men, but that would be an admission that non-violence is made of sterner stuff. It is not, and never was intended to be a weapon of the weak. It is conceived as a weapon of the stoutest hearts.

(To be Continued)

## IS CO-OPERATION POSSIBLE?

**W**HILE introducing the India Office Estimates in the House of Commons the Secretary of States for India Sir Samuel Hoare declared that in the field of administration or in the wider field of constitutional change we are equally anxious for co-operation with the representatives of Indians. Making an earnest appeal to India he added that the emergency powers which we are discussing do not signify the end of the policy of co-operation, they are not evidence of a conflict between British and Indian political aspirations, but merely a bul-wark against anarchy, disorder and revolution. They are required as much for Indian's constitutional progress as for avoidance of a fight and bloodshed. We have repeatedly proved our readiness to work with India provided they sincerely desire to work with us upon the basis of the policy approved last December by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons.

We must contradict at once that there exists in India anarchy, disorder and revolution in its true sense. India desires freedom, Freedom to rule herself. Such a desire is perfectly legitimate, as India thinks that freedom is her birth-right. To achieve this purpose she has adopted peaceful and non-violent methods. In a large country like India there are certainly few young men who disagree with non-violent methods and who prefer to achieve freedom for their country by violent methods. But their numbers are insignificant. The vast majority of people follow the peaceful and non-violent methods of the Indian National Congress. Is it a wise policy that for the sake of such insignificant numbers the whole of India should be ruled through the emergency powers to-day? As a matter of fact the British Government have declared war on the Indian National Congress and they want to crush that great organisation because it dared to demand complete independence.

On the one hand the State Secretary wants co-operation of the representatives of the Indians and he makes an earnest appeal to India for it while on the other hand he rules India with the emergency powers through special Ordinances. This is conflicting policies. If he wants co-operation from India he must put a stop to the policy of repression that is carried on in India by Lord Willingdon and at once release Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of his co-workers who are thrown into prisons. The British Government must change their hearts before they ask for co-operation; Sir Samuel Hoare is ready to work with India provided India desires to work with him upon the basis of the policy approved last December by the House of Commons. And what is that policy? If one carefully studies that policy one comes to conclusion that England may at her leisure and convenience gradually dole out to India some small doses of freedom. The Indian National Congress stands for full Dominion Status for India. She wants full responsibility in the Central Government. She wants complete control over finance and army. Mahatma Gandhi made it quite clear at the Round Table Conference. Unless this is granted it is useless for the Secretary of State to appeal to India for co-operation. No Government can dare to go on ruling by putting thousands of its

subjects in jail. Britain wants to crush India to reap the material advantages of domination over India. If she succeeds in doing so one thing is certain that a crushed India cannot be a willing partner in the British Empire. If her object is to dole out drops of freedom gradually, that object also will not be gained as India has decided not to wait any longer. If England realises all this then she must immediately withdraw her present policy of repression and set Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers free, and then ask their co-operation in framing the future constitution for India.

## South African Trade With India

Before leaving Durban, Mr. C. F. Andrews related to *The Natal Advertiser* his own opinions concerning trade relations between Natal and India in the future.

He regarded the work accomplished by the round table conference at Capetown as in every sense of the word preliminary. It led up to a trade agreement with India on a preferential basis at Ottawa provided that the present friendly relations between India and South Africa continued. Looked at from the point of view of South Africa, the advantage to be derived at Ottawa owing to a previous friendly relation with India was very great. In the case of Natal, the advantage might in the long run be even greater than that which might be gained, on a preferential basis, from Great Britain itself.

Wattle extract as well as wattle bark ought to be sent in to India duty free. There was no reason acting against this; for India badly needed wattle extract for her rapidly expanding tanning industry. Even if, owing to the economic depression, there had been a falling off in the last year in the amount of wattle taken, it was as certain as possible that the trade would revive in the future.

## Charcoal, Fruit And Wool

Another very important item, which might expand to almost any extent, is charcoal. Indian villages were burning in the most wasteful manner their old manure as fuel. If charcoal could be sent from Natal at a rate which would make it a profitable commodity for the poorer households of India its sale might be almost unlimited. Indian villagers did not use coal and therefore the way was open for charcoal. There was very little charcoal made in India itself.

