

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE following is a copy of a cable received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in reply to a cable sent by the South African Indian Congress:—

To SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS,
Maritzburg.

"Viceroy wishes me to express his thanks to South African Indian Congress for their telegram of congratulations on escape of himself and his party from attempted outrage."

A Reuter's message from Madras dated Jan. 1 states:—

Sir Kurma Reddi arrived here to-day from Bombay. Sir Kurma, who left South Africa in very poor health, had to be removed from the train here on a stretcher to a waiting ambulance which conveyed him to his residence. Mr. Sastri was among the numerous friends who met Sir Kurma at the railway station.

Indians all over South Africa will be glad to learn that Mr. John D. Tyson, I.C.S., formerly Chief Secretary to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, first Agent-General for India in the Union, has been appointed Permanent Private Secretary to his Excellency the Governor of Bengal.

The staff of six lecturers for the Sastri College are due to arrive from India on January 22, in time for the opening of the term's work on January 27.

Addressing a meeting at Delhi the Maharajah of Alwar advised the Indian leaders to co-operate with the British Labour Government. He said that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Captain Wedgwood Benn both favoured Dominion Status for India. "But the Dominion status I want India to acquire is one in accordance with her traditions and the teachings of her past history, a status that will maintain her own originality and national characteristics."

A Reuter's message from Lahore states:—

Several arrests have been made here in connection with the attempt to assassinate the Viceroy. The men who were arrested after a house-to-house search include the brother of Jat Indranathdas, who recently died in prison while on hunger strike, and two workers connected with the Nationalist Congress camp. Some of the prisoners are active members of the League of Youth.

Smart work by the Verulam police and the C.I.D., it is stated, has resulted in the recovery of a further £2,800 of the £4,000 in a mail-bag stolen from the Verulam Station on Dec. 24. On Dec. 26 £700 was recovered with the discovery of the mail-bag in a garden at the back of the Roman Catholic Church at Verulam. The £2,800 was found on Saturday buried in a canefield about two miles from the scene of the robbery. Two more Indians, in addition to the two arrested on Dec. 26, have been arrested in connection with the robbery.

In the Wage Act Amendment Bill to be introduced next session by Colonel F. H. P. Creswell, the Minister of Labour, the Minister proposes to reserve to himself discretionary power, after consultation with the Wage Board, to terminate any wage determination as soon as he is convinced that such termination is in the public interest. Another amendment lays down that the Minister may terminate a wage determination should an agreement be arrived at between employers and employees in a particular industry in regard to which a determination had been made by the Wage Board. The creation of industrial conciliation boards will be made easier. Temporary members of the Wage Board will not have the right to examine private business documents. Intervention by the Minister will be made easier. The Minister may instruct the Wage Board to investigate a certain industry and prepare a report without making recommendations in regard to a determination, or to draw up a report as well as recommendations for a determination. Another amendment gives the Minister the power to exclude a certain district from a Wage Board determination. The Wage Board may be empowered to make exceptions in regard to the minimum wage fixed under a determination and to make provision for less efficient employees. Publication in the *Government Gazette* only will be sufficient to make a determination legal under the clause providing for notification. Publication in ordinary newspapers will take place only in certain circumstances.

A SCURRILOUS ARTICLE

WE do not as a rule discuss Indian politics in our leading columns, for we hold the view that the leaders in India are able to fight their battles without any assistance or encouragement from outside. It is certainly not wise for the South African Indian community, in view of its position in this country, to "dabble" in Indian politics. Our outlook in this country is purely South African. But that does not mean that the South African Indian must lie low when an unwarranted attack is made on India and her leaders.

No one can deny that the Indian possesses just as much national pride as does the Englishman. For aught else can the existence of the Sons of England be. It is that national pride that makes one to resent very strongly any attack on one's country. Our contemporary the *Natal Mercury*, as is the

custom of the Old Lady in the Lane, has been roused to fierceness by the recent events in India. Armed with that disgraceful book "Mother India," which it claims to be the most authoritative book on India, it proceeds to make an unscrupulous attack on the present day leaders of India. In an attempt to show to its readers that the Indians are not ready for Dominion status, the *Natal Mercury* has thrown to the winds the ethics of journalism. We grant that our contemporary is entitled to its opinion. But an expression of opinion can be free from any vilification.

Not content with maligning the Swaraj movement the *Natal Mercury* makes a spirited attack on the personal character of Mahatma Gandhi. Our contemporary states in plain words that Miss Catherine Mayo's statement is to be believed as against Mahatma Gandhi's refutation. It accuses him of uttering a blatant untruth. Happily have throughout the world better judges than the writer of this scurrilous article. Mahatma Gandhi has won encomiums from the greatest and the lowliest men throughout the world for his sacrifices. For his upright character and truthfulness he has been found to be beyond reproach. Enough.

