

# Indian Opinion

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## THE WHITE PAPER

AT last that long sung of White Paper on constitutional reforms in India has seen the light of day. We in South Africa have been favoured by Reuter's agency with a summary of it. We have devoted a large portion of this week's issue to the reproduction of the summary of the proposals set out in the White Paper and of the opinions expressed on it. It is a unique event in the history of India and Indians and it bears taken note of. The White Paper has brought us no surprise. All those who have followed the recent trend of events in India knew what was coming and were prepared for it. The only unexpected thing in the proposals seems to be that of adult franchise. But that does not mean much when we consider all the other features of the proposed reforms, for instance, the continuance and even expansion of communal electorates which the Agent of the Government of India in his very cautiously expressed opinion described as unsatisfactory. This will serve as an instrument for the British Government to continue its policy of *divide et impera*. This was a point very strongly opposed by the Congress, a body which Lord Irwin, ex-Viceroy of India, declared as being a great and influential organisation representing Indian opinion in India. Yet its voice has been ignored. Another question of vital importance is that of the safeguards. The Congress has declared in no uncertain terms that the safeguards must be in the interests of India and that the financial control and the control of the army must be transferred subjects and the same with regard to external affairs. These are, however, still kept as reserved subjects over which the British Government will have complete control. The "special powers" vested in the Governor-General render the rest of the constitutional reforms wholly null and void. This is difficult for the people in South Africa to understand. They are ignorant of what is going on in India. They judge by the system of Government in this country which is totally different. Special powers are vested in the Governor-General in this country but he can hardly ever make use of them. Whereas in India, although it may be said that they will be very rarely used, it is a matter of common knowledge and experience that rare occasions arise every now and then. It will always be for the Governor-General to decide when an occasion is rare as is invariably done at the present time. The position has been very truly stated by the London *Daily Mail*. This is what it says in effect: the safeguards if effective mean that India will not be self-governing. If ineffective they will prove a danger to the British Government. The question is whether the British Government wants safeguards or whether it wants the goodwill of the people of India. If it wants

safeguards and not the goodwill of the people then we are afraid the British Government is in for a lost game. This tinkering with the vital question of India's independence has set the backs up of even those whose co-operation the British Government so much depended upon. The Liberals of India who participated in the last Round Table Conference have returned thoroughly dissatisfied. The Allahabad *Leader* which represents the views of the Liberals has expressed its opinion on the White Paper, that it holds out no prospect that India will be accorded Dominion Status. Moreover, this tinkering with the question is increasingly agitating the minds of the youth of India, and it is the youth that counts in the present days. They feel that behind this tinkering is the unwillingness of the British Government to leave India until she is bled dry. If that is so let it have its own way. Let the British Government remember, however, that India will no longer be governed either by the sword or by the pen. Thanks to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi she has lost the fear of both. She has faith in the righteousness of her cause and with implicit faith in the Almighty she will not flinch from her onward march towards the goal of independence.

The White Paper is considered by Indians as an insult to injury. If the British Government thinks that India could be made to swallow the reforms that it wishes to impose on her, when thousands of her sons and daughters are clapped into prison, not to speak of their revered leaders, and while terrorism is perpetrated on the villagers who are rendered homeless and penniless, its audacity exceeds all limits is all that we can say. India that counts will not in the present circumstances be prepared even to give a thought to the proposed reforms.

THE Rev. C. F. Andrews ever since he left South Africa after the last Round Table Conference held at Capetown, has engaged himself in England in educating public opinion on India. In the course of an interview on anti-untouchability work in India Mr. Andrews is reported to have said:—

"Here in England I have tried to make it as clear as possible that there is no difference in origin between the Untouchable question in India and the colour bar question in South Africa. The exclusion of coloured people from 'white' churches is exactly parallel to the refusal to allow 'temple entry.' I have also pointed out that in India, this is not only a question for Hindus to face, but also for Christians."

## Memorandum By Transvaal Indian Commercial Association

### To The Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission

#### Areas Suggested For Exemption

(Continued from last week)

#### (J. 1.) JOHANNESBURG BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND COMMISSIONER STREETS

For purposes of convenience this may be divided into three areas:

- (a) West of Sauer Street.
- (b) Sauer Street to Delters Street.
- (c) Delters Street to End Street.

RE (a).—Indians have been in occupation for a very considerable number of years. Even if they are not lawful successors of previous Indians, there can be no doubt that a large number of Asiatic shops and occupation in general have existed for at least twenty years and a number since before the Anglo-Boer War. A large portion of property in this vicinity is held indirectly by the Asiatics. From the west up to Kort Street the vast majority of the small portion of Europeans are tenants of the Asiatics. There are two Pass Offices, one the Native Pass Office and the other the Portuguese Native Pass Office. The Europeans, with few exceptions, are of the pauper type. An indication of the nature of the locality can be found from the fact that there is a municipal latrine in the area for the use of coloured persons and natives, but not Europeans. The well known Indian Fruit Market lies in this vicinity and with only one or two exceptions, every stand is occupied wholly or in part by Asiatics. The Association asks for exemption of the total area.