Fruit exports would entirely depend on cold storage facilities. Here, the way forward would be to send over some financiers to discuss with the financiers of Bombay, who were wide awake to trade possibilities, how the necessary plant could be erected which would make fruit storage a cheap and easy matter. The market was a paying one, because India lay in the northern hemisphere and needed fruit badly at the very time when it was plentiful in South Africa.

Wool export to India would have to compete with Australia. Wool was becoming more and more needed to supply the deficiencies in Indian raw wool. A certain quality of wool was required in certain lines of woollen goods, whose sale was increasing in India. The shipping rates would probably be cheaper from Durban to Bombay than from Sydney and Melbourne. In this matter, which needed expert guidance, it would be highly important to have a South African Trades Commissioner in Bombay and an Indian Trades Commissioner in Durban. Australia had already sent her own trade agents to India and had gained enormously by doing so.

## South Africa Left Behind

A glance at the different Year Book returns, said Mr. Andrews, showed an immense increase in Canadian, New Zealand and Australian exports to India. Australian exports to India had increased from two to eight million pounds sterling in a single year; in certain lines of goods the trade with New Zealand and Canada had increased by 1,000 per cent. in the last ten years. It was a pitiful thing that South African trade had remained almost stationary. It remained (apart from gold export) somewhere round a miserable £300,000 sterling. Ottawa ought to change all that.

Natal had to reckon on one thing. The opening of large ports and railways, such as Lobito Bay and the Benguela Railways, and the further opening of Railway connection across Bechuanaland with Walvisch Bay as its terminus—all this was certain to diminish Natal's trade with Europe. A look at the map would reveal how Rhodesian and Transvaal trade would be like to follow those western routes Durban, as a port of commerce in the east, could not in the long run compete with these commercial centres in certain lines of traffic.

But in addition to this handicap to Durban, which would increase every year, the whole expansion of Brazil and Argentina in South America would penalise South African trade, and especially that of Natal. More and more to new handicap would tell against the Union.

The phenomenal rise, said Mr. Andrews, of South America had not as yet been sufficiently noticed in South Africa. He stated that he had visited South America quite recently and had been struck by its great capacity for supplying and shipping the raw materials which Europe and North America needed for their manufactures. Brazil and Argentina, as they developed, were therefore bound to be increasing sources of supply for the Anglo-Saxon populations of the North Atlantic borders.

### Natal's Advantages

On the other hand, Natal was in an extraordinarily favourable position for approaching India. Here geography was all in Natal's favour. Yet strangely enough this Indian market had never yet been explored. Australia had already begun to explore it, and its export trade with India had gone up very rapidly indeed. New Zealand had done the same. The most unaccountable thing of all was that South Africa, which had a far more favourable position geographically than either Australia or New Zealand, had done literally nothing to forward its own obvious destiny eastward in the Indian market.

Here were 350,000,000 people with their expanding commercial needs and (apart from the direct export of gold) the whole Union export trade with India hardly reached £300,000 a year. Compare this with Australia whose exports to India already run into millions of pounds sterling.

When asked what was needed, Mr. Andrews stated that the first need of all was a new mentality. As long as the contemptuous word "coolie" continued to be used for Indians, there was no hope whatever of encouraging trade relations. For the very use of that hateful word (which caused so much bad blood) showed a mentality impervious to reason, and common sense. India was really a continent as big as Europe apart from Russia, and it had a population as big as the whole of Western Europe. Countries as far off as the United States and Canada were eagerly exploring this vast Indian market. Canadian trade had gone up by leaps and bounds in the last few years, just as those of Australia and New Zealand had done.

### Big Possibilities

"Let me tell you a story," said Mr. Andrews. "When I was in British Guiana in South America

in 1930, I was eager to find out whether the increasing Canadian trade with India could be diverted from the Suez Canal route and brought round the Cape—touching at British Guiana and Trinidad on the way, where there is a very large population from India similar to that in Natal. I still feel that this trade route is likely to develop in the near future, if the Suez Canal rates continue to grow higher and higher as they are doing year by year.