It is wicked to associate the Swaraj movement with Bolshevism. The *Natal Mercury* may as well tell us that the struggle of the S. O. E. to uphold the prestige of the Union Jack was imposed by a few 'upon thousands of inarticulate Englishmen.' The statement is certainly a blatant untruth.

The *Natal Mercury* has always advocated that India has not reached the stage when Dominion status can be granted her. Its somewhat weak defence is that the educated amongst the population of India represent only seven per cent. It forgets, however, that a hundred and fifty years rule of the British has only increased the literate by two per cent. A century and a half is a long period in the life of a country. Would it not be better to grant India Dominion status so that ample provisions could at once be made to turn her illiterates into literates?

We are afraid our contemporary has been blinded by Miss Mayo's "Mother India." If that book is to be its criterion to judge India and her people we are sorry for its poor judgment. The book has well paved the way for the Simon Commission. For it is remarkable that it should have been

published just before the Commission set about its work.

We hope that our contemporary realises that every nation is entitled to a fair share of the spoils of this Earth.

Indian National Congress

Lahore, Dec. 29 (Renter).—Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India Congress, amid scenes of great excitement, hoisted up the national flag. A crowd of 30,000, including 5,000 women, broke through the cordons of volunteers and cheered, while numbers cried "Long live the revolution."

Nehru greeted them with a speech, declaring that the flag was the symbol of India's unity. Once unfurled it must not be lowered, he added, while a single person remained alive in India.

"We want reality of power, not merely livery of office," declared Jawaharlal Nehru in his presidential address at the opening of the Congress. He declared that when India's economic and social problems were solved communal differences would disappear, and he described Dominion status as "the shadow of authority for a handful of Indians and mere repression and exploitation of the masses."

The president then dramatically asked: "How can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and there is no guarantee that the real freedom will come to us?" He said: "Despite the golden harvest and heavy dividends, mud huts, hovels and the nakedness of the people testify to the glory of the British Empire in India."

Congress, he added, must demand for labour better life and opportunities to control industry on a co-operative basis. Strongly supporting the boycott of Councils, Nehru declared the release of energy was necessary for a general strike, non-payment of taxes, a boycott of British goods and foreign cloth.

After a debate lasting 10 hours, the Congress Subjects Committee passed Gandhi's independence resolution, but Chandra Bose's amendment proposing a complete severance of the British connection was defeated by 131 votes to 89.

The Subjects Committee which prepared resolutions for submission to the plenary meeting of the Indian National Congress, by 117 votes to 69 adopted the Working Committee's resolution condemning the bomb outrage and congratulating Lord Irwin on his escape.

The opposition declared the resolution inconsistent with independence.

Mr. Gandhi, defending the resolution, declared that the re-affirmation of the creed of non-violence was desirable when declaring independence was their goal.

Moving a resolution for the boycott of Legislative Councils and local bodies, and declaring independence as the national goal, Mr. Gandhi expressed the opinion that the country was not ready for civil disobedience, but must do considerable work for the uplift of the untouchables, the propagation of khaddar (homespun) and the promotion of Hindu-Moslem unity.

Complete severance from the British connection and the establishment of a parallel Government, was one of the proposals at the lively meeting of the Congress Committee, but Pandit Malaviya pleaded for the participation of the Congress Party at the London Conference.

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the Congress Subjects Committee, said Lord Irwin, at a conference with five Indian leaders, made it clear that he could not accept the Nehru report on Dominion status before Dec. 31. This left no alternative but to declare in-

dependence. Replying to those holding that his resolution regarding independence left the door open, Mr. Gandhi gave the committee the assurance that he would not hereafter accept a round-table conference to discuss Dominion status, but, however the fight might be continued, its end, if achieved, must be a peace conference, and the door for that was always open.

He expressed the opinion that the country had awakened and gained immense strength through the creed of non-violence. Referring to Mr. Chandra Bose's amendment, Mr. Gandhi said Legislative Councils, local bodies, Law Courts and schools ought to be boycotted, but he was not advising all this at present, nor the establishment of a parallel government, as he wished to proceed step by step.

Mr. Gandhi Takes The Wrong Turning

In a leading article under the above heading dated Dec. 27 the *Rand Daily Mail* writes:—

Since the conference between Lord Irwin and the Indian Central Committee has broken down, it seems certain that the New Year will see the opening of a Nationalist campaign of "mass civil disobedience." The prospect can hardly be agreeable except to Communist agents, who see in the situation opportunity to strike a blow at Great Britain, and to those Indian politicians who desire to advance their personal fortunes rather than those of their nation. "Mass civil disobedience" cannot, in practice, be confined to peaceful methods. Mr. Gandhi, in lending the project the weight of his great influence, is letting loose forces which he will not be able to control, and, in spite of his own good intentions, making himself and India instruments in the hands of people who desire nothing but war and revolution.