RE (b).—There are only isolated cases of Indians in this locality. According to the plan there are two silk merchants whose presence cannot give any offence whatsoever to the Europeans, and one wholesale house which possibly is not controlled by Asiatics. The Association asks the Commission to consider the individual cases on their merits and to exempt the stands on which occupation occurs, and to deal with them on these lines.

RE (c).—Between Delters and Troye Streets there are approximately five Asiatics. From Troye Street on, the number of coloured persons increases very considerably and approximately 50% of the area is occupied by coloured and Asiatic persons. A number have been in occupation since 1919. In Nugget Street are a place of worship and a Moslem School. The area is decreasingly residential. It depreciated in value many years ago and before the Asiatics and coloured persons occupied the area. It is now increasingly a factory and manufacturing area. The Association asks for the exemption of the total area.

#### (J. 2.) FERREIRASTOWN

A glance at the Plan will show that this area is overwhelmingly occupied by Asiatics and Coloureds. This has been the position for over 25 years. A large number of the Europeans in this area are Assyrians while there are also a large number of people who have been classified as whites but who are probably a mixture of white and coloured people. There are a number of Indians who live entirely as residents in this area and there are a few Asiatics who have shops and laundries. There are in this township four Chinese clubs which are very much patronised by the Orientals. There are also a large number of stores, factorier, e.g., bottle yards, printers, stables, blacksmith shops, mineral water manufacturers, cabinet works, engineering shops, two coloured bioscopes, some wholesale general

stores, native eating houses, a Moslem school, a coloured school and a coloured church. There was also a Mosque, and the ground still belongs to the Mosque committee.

It is submitted that as this area is overwhelmingly coloured, the whole of this township will be exempted.

#### (J. 3.) PROSPECT TOWNSHIP

This area is overwhelmingly coloured so much so that we have marked only the European occupation. There are approximately only six European families in Prospect Township and they occupy positions in Langston Road. There are only eight European shops and of these two are native houses. Except for the above, Prospect Township is occupied exclusively by Asiatics, coloured persons and natives. The natives predominate. The Asiatics have about 31 shops in the Township, being ten Indian and twenty-one Chinese. There are also certain native shops. The township itself is situate some distance from the town and is out of the beaten track for Europeans. We ask for the exemption of the whole area.

#### (J. 4.)—MARSHALLSTOWN

For convenience this can be divided into three areas.

- (a) The area south of Main Street and East of Kruis Street.
- (b) The balance except (c):
- (c) West of Sauer Street.

RE (a).—Indians, Chinese, coloured persons and natives predominate. In this portion of the town there are a large number of factories and engineering shops. The shops occupied by Indians and Chinese are usually of the grocer and greengrocer combination, but there are also a few native eating houses and laundries. There is a Native Club and also a Native Church in the township. The association asks for the whole area as above to be exempted.

RE (b).—There are isolated cases of Indian occupation in the balance, and the Association asks that these be considered on their merits, and that the stands, which those who are granted exemption occupy, be exempted under the Act.

RE (c).—This is an outpost of Ferreirastown. There are a number of Indian shops and some coloured residents. We ask for the exemption of this area for reasonable expansion of our community.

#### (J. 5.) BURGHERSDORP

For convenience this can be divided into two sections.

- (a) Newtown.
- (b) Burghersdorp.

RE (a). It is advisable to point out that this portion adjoins Fordsburg and that area of Fordsburg which is largely occupied by Asiatics and Coloured persons. The Railway line on the north separates the Malay Location from this portion. In Burghersdorp the population is overwhelmingly Coloured and Asiatic. In only isolated cases is there a stand in which Coloured persons are not in occupation. The Association asks for exemption of this portion, i.e. the whole of Burghersdorp.

RE (b). We understand that this portion does not fall within the purview of the Commission. It is desired to point out that in some Titles there are no restrictions in regard to Asiatics. The position has not been fully examined but immediately to the East of Malherbe Street there is a population which is largely Asiatic and Coloured. It is also advisable to point out that there is an Indian Mosque in the vicinity.

#### (J. 6.) FORDSBURG

For purposes of convenience it is advisable to treat this area in three portions as follows:—

- (a) The portion enclosed by Pioneer Road, Crown Road and Mint Road and the opposite block as well as a few adjoining stands. That is Stands Nos. 1-2, 34-51, 133-141,

(b) Area Lillian Road to the eastern end of the Plan.

(c) Balance of the area.

RE (a). There are about six Indian shops which have been established in that district for a very considerable time. In view of the character of the area and the type of persons who are living in this area, it is submitted that the Asiatics in that portion are rendering a very beneficial service to the neighbouring community and that the stands they occupy should be exempted.

RE (b). This portion is increasingly Asiatic and Coloured. A glance at the plan will show that as one looks eastward of Lillian Road, the percentage of Asiatics and Coloured persons increases very considerably. It must be remembered that in this area there are large a number of factories, second-hand dealers, yards, stables and blacksmith shops. The surroundings are not very congenial and tend to a rather squalid mode of living. It is submitted, that in order to allow for the natural expansion of the Indian community the whole of this area should be exempted.