"So I went to Ottawa and had interviews with the Canadian Government on this subject, and also put it before the Government of India. But in the long run, when the authorities at Ottawa had made the fullest inquiries, it was decided instead to make the new trade with India follow the Suez Canal route. I think it is true to say that the difference of expense between two trade routes owing to the very heavy canal dues, is only a small margin. Some day, in the future, the margin may be turned the other way, and then ships from Canada will call at Durban on their way to Bombay.

"I have only told this story," continued Mr. Andrews, "to show what possibilities there are, and how a progressive country like Canada is busy exploring every one of them. But Natal has been so lethargic hitherto with regard to its Indian market that it has done nothing to press even for a direct steamship service with Bombay. It is still content to allow ships for Bombay to wander slowly up the coast touching at half a dozen ports and reaching Bombay in 21 days instead of 10. Thus the Bombay voyage is made almost as long in duration as the voyage to England."

All these things ought to be explored at Ottawa, said Mr. Andrews, and it would be easy there to make a trade agreement between India and South Africa which would be of lasting value to both countries.

## From Durban To Bombay

The *Natal Advertiser* editorially writes:—

It is sometimes savagely retorted by the party politicians, "Why, instead of girding at this or any alternative Government in South Africa, do you who criticise not point to some constructive work that might be done to promote the welfare of South Africa as a whole? Do not tell us perpetually what we are failing to do. Show us what we might do that at present we are failing to do."

This type of rejoinder is a common one on the lips of those who resent criticism but who, at the same time, are by no means as eager as they make out to put their hands to constructive toils. It is the rejoinder as a rule of second-class minds; minds that want the palm without the dust, that want the distinction of high office without doing the work that belong to that office.

In an adjacent column in this issue we print an interview with the Rev. O. F. Andrews on the possibilities of trade between India and this country. Now Mr. Andrews knows what he is talking about. He has not spent the better part of the last two decades journeying East and West promoting the wellbeing of India, and being everywhere received as an emissary of the Indian Government without becoming familiar with trade possibilities to an exceptional degree. He has been and is everywhere accepted as a man speaking with authority on the matters he has made his own; and if it is sometimes urged that he is more concerned with the social uplift of the immigrant Indian than he is with the material recompenses that fair and just dealing bring in their wake, this does not invalidate in the slightest his title to be listened to on the practical affairs which are so dear to the material Western mind.

### Ten Days Away

Mr. Andrews points out (what, after all, should be common knowledge of every fourth form boy in South Africa) that India, with a population of three hundred and fifty million people, does a miserable £300,000 worth of trade annually with South Africa. India is virtually a continent, and a continent that, by direct steaming, is only ten days' journey from our doors. It is a continent, too, that needs urgently some of the products that we are most eager to sell: wattle extract and wattle bark, charcoal, fruit and wool. Most of us know, of course, that millions upon millions of the Indian people are extremely poor and their purchasing power is limited. But this individual limit is more than made up by the numberless total; while, if one takes into account the elements in India which are not depressed and poor, the purchasing power of that country is such as could make it a veritable El Dorado to our puny Union. More than that, India is our natural outlet in respect of those products which we chiefly produce. It is a more obvious market than Europe; more obvious than England; far more obvious than Canada or Australia. Being in the northern hemisphere, India needs our fruits at a time of the year when her own are not accessible; and as to-day she cannot get what she requires from us, she either goes without or spends her money with Australia or the United States. Meantime our orchards are capable of infinite expansion and our coal industry is bemoaning the fact that it will never see again the prosperity that once it knew. A limitless field awaits a nation's enterprise, and there seems no one with either the will or the wit to enter into and possess it.

### Eating Their Heads Off

We have trade commissioners eating their heads off (at the Union's expense) from Rome to Washington. We have politicians, chambers of industry, agricultural unions and fruit growers' associations outvying one another who shall bewail the loudest the stagnation of all production in the land. We have Cabinet Ministers who do not know where the money is coming from that will pay the nation's bill next year and the year after; and we have a golden harvest of trade waiting to be reaped by those liberal enough and venturesome enough to go afield and reap it. One would have thought that, long ere now, the business folk of this country would have had their spies out on the other side of the Indian Ocean, and would have sounded shrewdly and surely the possibilities of African-Indian trade. One would have thought that the experts would have had their case prepared so that, when the moment arrived to discuss tariffs and trade agreements, it could at once be shown what benefits might be reaped in this country by the promotion of trade with our own near East. But, for reasons that others may understand but we do not, the subject of trade with India seems taboo. It is not that the present meagre figures are not available to those who search for them. It is rather that no one in authority seems eager to educate public opinion on this matter. It is as though there were a conspiracy of silence on the part of those whose plain duty it ought to be to widen still further the avenues of trade and industry on which the people of this land depend for their welfare.