The Central Committee appears to have been a little uncertain of its own desires during the recent negotiations. According to one report, Mr. Gandhi adopted a definitely "extremist" standpoint, demanding the immediate grant of Dominion status, though the Committee's report asks only for "an explicit declaration" that full Dominion status is the goal at which the British Government is aiming. But everyone, from Mr. Gandhi himself to the most reactionary Conservative in England, realises that it is simply impossible for Great Britain to grant Dominion status to India in the near future; to make such a demand was therefore to ensure the failure of the Conference.

Even among the more moderate requests of the whole Committee there are some no British Government could possibly grant, notably that which would involve the doubling of the present electorate and the enfranchisement of the whole population by 1961. To agree to this would be to place the people of India at the mercy of unscrupulous demagogues; to countenance racial persecution of the worst type; to parody democracy. Any Cabinet which should so seek to evade its responsibilities to civilisation would quickly and very properly be turned out of office by Parliament. The Indian problem has no simple solution. It is possible that some satisfactory scheme might be worked out by moderate people on both sides, if these were allowed to have their way. Quiet thinking could succeed where passionate extremism must necessarily fail. Unfortunately, political India seems to have no ear for anyone but the extremists to-day.

A Misleading Article

Replying to the above article by the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. P. K. Desai writes:—

Sir,—In your issue of the 27th Dec. there appears a leading article under the heading "Mr. Gandhi Takes the Wrong Turning" which is misleading and

shows lack of knowledge of the political situation in India.

May I request you, therefore, to allow me to correct the very first sentence in your leading article? You start thus: "Since the conference between Lord Irwin and the Indian Central Committee has broken down, it seems certain that the New Year will see the opening of a Nationalist campaign of mass civil disobedience."

No conference was ever held between the Viceroy and the Indian Central Committee. The Conference that has broken down was between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders Messrs. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Sapru, Jinnah and V. J. Patel.

The Indian Central Committee, whose report is now published, is a Committee appointed by the Viceroy to make inquiry and report on the future constitution of India, side by side with the Simon Commission.

When the responsible public opinion of India successfully boycotted the Simon Commission the British Government devised means to get some sort of co-operation from the Indians. When Sir John went to India next time he announced that the Legislative Assembly should elect a central committee. This committee should also make inquiry and report to the Government of India on the future constitution of India. The Legislative Assembly by majority refused to elect the committee, hence the Viceroy appointed a committee of his own choice with Sir Shanker Nair as chairman. The Indian Central Committee recently went to England with the Simon Commission and returned to India last month. The report of this Indian Central Committee is now published the summary of which is published in one of your issues.

The Nationalist India has no concern with the report of this committee nor will she have any concern with the report of the Simon Commission which will be published in the beginning of the New Year.

You write: "Mass civil disobedience cannot in practice be confined to peaceful methods." Only during the current year in Bardoli, a no-tax campaign was offered by the peasants and it was a complete success on the part of the peasants. The machinery of the Bombay Government was brought to a complete standstill by absolutely peaceful methods. What was possible in Bardoli a few months ago can surely be possible in the whole of India if the brute force of the Government leaves the people alone and gives no reason for provocation. India to-day is experimenting through her great leader Mahatma Gandhi a doctrine hitherto unknown to the world and, if it becomes successful, is of tremendous importance to the war-stricken world.

You, Sir, seem to attribute motives to Indian politicians, in that they desire to advance their personal fortunes rather than those of their nation. You are doing a great injustice to self-sacrificing Indian politicians.

Does Mr. Gandhi desire any personal fortune? The very name of his life is sacrifice. Does the Right Hon. Sastri desire any personal fortune? He is the guiding star in the matter of self-sacrifice in the service of his Motherland. Pandit Motilal Nehru, once an uncrowned King of U. P. and a brilliant Barrister, has renounced and sacrificed everything in life for the love and freedom of his dear country. And his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is a young man and a barrister and presiding to-day over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress in Lahore, has fired the imagination of thousands of youths of India and set an excellent example of self-sacrifice before the youths of the country.

Sir, I can go on quoting such wonderful personalities of India the like of which are hardly to be found anywhere in the world. You declare

that it is simply impossible for Great Britain to grant Dominion status to India in the near future. It is no news to any Indians that Great Britain will not willingly grant Dominion status to India. She did not grant Home Rule to Ireland willingly. Ireland compelled England to give Home Rule. Egypt won her independence by hard struggle. India will in the similar manner compel England to grant her freedom by suffering and self-sacrificing. India will bring about a revolution by non-violent non-co-operation.