RE (c). There are scattered Indian and Chinese shops in this area mostly on the corners of streets. The shops are of grocer and green-grocer combination and there are also a number of Indian tailor shops and a few laundries. The shops before referred to cater for the needs of the poor section of this locality and it is submitted that it is in the interests of the locality that these shops should be sympathetically considered and each individual application should be given due consideration having regard to the fact that both on the East and the West of the Township there is a considerable number of Asiatics and Coloured persons.

## Town Council Of Roodepoort- Maraisburg

### Statement Of Case Before Commission

The following is the text of the statement of case of the Town Council of Roodepoort-Maraisburg laid before the Commission inquiring into the occupation by coloured persons of proclaimed land in the Transvaal under the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act 1932:—

Included within the boundaries of the Roodepoort-Maraisburg Municipality, there are the following townships, namely Roodepoort, Roodepoort North, Hamberg, Florida, Florida Extension, Maraisburg, Maraisburg North and Delarey.

Total European population being 8129 (1931 census.)

In only two of these townships coloured persons occupy property, namely, Roodepoort and Maraisburg. The other townships therefore do not come within the scope of the enquiry.

There is a European population in Roodepoort and adjacent thereto, of 4043 souls (1931 census).

There are 60 European trading licences in Roodepoort township.

On the 1st February 1933, there were 98 coloured families and 15 single persons, totalling 498 souls, living in Roodepoort and on mining stands adjacent to the township.

The number of stands occupied by these people is 34 inside the township of Roodepoort, and 6 outside the township.

On the 1st February 1933, there were 24 Asiatic families and 47 single persons, totalling 160 souls, living in Roodepoort, occupying 32 stands.

Of these stands 12 are used for residential purposes only, 2 are used for business purposes only, and 18 are used both for residential and business purposes.

There are 26 Asiatic trading licences in the township of Roodepoort, excluding hawkers and pedlars. The European population of Maraisburg and adjacent thereto, is 2134 souls.

There is only one stand occupied in Maraisburg by coloured persons, comprising 3 families, 1 single person, totalling 16 souls.

There are 2 stands occupied in Maraisburg by Asiatics on which there are three businesses being carried on and on which there reside 5 families, 2 single persons, totalling 30 souls.

In the near vicinity of Maraisburg, there are several mining stands on the farm Paardekraal No. 42, District Krugersdorp, of which 17 stands are occupied by coloured persons, comprising 62 families, 8 single persons, totalling 321 souls.

There are no Asiatics either living or carrying on business on these mining stands.

### History Of Roodepoort Township

The history of Roodepoort township is as follows: It is situated in the mining district of Johannesburg, on a portion of the farm Roodepoort No. 42, District Krugersdorp.

The farm Roodepoort was proclaimed a public digging on the 8th September 1896 and on the 11th October 1886.

A claim survey of the farm was made from the period February to August 1896 and the claim Diagram was confirmed on the 8th June 1897.

Thereafter the township of Roodepoort was established in terms of an agreement between the owners of the farm Roodepoort and the Government of the South African Republic on the 18th December 1897.

During January to February 1898, a general plan of the township of Roodepoort was prepared and this diagram was confirmed on the 6th April 1898.

The township originally comprised 1555 stands with streets and open spaces.

The general plan also shows 108 excluded figures within the boundaries of the township.

These excluded figures represented stands granted and held in terms of Section 92 of the Gold Law No. 15 of 1898, or a prior law.

By Section 13 (2) of Act 34 of 1908 these stands were made a portion of the township of Roodepoort and are now included in the township.

After the passing of Act No. 34 of 1908, a large number of stands in the township of Roodepoort, including stands previously represented by excluded figures, have been converted into freehold, and consequently the position of stands in Roodepoort township to-day is as follows:—

(a) Stands held under Voorkeurrecht Title in terms of the Agreement between the Government of the South African Republic and owners of the farm Roodepoort No. 42.

(b) Stands held under Section 92 of the Gold Law No. 15 of 1898, or a prior law and now forming part of the township of Roodepoort in terms of Section 13 (2) of Act No. 34 of 1908.

(c) Stands belonging to classes (a) and (b) which have been converted into freehold under Act No. 34 of 1908.

(d) Stands purchased in freehold from the owners.

It is contended that stands falling under (a) and (b) are subject to the restrictions imposed by Sections 130 and 131 of Act No. 35 of 1908.

The title deeds of the freehold stands falling under (c) and (d) contain the following conditions:

"The property hereby transferred may not be sold, transferred, leased or alienated to any Chinaman, Indian, Coolie, Asiatic, Native or any coloured person, and no such person shall live on or occupy the property hereby transferred save and except as the bona fide servant of the registered owner thereof or of someone deriving title from such registered owner."