### Pith Of The Case

Nor is Mr. Andrews very far wide of the mark when he says that this new Canaan can only be entered in after a new mentality has been born in South Africa; a mentality that no longer thinks of

India as the "home of the coolie." We are a well aware that, on the surface, it seems ridiculous to suppose that India is going to stand in her own light by refusing to trade with South Africa merely because the Indians in Natal do not enjoy all the rights that Europeans enjoy. But there are many political matters in this world that cannot be judged on the surface, and this happens to be one of them. We know also that there are some foolish people in this country who would count Indian trade well lost if it had to be bought by any modification of the traditional hostility they feel towards the brown man on these shores. But here again the welfare of this land must not be subjected to the caprice of people who would cheerfully stultify the future of South African industry so long as they could cherish their ancient grudge and eternally "put the coolie in his place." *India can do more easily without South Africa than South Africa can do without India.* Do not let this ever be forgotten, for it is the pith and marrow of the argument. The man who wants to sell is, for a long time to come, going to be in worse plight than the man who wants to buy. The country that wants to sell has only a limited number of markets at the best of times, and its only permanent ones are those which have no alternatives to which they can turn. Is South Africa going to cut off its nose to spite its face? Is it going to send to Coventry the biggest as well as the nearest potential field for its products because it is afraid that India may only talk in terms of treaties and tariffs if the Union will talk in terms of further uplift for the Indians in Natal? Who shall say? Men have before now stood in their own light with evil consequences to themselves, and they will do so again when the perverse mood is on them. Meantime we would point out that, if the Indian is in Natal so is the wattle, so is the coal, and so is Durban, the harbour nature marked out as one of the obvious termini of what should be a direct and continuous communication between Africa and the great mainland of Asia.

### Sir Kurma Reddi's Successor

The *Natal Advertiser* understands on excellent authority that Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Deputy-Secretary to the Department of Education of the Government of India, is not likely to accept the position of Agent-General for India in South Africa in succession to Sir Kurma Reddi.

His name has been put forward in Delhi as Sir Kurma Reddi's most likely successor but he informed a friend before leaving Delagoa Bay that there was no substance in these rumours, and that he would not, owing to ill-health, accept, even if nominated.

The appointment rests with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, who, with Mr. Bajpai, is on board the *Karagola*, which will arrive in India on Monday.

### Triple Choice

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain considers the appointment of Sir Kurma Reddi's successor as a matter of the most supreme importance, and he has under consideration the names of three prominent Indian men.

The first of these is Mr. Latif, who is Commissioner for the Ambala Province and whose wife is the daughter of the late Chief Justice Tayabji, of Baroda. He was Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's secretary in the Punjab, and joint secretary at the Round Table Conference in London last year.

Mr. Rama Rao, who is fancied on account of his outstanding ability in finance and commerce, is

secretary to the Department of Commerce in Delhi. Mr. Bajpai favours his appointment.

The third name is that of Mr. Ramachandra, who is taking Mr. Bajpai's place in the Department of Education during his absence. He is thoroughly versed in every aspect of Indian matters in South Africa.

### Indian Delegation Back Home

Bombay, Saturday.

The Indian delegation to the Capetown conference returned aboard the *Karagola* this morning and are leaving for Delhi to-night.

Interviewed by Reuter, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, leader of the delegation, declined to make any statement until he receives a communication from South Africa permitting the publication of the papers connected with the conference.—Reuter.

### A Worried Cabinet

The political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* writes from Capetown :—

My telegram of yesterday's date stating that there was a sudden Cabinet meeting called and the rumour to the effect that Dr. Malan was a dissident to the Prime Minister's policy of remaining on gold, is correct.

The position in the Cabinet to-day is probably as follows :—

Mr. Havenga himself is not as certain as he was, and Ministers realise that he has not that great strength of purpose which many of his friends gave him credit for.