Indian Central Committee Publishes Its Report

A Reuter's message from London states:—

The Indian Central Committee has issued a report laying down "India's minimum demands" as follows:

First an explicit declaration that full Dominion status for India is the goal at which the British Government is aiming.

Secondly, an immediate and substantial step to that end by conferring on the provinces a liberal measure of autonomy and making the Government of India responsible to the Legislature.

Finally that the Government of India Act shall be amended so as to enable Dominion status to be achieved without further inquiries by statutory Commissions, etc.

The committee expresses the opinion that "this may be the last opportunity for the British Government to acquire the support of all the sane and more responsible elements of Indian opinion," and hopes that in combination with the ideas of the Statutory Commission the Indian Central Committee may have found a solution to grave and very intricate problems.

Provincial Autonomy

The committee goes into some detail in regard to its recommendations that autonomy should be conferred upon the provinces. It advises the allocation of the respective functions to governors and governors-general. It requires that the present electorate shall be doubled immediately and that the whole adult population shall be compulsorily enfranchised by 1961. It recommends the abolition of communal electorates except in the cases of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the depressed classes.

The committee alludes to the wide-spread belief that the British Army will be maintained as a weapon to keep India in subjection and therefore recommends "as an experiment" that the provincial Governments be granted the right to raise a local army to maintain internal security.

Central Government

Regarding the central Government, the committee proposes that all subjects, except the defence of India and foreign relations, should be transferred to the control of Ministers responsible to the Legislature. It further recommends that without the Governor-General's sanction the Legislature be incompetent to deal with public debt, public revenues, religious affairs, British defence forces and foreign relations.

It recommends that the India Office transfer to the Government of India powers to raise loans and recruit services. The committee says that the Secretary of State should be assisted by two Indian under-secretaries, at least one of whom should sit in Parliament, and finally urges that a military college and supreme court should be established in India.

Constitution Of Greater Durban

Recommendation Of Borough Boundaries Commission

Council And Health Boards Urged To Reach Agreement

Proposed Area Of Incorporation Outlined

That the constitution of a Greater Durban is the only solution of the problem of the Borough's restricted boundaries and the conditions in the peri-Durban area is the unanimous conclusion arrived at by the Durban Borough Boundaries Commission.

The members of the Commission were Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.L.A., Mr. S. Burt Andrews, Mr. M. G. Nicholson (Town Clerk of Pretoria), Mr. T. M. Wadley, M.P.C., and Dr. F. C. Wilmot (Assistant Medical Officer of Health, Cape).

The Commission has lost no time in submitting its preliminary report. It reached Durban on Dec. 9, and after an inspection of the peri-Durban area began its public sittings on the following day. The public sittings were completed on Dec. 18, and on Friday Mr. C. A. B. Peck, the clerk to the Commission, communicated to the Town Council and the Health Boards its preliminary report.

The Commission points out that the initiative was taken by the Town Council, which on Aug. 8 communicated the following resolution to the Provincial Secretary:—

That this Council, having considered the question of the extension of the Borough boundaries by the incorporation of areas surrounding the Borough which are at present under the jurisdiction of Health Boards, and having come to the conclusion that the time has now arrived, from the point of view of principles tending to economy and efficiency in local administration, for steps to be taken in this direction, desires to urge upon his Honour the Administrator-in-Executive-Committee to appoint a Provincial Committee to consider and report upon the conditions under which such extensions shall be effected; and suggests that such Provincial Committee shall consist of a chairman to be nominated by the Administrator-in-Executive-Committee, two members to be nominated by the Town Council of Durban, and two members to be nominated by the Health Boards combined.

The Provincial Executive intimated that it was in full accord with the Council's view that the time had arrived for the consideration of the question of extension of the Borough boundaries, but suggested that the inquiry should be an independent one, and on Nov. 21 the Commission was appointed.

Request For Postponement

Before the Commission met in public session, Mr. H. G. Mackourtan, K.C., on behalf of the Council, appeared to ask for a postponement of the Commission's sitting on the ground that the Council was not able to submit a detailed scheme (the statement proceeds). After consideration of this request and a discussion with Mr. Mackourtan the Commission decided to hear evidence from the Council in the first instance merely on the question of general principle as set forth in the Council's letter of Aug. 8, and to give the Council an opportunity of submitting detailed proposals later. To this proposal the Council's representative agreed.

In coming to this decision the Commission realised that the consideration of the general question of

principle involved could not be entirely divorced from the consideration of detailed proposals, and that on that ground the postponement of the whole inquiry might be deemed to be advisable. In view, however, of the fact that the matter, as it appeared from the Council's letter, had already been under discussion for a considerable period, and had, so it might be inferred, reached a state of urgency, the Commission was averse from postponing at this stage an inquiry at least into the general principle involved, and stated that such an inquiry was desirable if only to bring the matter to a head.