If stands in Roodepoort township according to the nature of their title are subject either to the restrictions contained in Sections 130 and 131 of Act No. 35 of 1908, or to the conditions imposed in the freehold title, then no coloured person, as defined by Act No. 35 of 1908, can live on or occupy stands in Roodepoort township.

The policy of the South African Republic and also of the Transvaal Government has always been to separate the coloured person from the White person. The coloured person deliberately broke the law and gradually encroached upon ground which they were prohibited by law from occupying.

In 1919 as a result of negotiations between the Government and the British Indians certain important concessions were made to British Indians in respect of certain classes of properties which they were then illegally occupying (see Act No. 37 of 1919).

According to Section (1) of this Act, those provisions of Sections 130 and 131 of Act No. 35 of 1908, which relate to the residence on or occupation of ground

- (a) Held under a stand licence on proclaimed land by coloured persons, and
- (b) Held under any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any Deed of Grant or freehold title in a Government township (as defined in Act No. 34 of 1908), issued under that Act, shall not apply to British Indians who, on the first day of May 1919 were under the authority of a trading licence lawfully issued, carrying on business on such proclaimed ground, or such township or to the lawful successor in title to any such Indian in respect of such business or to any person bona fide in the employment of such Indian or his successor in title.

Section 8 of Act No. 34 of 1908, also defines a semi-Government township.

The township of Roodepoort falls within the definition of a semi-Government township.

Section (1) of Act No. 37 of 1919, grants exemption to certain British Indians under certain conditions, in respect of two classes of title, viz:—

- (a) Ground held under a Stand Licence on proclaimed land, and
- (b) Ground held in a Government Township.

On reference being made to Section 130 of Act No. 35 of 1908, it will be seen that the Title there referred to is to "a right acquired under Law No. 15 of 1898 or a prior Law or under this Act."

Whereas Section 130 of Act No. 35 of 1908 therefore refers to every class of Title acquired under the Gold Law, Section (1) of Act No. 37 of 1919, refers only to the above mentioned two classes of Title acquired under the Gold Law.

In its contract with the Indian community therefore, the Government obviously contracted only in respect of property over which it has control, namely, Government Townships and ground held under a Stand Licence on proclaimed land, which includes Stands situate geographically outside of Townships acquired under Section 92 of Law No. 15 of 1898 or a prior law, and Stands held under Section 78 of Act No. 35 of 1908.

This seems to be borne out by the fact that whereas Stands held under Section 92 of Law No. 15 of 1898 or a prior law, which are situate geographically outside of Roodepoort township are controlled by the Mining Commissioner, yet those Stands held under the same title but situate geographically inside of Roodepoort Township, are controlled by the Rand Townships Registrar.

It will be noted vide Sections 9 to 14 of Act No. 34 of 1908, that semi-Government Townships, of which Roodepoort is one, are practically placed in the same position as private Townships.

The only inference to be drawn from these facts

therefore seems that when passing Act No. 37 of 1919, the Government had no intention of interfering with Stands situate in any Township in which private individuals were interested, and that Roodepoort Township is therefore excluded from the mischief of Act No. 37 of 1919.

(To be continued)

## The "White Paper"

### Proposed Reforms For India

London, March 17.

Proposals for the creation of a Federal Constitution for India consisting of autonomous British-Indian Provinces and such Indian States as choose to enter the Federation are contained in a Government White Paper on Indian constitutional reforms, which was drawn up as the result of the three round-table conferences held in London during recent years.

In the Central Federation and the Provinces a Council of Ministers will be constituted, who will be responsible to the elected Legislatures. The Governor-General will have special responsibilities in matters relating to peace, public order, financial stability, protection of minorities, retention of members of public services, commercial discrimination and fights between Indian States. In these matters he will have full discretion to act as he thinks fit.

The Federal Legislature will consist of a Council of State and a House of Assembly. The Council will last for seven years and the Assembly for five years, unless they are sooner dissolved. The Council of State will consist of not more than 260 members, of whom 150 will be elected from British India and not more than 100 will be appointed by Native rulers, while not more than 10 will be nominated by the Governor-General.

The House of Assembly will consist of 375 members, of whom 250 will represent constituencies in British India, and not more than 125 will be appointed by the rulers of the Native States.

No Bill will become law until it has been passed by the two Chambers. In the event of disagreement between the Chambers the Governor-General will be empowered to summon a joint sitting of both Chambers. In the exercise of his special responsibility the Governor-General may introduce a Bill in either Chamber, and if such a Bill is not passed by the date specified the Governor-General will be empowered to enact it as a Governor-General's Act.

#### Powers Of Governor-General

The Governor-General's special responsibility may also be implemented by an Ordinance having the force of law, and in the event of the breakdown of the Constitution the Governor-General may by proclamation assume to himself all the powers vested in the Federal Authority.

The White Paper stipulates that the Reserve Bank, free from political influence, shall be already successfully operating before Federation is inaugurated.