General Hertzog is the strong man of the Government, and is holding all his Ministers down with a strong hand. He is determined that the country shall not depart from the gold standard, and his will prevails.

### Caucus Counts For Little

The Nationalist Caucus counts for little or nothing. All its members are afraid to open their mouths. There are at least 15 of them who believe we should depart from the gold standard, but they will not move; nothing need be expected from them.

The rift in the lute which has been caused by Dr. Malan's not quite agreeing with his colleagues, may develop into a break. About this it is too early to make a definite statement.

### Daily Warnings

The position in Parliament is this :

Day by day members on all sides receive deputations, letters and telegrams warning them of a great crash that is coming.

Before long General Smuts and a chosen body of his best speakers will leave Capetown and proceed to the countryside to enlighten the people on this burning question of remaining on gold.

The Prime Minister has decided that all the resources of the State shall be used to keep the Union on gold, and before many days the fight will be transferred from the green benches of the Assembly to the Platteland.

### "Stuff And Nonsense"

Rumours to the effect that the Government are departing from gold and that Ministers are resigning are so much stuff and nonsense.

If this Government goes off gold, General Hertzog will go with it. He certainly does not contemplate this step now. Ministers are on the whole banking on the Ottawa Conference.

The Cabinet are very worried.

### 300 Repatriates To India

Indians crowded from every direction to the docks to bid farewell to the first band of repatriates to leave for India this year.

A comparatively small number left by the chartered steamer *Umzumbi*, totalling only 198 adults (mainly men) and 106 children, yet the crowd on the wharf to wave them off was as big as the one which saw the last record repatriation by the *Umzumbi* in December. In November and December 900 repatriates left Durban.

The decrease this year is attributed to the sitting of the Indian Round Table Conference in Capetown, at which a new agreement was reached. Apparently Indians are waiting to hear the terms of the agreement before deciding whether to leave.

Repatriation had increased last year because of the unemployment among Indians, the £20 bonus to repatriates attracting many who would otherwise have remained in this country.—*Natal Advertiser*.

### Sees Japan Sowing Red Revolt In East

Berlin.—The continuation of the Japanese aggression against China would be certain before long to lead to Communist revolutions in the latter country, in which case the Red fire would surely leap over into India and, apart from the political danger involved, would close to the distressed Occident the most important Asiatic markets, in the opinion of the newspaper *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

"It is for this reason," the paper says, "that Moscow is following events in the Far East with satisfaction. Stalin, whose passive policy is temporarily dictated by the economic situation of the Soviet Union, can quietly fold his hands in his lap, for better than he could himself Japan is looking after his revolutionary policy.

"It is within possibility that Japan will not only succeed in bringing all Manchuria under de facto sovereignty but may also prevent the unification of China.

"The economic distress in China has reached such a depth that when fresh internal disorders break out in the wake of constant nation humiliations it can be only a question of time before they will pass into violent Communist risings.

"The situation in India is such that the conflagration would surely spread there with great speed and all Asia would become inflamed with revolutionary ideas—and what would be the use of world economic conferences when the most important markets have been lost."

The paper declares that Japan herself would be the first to lose, since with China and India gone as buyers Japanese industry would collapse, and concludes with the wish that in the face of the "complete failure" of the League of Nations Japan, out of wise self-regard, may change tactics and that the Japanese delegates to Geneva may bring a message of peace.

## Elections In Ireland

In the House of Assembly on Friday last, Dr. Reitz asked the Minister of External Affairs:

- (1) whether he has been informed of the final result of the elections in Ireland; if so
- (2) whether the Republican Party has formed a Government;
- (3) why Reuter did not keep the public of the Union better informed;
- (4) whether Reuter is still receiving a subsidy from the Union Exchequer; and
- (5) whether the Minister will consider the desirability of stopping the supply of official news to Reuter.—*Pretoria News.*

## The Heritage Of The East

(From an article by Mr. T. Raghavan)

(Continued from last week)

It is not necessary at this point to go still further and point out in detail how Buddhism from India went right on to the shores of the Pacific as far as North China, Korea and Japan. For the story of this further spiritual conquest would carry us beyond the bounds of the special purpose of this essay which is to show how closely Malaya has been linked up with India itself. But it may be mentioned that while the Mahayana Buddhist was advancing in a north-westerly direction and thence penetrating Central Asia through Afghanistan and Kashmir this South-Eastern expansion was going on simultaneously.