On the basis set out above evidence was tendered on behalf of the Council by the Mayor and other Councillors. Officials of the Council have also supplied the Commission with various documents and other opinions bearing on the proposed incorporation, and there has also been placed before it a memorandum which contained a brief statement of "suggested terms of incorporation" of a very general character, and which the Commission was informed in evidence had been approved by the Council-in-Committee, but not by the full Council. The Commission has also heard such other evidence as has been offered, including evidence from health boards, on behalf of several of which it was stated that in the absence of detailed proposals by the Council it had not been possible to give full consideration to the matter. Further it has carried out several inspections in loco.

The Commission has in its inquiry been hampered, as it was anticipated it would be, by the fact that detailed proposals had not been submitted to it by the body which had pressed for the inquiry, and more especially by its inability to ascertain with reasonable accuracy the financial results of giving effect to the principle of incorporation.

Having taken all the evidence at present available, the Commission has deemed it necessary to adjourn its proceedings in order to give the Council an opportunity to prepare and submit its concrete proposals, and so to meet the desire expressed on the Council's behalf by Mr. Mackenrnan. At the same time the health boards would be given the opportunity for the further consideration desired by them. Moreover, since the Commission has been asked to report not merely on the general question of the desirability or otherwise of incorporation but also on the conditions of such incorporation, it considers that before it proceeds to the preparation of its report an attempt should be made to secure some measure of advancement in the working out of a detailed scheme.

The Commission feels that it should record that, subject to the limitations implied by the facts stated in the preceding paragraphs, it has come to the conclusion that it should endorse the view of the Council that the time has arrived when the incorporation within the Borough of areas adjacent to it should actively be proceeded with. It is for obvious reasons impossible to state in this letter all the considerations which have led the Commission to such a conclusion.

Important Facts

It will be sufficient at this stage to state that the Commission has been greatly impressed by two sets of facts, namely:—

1. Facts which lead irresistibly to the conception of the Durban and peri-Durban area as a unit for purposes of public health, the unified administration of which is demanded by considerations of the health and welfare of the inhabitants of the whole area. The Commission is satisfied that conditions prevail in certain parts of the area to-day which constitute a

menace to the areas as a whole, that no portion of the area, even if the conditions therein are relatively good, can disclaim interest in the conditions prevailing elsewhere in the area, and that the resultant problems can only be dealt with effectively by a body with considerable authority and adequate resources.

2. Facts which lead similarly to the conception of the Durban and peri-Durban area as an economic unit, the interest of which can best be advanced along the lines of a unified policy of development (including town planning). That unit, it is true, consists to-day of an inner Durban and an outer Durban, but the inner Durban is cribbed and cabined within a constricted area, which it is clear to the Commission is such as to make it impossible to cope with the steady increase in its population and its growth as an industrial and shipping centre, while the outer Durban is an overwhelming extent inhabited by those who directly or indirectly derive their subsistence from employment within the Borough itself. All the tests of community of interest ordinarily applied in questions affecting the extension of boundaries, of expanding urban communities conclusively demonstrate the correctness of the conception of this area as an economic unit from which no one section could rightly regard itself as isolated or detached.

The Commission has considered whether the conceptions to which these facts point would find suitable expression in anything alternative to the constitution of a single authority for the whole area.

Alternative Suggestions Rejected

Various suggestions have been put before it, of which perhaps the most attractive has been that of a single local authority for the peri-Durban area to take the place of the existing health boards. The Commission would, however, find it difficult to recommend the adoption of any of these suggestions. In the case of that which has been specified above, it feels that such a body would be amorphous and ill-balanced and that it could not be expected to function satisfactorily.

There would be no adequate community of interest as a basis of its operations.

It is true that such community of interest exists in the Durban and peri-Durban area taken as a whole, but if Durban be omitted then in the area which remains the only thing which all the constituents would have in common would be the community of interest which each severally has with Durban and this would not provide the necessary cohesive force.

The Commission has therefore satisfied itself, subject to the limitations already stated, that on grounds of principle the solution of the problems which have been allowed to grow up can best be found in the constitution of a Greater Durban. It believes further that if this solution is to be applied there should be a minimum of delay. While it recognises that some good work has been done in the health board areas during the brief period of the existence of the boards, with the prospect of further improvement to come, it considers that if the problems are viewed as a whole their difficulty will be increased rather than diminished as a result of any possible shirking of the issue at the present time.

Limits Of Greater Durban

With reference to the limits of the area which the Commission regards as at once a public health and an economic unit, it is of opinion that it should em-

brace, in addition to the Borough of Durban, the present Health Board Areas of South Coast Junction (up to Umlass River), Umhlatuzana, Malvern, Mayville, Sydenham and Greenwood Park. The Commission accepts the view both by representatives of the Council and of the Pinetown Health Board, that Pinetown should not be regarded as forming part of that area since it is predominantly rural in character.