All subjects, including law and order, shall be transferred in the Provinces to the control of popularly-elected Ministers. The Governors, like the Governor-General, shall have special responsibilities and powers. The Provincial Legislatures shall be enlarged by about 27 per cent. All the adult population shall be enfranchised, women being fit to vote for all the Legislatures. The proposals confirm all existing rights and services. The Secretary of State shall continue to make appointments to the Indian Civil Service, Police, and Ecclesiastical Services, but an inquiry into future recruitment shall be held at the end of five years.

The Secretary of State's Council shall be abolished and replaced by six advisers.

Burma is not included, as it is not yet decided whether she wishes to separate from India. Parliament will be asked at the end of the month to appoint a Joint Select Committee to examine the White Paper before the Bill is enacted.—Reuter.

### Further Details

There are certain things which are not made clear in the above summary. They are stated by the London correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*. Important among them are the following:—

The constituencies for the direct vote will be apportioned by a complicated system having separate communal electorates for the Sikh, Moslem, Indian-Christian, Anglo-Indian and European constituencies. Seats will be reserved for the depressed classes.

The Governor-General's "Cabinet" will comprise a Council of Ministers chosen by the Governor-General himself, holding office during his pleasure and selected from those in the best position collectively to command the Legislature's confidence.

Regarding the "Reserved Departments," where the Royal Prerogative will still hold autocratic sway, it is made clear that the responsibility for all decisions is the Governor-General's alone, though he may be instructed to consult with his Ministers.

The White Paper provides that the Governor-General should be guided by his Ministers' advice, and only overrule them for specially-defined purposes, for which he has "special responsibility"—the purposes apparently to be laid down in his instrument of instructions.

Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Administration will be entrusted to the Governor-General personally, which in effect means the India Office or the British Government. On these matters the new Ministers have not even the right to tender advice.

His "special" responsibility concerns the maintenance of peace, financial stability, minority rights, public service rights, and preventing commercial discrimination. To this sphere are attached "special powers" of a far-reaching nature, comprising the ability firstly to act notwithstanding an adverse vote in the Legislature, secondly to arrest the course of discussion of measures in the Legislature, and thirdly to make rules of legislative business for the exercise of his own responsibility.

It is contemplated that the preparation of the Budget will follow the ordinary Constitutional course, except for the "financial safeguards" included in the special responsibility of the Governor-General and which are defined in extremely wide terms—"not to diminish the field of Ministerial responsibility, but owing to the difficulty of specifying in a detailed manner the financial measures which might be capable of endangering stability."

The Governor-General is able to step in if budgeting or borrowing should endanger the resources of his reserved departments, or the obligations of Federation, or should prejudice India's credit.

### The Agent's Opinion

"It is more or less what I expected," said the Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, when discussing the White Paper containing the British Government's proposals for India's constitutional reform with a press representative in Capetown.

"As an instance of the advance which will be made under the proposed reforms," said the Kunwar Maharaj Singh, "I would mention that at present there are less than 5,000,000 Indian voters. It is calculated that 14 per cent of India's population will

be enfranchised under the new reform scheme. When one considers that, according to the latest census, India has a population of more than 330,000,000, excluding Burma, and that at least three-quarters of the population reside in British India, to which the proposed enfranchisement will apply, the progress made in political education is enormous.

"There are possibilities of friction between the popularly elected Legislatures and the Governor-General over certain of the reserve subjects, and in particular the Army. Popular Indian opinion has increasingly criticised the large amount expended on the Army in India, and these criticisms are likely to continue. It seems certain, however, that some reduction in expenditure will be brought about by the increasing Indianisation of the Army to which the White Paper does not refer, but which may be taken for granted.

"An interesting feature of the reform proposals is that women will be eligible equally with men, both as voters and as candidates, for the various Legislatures. Considering that India is an Eastern country where female education is still very backward, this provision is very striking."

Asked whether he thought that the reforms relinquished too much of Britain's sovereignty in India, the Agent said that he did not consider that this was so and he looked upon the reforms as inevitable.

"It is far better," he added, "to have a contented India voluntarily agreeing to be an integral portion of the British Empire than to have a sullen and discontented India anxious to sever British connection."

"The safeguards provided in the White Paper are numerous, but the working of the future Indian political constitution depends in my opinion not so much on safeguards as on the goodwill of both the Indian and British peoples. It is impossible to believe that the Governor-General would exercise the special powers provided for in the White Paper except on very rare occasions, for the frequent use of them would obviously mean a breakdown of the constitution."

"An unsatisfactory feature of the proposed reforms is the continuance and even the expansion of communal electorates which tend to increase the cleavage between the various communities in India.

A point to which the Kunwar Maharaj Singh drew attention was the fact that it was not yet known how many States would enter the Federation and in what proportion the seats in the Federal Legislature would be allotted among the States.

He dismissed as "ridiculous" the prediction by London newspapers that the transfer of the control of the Indian Police and Civil Service to the Federal Government would enable India's "new master" to follow in Hitler's footsteps and rule India with the "Police Machine."

"Personally," he said, "I see no objection to the transfer of these services hitherto recruited by the Secretary of State to the Federal Government. It is only right, and fair, too, that the rights of the existing members should be protected. Future recruitment, however, will in all probability be Provincial, both for the Civil Service and the Police, so that Federal control over these services is likely to be only temporary."