In corroboration of this historical account of Hindu and Buddhist settlement from India all along the sea-border and in the nearer islands of the Malaya Archipelago, we have evidence from another source which may be briefly referred to here. The most important Western account of Further India and the Golden Chersonese (as Malaya was called in the West) is found in Ptolemy's description of the world, dating from the first half of the second century after Christ. Ptolemy came from the city of Alexandria in Egypt which was the great emporium of the eastern trade. He informs us that, in his time, the coastline of Further India was inhabited throughout its length by the Sindri (Hindus). Their widespread importance in the Far East at that time was enough for this accurate Alexandrian geographer to describe them as a race of wide distribution. This great and lasting advance in Hindu culture under ancient conditions of sea voyage must have taken some centuries to spread so far and wide. It must have been going on, century after century, even before the southern regions of India itself were wholly penetrated by Brahman influence from the North.

It is important to notice, that the whole of this

### Early Colonization

Made its long voyages by sea and not by land. It did not proceed gradually along the coast of Arakan and Burma by any land routes. Indeed, Burma, for very many centuries, appears to have been almost passed by. It would even seem as if

the Hindu penetration of the south-east of Asia preceded by many centuries its full entry into Burma itself. Indeed, even to-day, it is in Cambodia, on the north-eastern side of the Malaya Peninsula, that the richest finds in ancient Hindu inscriptions have been made and the strongest traditions of Brahman culture still exist.

As a consequence of all these early settlements and occupations, the name Indonesia has now been rightly given by modern geographers to the greatest and most populated group of islands in the world, which lies around Malaya and stretches out for nearly 2,500 miles towards the Far East into the midst of the Pacific Ocean. Wherever one goes in these islands, there still to be found the faces of the old Hindu culture, which lasted for over one thousand years. Therefore, it is entirely wrong and unhistorical to regard the Indian immigration which is happening to-day in Malaya as something strangely foreign and contrary to Hindu custom and tradition. For the whole area has been saturated with Hindu culture from very ancient times and its present civilization under Islamic rule and British protection cannot really be understood unless this Hindu-Buddhist foundation is clearly recognised and fully acknowledged.

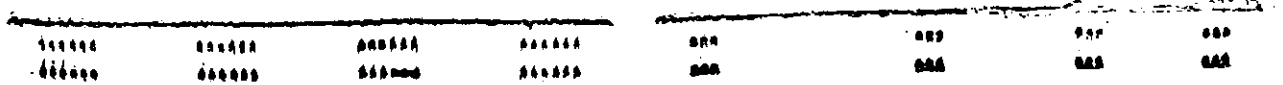
After the year 1,200 A.D. the history of the Malaya Peninsula becomes obscure again for a time, but we have important clues. We find out from the Chinese records that the various rajahs in the north of Malaya were obliged to fall back against the rising power of Siam. We know also that Siam itself was being hard pressed from the east by the ever-increasing sway of the Khmer dynasty, which was a part of what is now called Indo-China.

In addition to this information, we have the record of an expedition in 1273 of Kertanagara of Tumapel against Malaya which utterly destroyed the southern part of the Peninsula. We find that the Hindu Maharajah of Majapahit, which was the rising power in Java, invades again and again the Malaya Peninsula and brings into subjection most of the coast. The famous inscription already mentioned, which was found at the mouth of the Singapore river, probably refers to this conquest, but since it is only a small fragment, definite information cannot be gathered from it with any certainty.

But Java itself was soon to be overcome by fresh invaders. When Marco Polo in A.D. 1292 visited Sumatra he found Islam already in possession at a little port called Perlak. Very rapidly Islam spread thence among the people of the Peninsula. There are important records showing that the missionaries a thousand years before had come from the eastern coast which looks out upon the Bay of Bengal.