On the other hand, the Commission does not consider that it would be desirable, or, indeed, from the health point of view safe, to omit Greenwood Park, which is as much part of the unit referred to as is any one of the Health Board Areas mentioned.

On the question of the inclusion of the farms marked for incorporation on the plan submitted to the Commission, i.e., Witteklip, Chataworth, Zeekoe Vallei, Buffelsbosch, the Commission has not yet been able to come to a decision.

The preceding paragraphs state the provisional conclusion of the Commission, arrived at in the manner stated, on the question of principle. Before coming to a final decision the Commission wishes to review its conclusion in the light of more concrete proposals, carrying the definite endorsement of the Council, than those hitherto submitted. At the same time the Commission believes that the principle can be given effect to on the basis of agreement between the Council and the Health Boards which represent the area concerned.

In this connection the Commission has taken considerable evidence from the Health Boards and from individual residents of the area, and although there has been evidenced much hesitation and some hostility to the idea of incorporation with Durban, the Commission has satisfied itself that there is very little opposition on grounds of principle, and that in general the Health Boards are not averse from a full and fair discussion on its merits of any concrete proposal for incorporation which the Council may submit. That the purely financial aspect would loom large in the minds of peri-Durban residents, especially those who are already supplied with certain Corporation services and who therefore do not find in the present lack of such services an inducement to incorporation, is natural enough, but the Commission is satisfied that they, no less than Durban itself, would not fail to give their due weight to the wider considerations adumbrated in this letter.

Proposed Scheme

For these reasons the Commission desires the Council at this stage to give such further consideration to the details of its proposals as may be consistent with the avoidance of undue delay, and to frame a scheme in relation to the area referred to above wherein the following points in particular shall be dealt with:—

1. The representation of the areas proposed to be incorporated and any question which may arise as to the basis of franchise, indicating how it is proposed that these areas should be adjusted to the present ward system of the Borough;

2. The Council's proposals in regard to the rating of such areas, and in that connection both the effect of incorporation on the charges presently imposed for services rendered to out-of-Borough residents and the question of the graduation of rates so as to keep pace with the extension of services to those areas;

3. The capital amount which the Council will undertake to spend on the development of such areas over a period or periods to be specified and a statement in general terms as to the services on which such expenditure would be incurred. In this connection the Commission recognises that in the absence of a comprehensive general survey of the area, a survey which the Commission has been advised by the Borough Engineer would take 18 months to com-

plete, such a statement cannot go into very great detail and must be regarded as being based on preliminary estimates only.

The Commission considers, however, that it should be possible within a short period to prepare a statement which would make clear to inhabitants of the Health Board areas the general nature of the developments which may be expected to take place in the event of incorporation in respect of

- (a) (1) Health services, including sanitation and sewerage,
- (2) Prevention and control of infectious disease, including malaria,
- (3) Housing, more especially in regard to non-Europeans,
- (b) Roads and streets,
- (c) Water supply and lighting,
- (d) Transportation,
- (e) Fire protection,
- (f) Other public improvements.

The Council should also state the policy which it proposes to pursue in regard to the administration of services at present dealt with by Health Boards in cases where no capital expenditure is proposed to be incurred.

4. The Council's views on the general question of the control of town planning in the greater Durban area.

5. The Council's proposals in the event of incorporation in regard to

- (a) the policing of Greater Durban.
- (b) The extension of municipal telephone services.
- (c) The relation which the Council considers should subsist between the Provincial Administration and itself in regard to the roads in the area for which the Administration is at present responsible;

6. The financial effect of the adoption of the proposals under 1 to 5 as far as the Council is concerned.

Discussion With Health Boards

In the event of the Council deciding to comply with the Commission's request, in the recognition that such compliance would materially further the ideal which the Council has set itself, the Commission considers it desirable that the proposals under 1 to 5 (above) should be communicated to the various Health Boards for their consideration, and be discussed with the Boards with the object of arriving at an agreement.

The Commission looks with confidence to the Council to do all in its power to secure a settlement of this important problem by agreement. If such an agreement is arrived at the Commission would, of course, wish to be advised as to its terms.

Alternatively, there should be submitted to the Commission both the Council's proposals and the views of the Health Boards thereon.

For reasons already stated, the Commission is of the opinion that it is essential that this matter should be expedited; it will be glad, therefore, to receive by March 10 either a statement of the terms on which agreement has been reached or a statement of the Council's proposals and of the views of the Boards thereon.

If it should prove to be necessary, the Commission will thereafter make arrangements for the taking of further evidence.

The Commission expresses the hope that the Council will communicate the statement to the Press.