### Viceroy Appeals To Princes

New Delhi, March 20.

Speaking in the Chamber of Princes, the Viceroy, the Earl of Willingdon, commended the White Paper, stating that the action of the Princes in deciding to join British India in 1947 is not to be regretted.

progress had made Federation a living idea and a practical possibility.

Lord Willingdon appealed to the Princes to accept the Government's proposals and to exercise a spirit of compromise in order to secure Federation. He expressed his personal conviction that the balance of advantage weighed heavily in favour of the Indian States' acceptance of the Federal scheme and working it wisely and prudently.—Renter.

### South African Press Opinion

#### THE 'NATAL MERCURY'

"So far as can be judged from the information at present available the great experiment must at best be a very dangerous one, and it should be made clear without delay that the White Paper sets out the utmost limit to which the British Government is prepared to go, otherwise there almost certainly will be attempts to secure a weakening of the safeguards, already none too strong, when the Bill embodying these reforms comes before the Joint Select Committee of the Lords and Commons."

#### THE 'NATAL WITNESS'

"It is not, of course, the end, or anything like the end of the Indian problem. But it demonstrates the good faith of the British Parliament and its determination to implement the promises of 1919. The Constitution is a notable essay in statesmanship."

#### THE STAR

"There are many points in the White Paper proposals which are obviously open to criticism, and the political extremists on either side will regard the whole scheme as utterly unsatisfactory. Nevertheless it represents a compromise which, given the necessary good will and adaptability, may be expected to work. The position of the Viceroy as in part dictator and in part universal "whipping boy" is certainly not enviable, but the point to be remembered is that the proposals are essentially designed to meet a transitional period and to reconcile, as far as possible, opposing views. This explains apparent paradoxes and illogicalities. The list of reserved subjects is sufficiently formidable to explain the fear of Indians that they may be getting the shadow and not the substance of self-government, but, as Mr. G. T. Garrat emphasises in an article in the February number of the Nineteenth Century, the really crucial points are, upon closer examination, comparatively few in number. Several of those powers are for emergencies, and are only likely to be used during the period when the Federal Government is being established. Subsequently no Viceroy will be able to carry on an alternative Government, and the powers mean little more than the right to force a dissolution and to delay some measure of what he does not approve. There is, perhaps, more force in the contention that the safeguards are "paper safeguards," but in any case what else can they be? The only effective guarantee for the future lies in the good sense and the good faith of the Indians themselves. Trust begets trust. They should remember," said Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons on February 22, "that British and Indians are not two rival nations fighting for supremacy; but representatives of two great civilisations, who, if they held together, could confer a benefit unprecedented in the history of the British Empire and the world." As regards the safeguards those Indian leaders who are inclined to be suspicious or resentful should bear in mind the early constitutional history of the British Colonies and Dominions in their relation

to Britain. It is better to go slow and arrive eventually at the desired destination than to attempt short cuts and end by getting nowhere."

#### THE 'RAND DAILY MAIL'

The *Rand Daily Mail*, in the course of a leading article, hails with satisfaction the special powers vested in the Governor-General and says that with them he ought to be able to safeguard British interests very completely. "This is by far the most important point so far made known" the paper goes on to say. "There is, indeed, nothing very surprising in the remainder of the proposals, and we do not imagine that any very novel criticism will be brought against them. The representation of the Princes in the Upper House appears to be amply sufficient; the financial safeguards are both good and necessary. If, on the other hand, the proportion of inhabitants enfranchised seems large in the circumstances, it must be remembered that this represents in some sense the fulfilment of a commitment long since undertaken by Great Britain, and that, while some British circles may condemn the proposal on the ground that it goes too far, most Indian circles will undoubtedly protest that it does not go far enough. This, in fact, is likely to be the fate of the White Paper plan as a whole. Precisely because it represents a reasonable compromise it cannot give much pleasure to either side. But it is none the worse for that. So far as can be judged at present, the British Government has held the balance evenly enough, and the result is as good as could be expected. It is to be hoped that this scheme will be carried through almost as it stands. Both Englishmen and Indians should make the best of it."

### How India Views The White Paper

New Delhi, March 19.

While politicians decline to comment on the White Paper until they have digested it, the newspapers do not hesitate to do so. The *Statesman* declares that the White Paper is nothing short of revolution by constitutional means. The *Times of India* says that to reject the White Paper would be to play into the hands of the Conservative Diehards, who are determined to oppose central responsibility at all costs.

The *Bombay Chronicle*, which is presumed to be a Congress organ, condemns the White Paper as maintaining the grip of Whitehall on Indian policy rather than the transferring of political control. The *Hindustan Times* dubs it "a mockery of progress" and the *Allahabad Leader* says it holds out no prospect that India will be accorded Dominion status.—Renter.

### Opinion In London

London, March 19.