The Islamic traders, who came over western India, were very rich and powerful. They seemed to have opened up this great field of Islamic conquest, which was taken advantage of from Asia and Persia afterwards. Within two centuries the whole of this coast-line from Penang to the extremity of Java, and over a large part of Sumatra also, had accepted the Islamic faith and welcomed Islamic rulers. Such an amazingly quick conquest could have only happened owing to the weakness and decay of the earlier Hindu-Buddhist civilization. Thus for a second time the Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands were conquered from India and acknowledged this definite religious conquest by allowing who belong to India by race.

In the book called "The Malay Annal" we have a vivid account of these Sultans. Their reigns in



this newly conquered land appear to have been for the most part taken up with.

### War And Luxurious Living

At the same time, the religion of Islam obtained powerful hold over the minds of the common people, and made such a deep impression upon them that through all the different changes which followed these village people have still continued faithfully to observe the precepts of Islam.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the next invasion came from the extreme west of Europe. Portugal had risen quickly to power as a maritime people. The Portuguese had been the first to circumnavigate South Africa and to enter the eastern seas by the long voyage up the African east coast to Mombasa crossing thence the Arabian Sea to the coast of Malabar in South India and thence reaching Ceylon and the Far East. "The Malay Annals" give vivid account of the arrival of the first Portuguese captain at Malacca in 1509. It reads as follows:

"All the Malays crowded round him in wonder at the appearance of the Portuguese. They said, 'These are white Bengalis.' There were dozens of Malacca people round every Portuguese; some pulled their beards and patted their heads, others seized their hats or clasped their hands. The Portuguese captain went to interview the great Malay chief, the Bendahara. The Bendahara gave the captain's little son a Malay costume. The captain presented the Malay chief with a golden chain, and himself flung it over the sacred head of the chief. The chief's followers were angry, but the Bendahara restrained them, remarking, 'Take no notice; for he is a person of no manners.'"

The Portuguese, who thus began to found an empire, in the Far East, were at this time a precociously brilliant and adventurous race. They numbered among them some of the greatest names in the history of the sixteenth century. Three are specially famous. Alfonso of Albuquerque was the outstanding imperial statesman of this time. Probably no conqueror who came from Europe to the East since Alexander, left a deeper impression on Eastern history than he did. The second regime, which is still famous in literature to-day was that of the Portuguese poet Camoens, who served as a soldier in the Far Eastern Empire of Portugal. He wrote his famous epic while thus in exile in Malaya. The third name is the greatest of all. It is that of Saint Francis Xavier who lived first of all in Western India and thence went forward to the Far East. He made many converts from the outcaste Hindus and then tried to win the Muhammadan population to the faith of Christ. When he could not succeed in this endeavour he passed on to the Far East. At his death, his body was first buried at Malacca in the Malaya Peninsula and then removed to Goa.—*The Indian.*

(To be Continued)

### Indian Child Welfare Society Centre

150, BROOK STREET, DURBAN

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

Lady doctors give free attendance.

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

## News In Brief

G. B. Halsted, an American missionary, resigned his post of social director at the Lucknow Christian College under pressure from the government because of his sympathy for Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for Indian independence. Mr. Halsted's political views and activities were held to be obnoxious to the government, which suggested that it would be better if he left India. Accordingly, the missionary said he would leave soon with his wife and child for the United States. As soon as his resignation became known, students at the college declared a hartal, and refused to attend the college.

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Ahmedabad, Feb. 28.—Two hundred Indian Christians have been converted to Hinduism here under the auspices of a local Hindu mission—Reuter.

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A correspondent from Springs writes:—

Mr. A. M. S. Choughulay, the popular honorary secretary of the Sultan Football and Cricket Club, of Springs (Transvaal), has resigned from the position which he has held for the last two years, because of his impending departure on a two years' trip to India at the end of March. The committee will, no doubt, have some difficulty in replacing Mr. Choughulay who has been an ardent worker during his period of office. It is thought that the Club will be unable to continue in view of the fact that there is a shortage of cricket and soccer players in the Town. This is much to be regretted particularly in view of the successes which the Sultan Football Club has enjoyed during the past season.

## SNOEK

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### Indian Technical Education Committee

#### EVENING COMMERCIAL CLASSES AT SASTRI COLLEGE

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

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

P. R. PATHER

S. M. MOODLEY

Joint Hon. Secretaries.

Little Grey Street, Durban.