Commission's Letter To Health Boards

The Commission has also sent a copy of its statement to the Local Administration and Health

Boards, because "it is most anxious that the Boards should be advised as to the position it has reached in its inquiry."

In a letter to the various Boards it is stated :

"The Commission invites the careful attention of your Board to the provisional conclusion to which it has come on the question of principle involved in the inquiry, and to the request which it has addressed to the Borough Council for the preparation of a more detailed scheme than has hitherto been submitted. Your Board will observe that the Commission has asked the Council to communicate its proposals to the various Boards and to discuss these proposals with them with the object of arriving at an agreement.

"In the event of that request being complied with the Commission looks with confidence to your Board to do all in its power to secure a settlement by agreement of this important problem in the interest at once of the inhabitants of your area and of the Greater Durban of which it forms an integral part.

"Should an agreement not be arrived at, the Commission would be glad to be advised as to the amendments which your Board would consider necessary in the proposals of the Durban Corporation."—*Natal Mercury*.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[BY M. K. GANDHI]

Part V. Chapter XLIII.

AT NAGPUR

The resolutions adopted at the Calcutta special session of the Congress were to be confirmed at its annual sessions at Nagpur. Here again, as at Calcutta, there was a great rush of visitors and delegates. The number of delegates in the Congress had not been limited yet. As a result, so far as I can remember, the figure on this occasion reached about fourteen thousand. Lalaji pressed for a slight amendment to the clause about the boycott of schools, which I accepted. Similarly, some amendments were made at the instance of the Deshabhandu after which the non-co-operation resolution was passed unanimously.

The resolution regarding the revision of the Congress constitution too was to be taken up at this session of the Congress. The Sub-Committee's draft was presented at the Calcutta special session. The matter had therefore been thoroughly ventilated and thrashed out. At the Nagpur session where it came up for final disposal, Sjt. O. Vijayaragavachariar was the President. The Subjects Committee passed the draft with only one important change. In my draft, the number of delegates had been fixed, I think, at 1,500; the Subjects Committee substituted in its place the figure 6,000. In my opinion, this increase was the result of hasty judgment, and experience of all these years has only confirmed me in my view. I hold it to be an utter delusion to believe that a large number of delegates is, in any way, a help to the better conduct of the business or that it safeguards the principle of democracy. Fifteen hundred delegates, jealous of the interests of the people, broad-minded and truthful, would any day be a better safeguard for democracy than six thousand irresponsible men chosen anyhow. To safeguard democracy, the people must have a keen sense of independence, self-respect and their oneness, and should insist upon choosing as their representatives only such persons as are good and true. But obsessed with the idea of numbers as the

Subjects Committee was, it would have liked to go even beyond the figure of six thousand. The limit of six thousand was therefore in the nature of a compromise.

The question of the goal of the Congress formed a subject for a keen discussion. In the constitution that I had presented, the goal of the Congress was the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible, and without, if necessary. A party in the Congress wanted to limit the goal to Swaraj within the British Empire only. Its view-point was put forth by Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah. But they were not able to get many votes. Again, the draft constitution provided that the means for the attainment were to be peaceful and legitimate. This condition too came in for opposition, it being contended that there should be no restriction upon the means to be adopted. But the Congress adopted the original draft after an instructive and frank discussion. I am of opinion that if this constitution had been worked out by the people honestly, intelligently and zealously, it would have become a potent instrument of mass education, and the very process of working it out would have brought us Swaraj. But a discussion of the theme would be irrelevant here.

Resolutions about Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of untouchability and Khadi too were passed at this Congress, and since then, the Hindu members of the Congress have taken upon themselves the responsibility of ridding Hindunism of the curse of untouchability, and the Congress has established a living bond of relationship with the 'skeletons' of India through Khadi. The adoption of non-co-operation for the sake of the Khilafat was itself a great practical attempt made by the Congress to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

FAREWELL

But the time has now come to bring these chapters to a close.

My life from this point onward has been so public that there is hardly anything about it that the people do not know. Moreover, since 1921, I have worked in such close association with the Congress leaders that I can hardly describe any episode in my life since then without referring to my relations with them. For though Shri A. D. B. Deshabhandu, Hakim Sahib and Lalaji are no more with us to day, we have the good luck to have a host of other veteran Congress leaders still living and working in our midst. The history of the Congress since the great changes in it that I have described above is still being made. Add my principal experiments during the past seven years have all been made through the Congress. A reference to my relations with the leaders would therefore be unavoidable, if I set about to describe my experiments further. And this I may not do, at any rate for the present, if only from a sense of propriety. Lastly, my conclusions from my current experiments can hardly as yet be regarded as decisive. It, therefore, seems to me to be my plain duty to close this narrative here. In fact, my pen instinctively refuses to proceed further.