The *Morning Post* describes the White Paper as "India's Black Paper" and says it is not a deed of partnership but an instrument of abdication. The *Daily Telegraph* welcomes the proposals as making "an impression of prudent as well as forward-looking statesmanship on those who admit that Government without consent is no longer a practicable policy in India." The *Daily Mail* thinks it a "perilous experiment," while the *Daily Express* interprets it as a surrender.

The *Daily Herald* says that it is not good enough, while the *Times* issues an eight-page supplement setting out the details of the main document, and emphasises the need of detailed study before comment.—Renter.



### British Members Of I.C.S. May Retire

London, March 18.

An important notice affecting the interests of Britishers serving in India when the new Constitution is inaugurated was issued last night, and states that British members of the Civil Service and practically all the other Governmental services will be eligible to retire on a proportionate pension at any time during the remainder of their service. —Reuter.

## News About India

### Release Of Civil Disobedience Prisoners

Replying to Mr. Thomas Williams, Sir S. Hoare is reported to have announced last month in the House of Commons that there could be no question of Mr. Gandhi or other civil disobedience prisoners being released until the Government had convincing reasons to believe that their release would not be followed by a revival of civil disobedience.

Mr. Thomas Williams asked whether Sir S. Hoare expected to get the maximum results from the Round Table Conference when official leaders of Indian thought were in prison.

Sir S. Hoare replied that there would be numerous representatives of Indian thought at any present or future discussion.

Mr. Williams asked: Is it not likely that Indians would be more ready to welcome the progress that had been made if they were released?

Sir S. Hoare replied that it was a very complicated question to which answer 'yes' or 'no' would be useless.

### Liberal Leader Speaks Out

"I think the time has come, when public opinion, particularly that section of it which is not connected with the Congress, should assert itself, both here and in England, and demand the replacement of the present policy by a wiser and saner policy." Thus stated Sir T. B. Sapru in the course of a statement to the Press on the above reply by Sir Samuel Hoare.

### Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who is in the Dehradun Jail is said to be engaged in writing a comprehensive history of the world with special reference to India. He has cultivated the habit of walking. He walks in the courtyard both morning and evening. This courtyard measures about 140 yards. It is estimated that during the eight months of his stay in Dehradun Jail he has made about 12,000 rounds of this courtyard. Thus the Pandit has almost covered 900 miles—no mean achievement for a jail bird. He is also reported to be observing a fast on Sundays. He is writing a preface to Rajtarangini, the history of Kashmir by Mr. R. S. Pandit, his brother-in-law.

### Moslem Leader Retires

Dr. M. A. Ansari who has recently returned to India from Europe where he had gone for reasons of health has decided, on medical advice, to retire from politics for the time being. In this connection he had consulted Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who entirely agreed with him. Dr. Ansari is feeling better but his heart trouble is still persisting.

The Lahore Tribune pays the following tribute to Dr. Ansari:—

"While extending a cordial welcome to Dr. M. A. Ansari on his return from Europe, we cannot but express our deep regret that, owing to his present state of health, he has decided to retire from politics for the time being. Dr. Ansari is one of the ablest nationalist leaders in Northern India and is one of the few Muslim leaders who have attempted to completely divorce communalism from politics. His ardent patriotism, his fearless advocacy of national freedom, his unceasing endeavour to bring a satisfactory solution of the communal problem and the great personal sacrifices he has made in the cause of his country constitute an inspiring chapter in our recent political history. It is to be hoped that that chapter is not being finally closed by him and that before long his health will be sufficiently improved to enable him to resume his political activities."

### Statistics Of Political Prisoners

The latest official statement showing the total number of political prisoners convicted under ordinary law and ordinances at the end of December 1932 in different provinces is as follows:—

	Men	Women
Bombay	3730	207
United Provinces	2900	116
Bengal	1812	121
Bihar and Orissa	1744	37
North West Frontier Province	1741	1
Madras	1017	95
Punjab	243	15
Assam	350	7
Delhi	140	5
Coorg	77	3
Ajmere Merwar	41	2

The total number of men under imprisonment in all provinces was 15,205 as compared with 16,471 at the end of November last, while the total number of women undergoing imprisonment is 610 as compared with 684 at the end of November.

## Transvaal Colonial-Born Indian Association

A mass meeting of the Transvaal Colonial Born Indian Association was held on the 14th March at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act was fully gone into in its relation to the Commission about to sit. After several speakers had given their views which were entirely against having anything to do with the Act, let alone the Commission,—for whom they have the highest respect,—who are called upon to investigate what we know, they must feel to be not only an unjust and degrading Act.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. That this mass meeting of the Transvaal Colonial Born Indian Association, which represents practically eighty per cent. of the Indian community in the Transvaal, hereby resolves that, in terms of its resolution of the 9th June, 1930, which was then submitted to the Minister of the Interior, protesting most vigorously and emphatically against the principle of segregation, it feels that it cannot under any circumstances participate, submit, or tender any evidence as requested by the Commission. Moreover it is felt that any evidence or memorandum, if submitted, would be degrading and insulting to India's ancient culture and civilisation.

2. That this mass meeting disapproves entirely the action of a certain body styling itself as the Transvaal Indian Commercial Association, and pur-

porting to represent the views of Indians in the Transvaal. The Association certainly does not represent the Transvaal Colonial Born Indians, who repudiate it, and look upon its action with contempt and disgust. We certainly dissociate ourselves in any action that it may take or have taken in connection with this Act, so far as the Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission is concerned.

### Election Of Officials

At the 13th annual general meeting of the Association held at the Trades Hall Feb. on 22 the following were elected as office bearers for the ensuing year:—Patron: Mr. D. Ernest, vice Patron: Mr. D. M. Nurusoo, President: Dr. Wm. Godfrey, vice-Presidents: K. Naransamy and one name to be sent from each Branch, namely Branch Presidents. Hon. joint Secretaries: Messrs. V. M. Moodley and A. J. Batter, Committee J. F. Marrian, A. D. Williams, S. Cassim, F. S. H. Francis and J. Andrews.

## The Agent Entertained At Dinner

By Mr. B. Singh In Capetown

Fifty six guests including distinguished Europeans and Indians were present at a dinner given in honour of Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India, and the Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh at the residence of Mr. and Mrs B. Singh, in Capetown.

Mr. R. Stuttaford, M.P., who proposed the toast of "our chief guests," expressed great pleasure in having been invited to address so important a gathering.

"The task before the Kunwar," said Mr. Stuttaford, "is a great and difficult one." Despite the difficulties, however, there was every reason to believe that, although there were racialistic prejudices, Indians in South Africa would be fairly treated.

Lady Maharaj Singh made a short speech in reply. Proposing the toast of "South Africa," Mr. Justice van Zyl said that sympathy and understanding would bring about a better feeling among the races of South Africa.

Dr. A. Abdurahman replied.

Mr. Morris Alexander M.P. the well-known friend of Indians and a champion of the cause of justice proposed the toast of India.

The Kunwar, in replying, paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Alexander for the way he had always stood up for the Indians.

Speeches were also made by Mr. H. J. C. Stephan and Mrs. Stephan (Mayor and Mayoress of Cape Town), Mr. A. J. MacCallum, M.P., and Coadjutor Bishop Lavis.

Among the guests present were Mr. Justice H. A. van Zyl and Mrs. van Zyl, Mrs. Stuttaford, Dr. A. Abdurahman, M.P.C., and Mrs. Abdurahman, Major E. R. Roper, M.P., and Mrs. Roper, Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Singh, Mr. O. Orphen and Miss M. Orphen, Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Dala, the Misses M. and C. Dala, Mr. G. Dahl (Consul for Finland) and Mrs. Dahl, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Baumgarten, Mr. and Mrs. A. Ismail, the Rev. H. C. and Mrs. Birt, Mr. A. Pickard, Dr. H. Hamman, Mr. and Mrs. Bosman, Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Ricketts, Mr. J. L. Conway (Chief Immigration Officer) and Mrs. Conway, Mr. and Mrs. H. Kincaid, Mr. Abe Desmore, Mr. H. N. Venn, Mr. and Mrs. Norrodein, Master Rambler Singh, Miss B. Rawlins, and Dr. and Mrs. Patel, Messrs.

## Indians In Fiji

### Questions In Indian Assembly

At question time in the Indian House of Assembly in mail week Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh asked a series of questions regarding passport facilities to Indians for Fiji Island.

Mr. Metcalfe, Foreign Secretary, said the Fiji Government represented that the sex disproportion in the local Indian population was very marked and requested that no passport or visa for Fiji be granted to any Indian male unless he was accompanied by his wife or he produced evidence that he was a resident in Fiji or the consent of the Fiji Government had first been obtained. The Government of India accepted the request and issued instructions accordingly to passport-issuing authorities. There was no discrimination against Indians, since like restrictions were imposed on other races when similar sex disproportion existed.

Regarding the refusal of passport facilities to Pandit Krishna Sharma, the Home Member said it was understood that the Fiji Government apprehended that his activities were likely to cause communal trouble.

### Indian Students

When asked whether the Government of India took steps, Mr. Bajpai replied that the Government was not approached by the gentleman concerned, hence no action was taken.

As regards Indian students in Fiji schools, Mr. Bajpai quoted the annual report of the year 1931 of the Fiji Government wherein it was stated that the total number of Indians on the rolls of all schools was 4,531 and the net expenditure on the education of Indians and Europeans was about £9,815 and £5,762 respectively.

Mr. Bajpai further quoted answers given in the Legislative Council of Fiji that the use of Hindi readers by Mr. Ramdas Gaur was prohibited, as the Education Board did not approve them. The Government of India had no further information.

## Natal Indian Congress

The adjourned annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress will be held at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, Queen Street, Durban, on Sunday the 29th April, 1933 at 3-30 p.m.

AGENDA:—1. Election of officials,  
2. Supplementary financial statement,  
3. General.

A. I. KAJEE

P. R. PATHER

Joint hon. Secretaries.

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