It is not without a wrench that I have to take leave of the reader. I set a high value on my experiments. I do not know whether I have been able to do justice to them. I can only say that I have spared no pains to give a faithful narrative. To describe truth, as it has appeared to me and in the exact manner in which I have arrived at it, has been my ceaseless effort. The exercise has given me ineffable mental peace because it has been my fond hope that it might bring faith in truth and *ahimsa* to wayovers.

My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth. And if every page of these chapters does not proclaim to the reader that the only means for the realisation of

Truth is *ahimsa*, I shall deem all my pains in my writing these chapters to have been in vain. And even though my efforts in this behalf might prove fruitless, let the readers know that the vehicle, not the great principal, is at fault. After all, however sincere my strivings after *ahimsa* might have been, they have still been imperfect and inadequate. The little fleeting glimpses therefore that have been able to have of truth can hardly convey an idea of the indescribable lustre of Truth, a million times more intense than that of the sun we daily see with our eyes. In fact, what I have caught is only the faintest gleam of that mighty effulgence. But this much I can say with assurance as a result of all my experiments that a perfect vision of Truth can only follow a complete realisation of *ahimsa*.

To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest of creations as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.

Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification, the observance of the law of *ahimsa* must remain an empty dream; God can never be realised by one who is not pure of heart. Self-purification, therefore, must mean purification in all the walks of life. And purification being highly infectious, purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings.

But the path of self-purification is hard and steep. To attain to perfect purity, one has to become absolutely passion-free in thought, speech and action, to rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion. I know that I have not in me as yet that triple purity in spite of constant ceaseless striving for it. That is why the world's praise fails to move me, indeed it very often stings me. To conquer the subtle passion seems to me to be harder far than the physical conquest of the world by the force of arms. Ever since my return to India, I have had experience of the dormant passions lying hidden with me. The knowledge of them has made me feel humiliated but not defeated. The experiences and experiments have sustained me and given me great joy. But I know that I have still before me a difficult path to traverse. I must reduce myself to zero. So long as one does not, of his own free will, put himself last among his fellow creatures, there is no salvation for him. *Ahimsa* is the farthest limit of humility.

In bidding farewell to the reader, for the time being at any rate, I ask him to join with me in prayer to the God of Truth that He may grant me the boon of *ahimsa* in mind, word and deed.

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"Blood May Be Shed"

(FROM AN ESTEEMED CORRESPONDENT)

Sir,—In your issue of the 13th ultimo Reuter from Bombay cables the summary of an address delivered by Mr. W. Travers who presided at the annual conference of the European Association of India held at Bombay.

Referring to the impending constitutional changes and the attitude of the extremist Indian leaders, who threatened to launch a non-co-operation campaign in the New Year, Mr. Travers drew attention to the report that an attempt might be made to call a general strike. 'Not only will labour suffer loss in wages, he said, but it may be that blood will be shed and lives lost.'

It is a fact well known to the world that India has decided to win her freedom through peaceful methods only. The creed of the Indian National Congress is of non-violence. Its members are bound by the pledge that they are bound to remain non-violent in thought, word and deed even under provocation. In the year 1921 when Mahatma Gandhi launched the great Non-co-operation movement in Bardoli with its no-tax campaign violence broke out in Chauri-Choura.

The following has been sent to us for publication :

An executive meeting of the Young Men's Arya Samaj was held in the Hindu Tamil Institute, Durban, on Sunday the 22nd Dec. to consider the departure for India of Mr. Nathoo V. Morar the hon. treasurer. Mr. Nathoo V. Morar had much pleasure in submitting his financial report as follows:—The total receipts from the 1st August 1929 to 9th Dec. 1929 were £17 7s. 7d. and the expenditure during that period was £9 10s. 7d. and a sum of £5 5s. was deposited with the County Permanent Building Society on the 10th Aug. 1929 leaving a credit balance on hand of £2 12s. which amount Mr. Morar handed to Mr. H. Maghraj the hon. secretary of the Samaj and was witnessed by Mr. P. D. Hargovan, one of the members of the committee who was then present.

Correspondence

The Editor,
INDIAN OPINION,

Sir,—With a view to settling wager we shall be pleased if you will please answer the following questions:—

1. The year, month and date of the late Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa.
2. Whether the strike led by Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the repeal of the £3 tax was before or after the visit of the late Mr. Gokhale.
3. The last strike led by Mahatma Gandhi.

Yours etc.,

G. RUGHUBAR.
S. MAHABEER.

ANSWERS.

1. The late Mr. Gokhale arrived at Capetown on the 8th November 1912 and left for India on the 29th November 1912.
2. The strike in connection with the repeal of the £3 tax took place after the departure of the late Mr. Gokhale.
3. The strike referred to in (2) was the last strike.

Editor,

INDIAN OPINION,